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WILLIAM PENN.

Amer. 4492
P 3 J

THE LIFE

OF

WILLIAM PENN;

WITH SELECTIONS

FROM

HIS CORRESPONDENCE

AND

AUTO-BIOGRAPHY.

BY

SAMUEL M. JANNEY.

"The humble, meek, merciful, just, pious, and devout souls, are everywhere of *one religion*, and when Death has taken off the mask, they will know one another, though the diverse liveries they wear here, make them strangers."—*Penn's Maxims*.

PHILADELPHIA:
HOGAN, PERKINS & CO.
1852.

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C07

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By Transfer
JUN 8 1907

P381Z

TO

PHINEAS JANNEY,

OF ALEXANDRIA, VA.,

The Guardian of my Youth;

AS A TRIBUTE OF

GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION,

THIS WORK IS INSCRIBED

BY HIS NEPHEW,

S. M. JANNEY.

44924

PREFACE.

On offering to the Public another biography of William Penn, a few words concerning its design, and the facilities enjoyed in its preparation, may not be inappropriate.

Without intending to derogate from the labors of others, I may be permitted to say, that through the kindness of friends, I have obtained access to *original materials*, which have enabled me to furnish a more full and accurate account of the Founder of Pennsylvania, than has hitherto been given to the world. When this work was commenced, I was not apprised that an English author was engaged on the same subject, nor did his book appear in this country until I had accomplished my task, with the exception of a single chapter.

After perusing W. Hepworth Dixon's "Historical Biography" of Penn, recently published, I have come to the conclusion, that there is still room for another life of the great Philanthropist.

It will be perceived by the reader, that our plans are essentially different. He, with a great mass of materials before him, has inserted but four of Penn's letters. Which, with short passages or single sentences from inedited letters, comprise the whole that he gives us from a voluminous and interesting correspondence.

In the memoirs of illustrious persons, and especially of those, who, like Penn, were good writers, I prefer their own language to that of their biographers; and have, therefore, introduced full copies, or copious extracts, from about one hundred and forty of his letters, as well as nearly the whole of his autobiography, called "An Apology for Himself."

In another respect our views are dissimilar. He brings prominently forward the political character of Penn; representing him as the disciple of Algernon Sidney, keeping in the back ground his religious services, and not duly appreciating the merits of his co-laborers, the primitive Friends. In describing the Founder of Pennsylvania, I have endeavored to give due weight to his enlightened policy as a legislator, but I trace that policy to his religious principles, and attribute far more influence to the ministry of George Fox than to the counsels of Algernon Sidney. When Penn himself speaks of Fox as a "*a strong-man*, a new and heavenly-minded man, a divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making," can we hesitate to ascribe to that great teacher an important influence over the mind of his disciple?

So far as relates to Penn's connexion with the affairs of Pennsylvania, this work will be found more comprehensive than any other history of his life. The "Logan Correspondence," from which large selections are given, forms, of itself, a history of the colony from the date of Penn's visit to the time of his death.

To Charles B. Trego, Secretary of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, and to Doctor Isaac Parrish, Sidney V. Smith, and Horatio Gates Jones, Jr., Members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, I feel bound to offer my acknowledgments for their courtesy in giving me free access to the original letters and MSS. deposited in the archives of those institutions.* To Alfred Cope of Philadelphia, I owe the privilege of examining his MSS. relating to Pennsylvania, copied from the State Paper Office, London.

Nor can I forbear to express my obligations to my friends, George M. Justice, of Philadelphia, and S. S. Randall, of Albany. To the former, I am indebted for his co-operation in my researches, and for the use of the "Penn Papers" in his possession; to the latter, for the first suggestion of this work, and efficient aid in its revision.

While engaged in the preparation of this volume, I have derived both instruction and enjoyment, from studying the character and writings of Penn; and when, in its progress, I came to the period of his death, my mind was overspread with sadness, as though I had lost a personal friend; this feeling, however, was succeeded by the consoling reflection, that he still lives, having "passed from works to rewards," and that his memory will long survive in the hearts of mankind.

S. M. JANNEY.

Loudoun County, Va., 11th month, 22d, 1851.

LIFE OF WILLIAM PENN.

CHAPTER I.

His birth and Parentage; Education; Expelled from Oxford for nonconformity; Sent to France; Returns and enters Lincoln's Inn; Goes to Ireland; Assists in quelling a Mutiny; Prospect of a Captaincy; Correspondence with his father; Hears Thomas Loe a second time; Convinced of Friends' principles; Imprisoned; Released and returns to England; His Father's displeasure; His expulsion from home.

1644–67.

It is the purpose of this work to narrate the life and delineate the character of William Penn; a man alike distinguished for his moral qualities and mental endowments; his sufferings and his success; his labors as an author, a gospel minister, and a Christian legislator; who, having wisely improved the talents intrusted to him, has left his impress upon the world, and bequeathed to posterity an example that will not soon be forgotten.

His father is known in history as Vice-Admiral Sir William Penn, a distinguished commander in the British Navy during the wars of the Commonwealth and in the reign of Charles II., who conferred on him the honor of knighthood, as a reward for his services in a great victory gained over the Dutch, commanded by Admiral Opdam.

Sir William Penn married early in life Margaret, the daughter of John Jasper, of Rotterdam, by whom he left two sons—the younger of whom survived him only three years—and one daughter.*

William, the elder son, who is the subject of this work, was born in the parish called St. Catherine's, near the Tower of London, on the 14th day of October, (then the 8th month), A. D., 1644.†

Admiral Penn being possessed of an ample estate, and desirous that his son William should become distinguished in the world, determined to give him a liberal education. At an early age he was sent to a free grammar school at Chigwell, in Essex, which was near Wanstead, one of the country seats of his father. Here he gave evidence of promising talents, and received some of those serious impressions by means of which his youth was preserved in purity, and pious desires were awakened in his mind. It was here, while in his eleventh year, that he experienced the enlightening influence of divine grace; and the good seed being sown in the soil of a sincere and willing heart, was not lost, but in after years produced a rich harvest of spiritual enjoyment and usefulness. It is related by one of his biographers,‡ that being alone in his chamber, "he was suddenly surprised with an inward comfort, and, as he thought, an external glory in the room, which gave rise to religious emotions, during which he had the strongest convictions of the being of a God, and that the soul of man was capable of enjoying communion with him." He believed also "that the seal of Divinity had been put upon him at this moment, or that he had been awakened or called to a holy life." When we consider how great is the influence exerted by powerful emotions, and how much our impressions, even of external objects, are modified by the state of the mind, it is not surprising that a youth of his age, while under strong religious convictions, should suppose he beheld an external glory shining around him; for the light that shone in his own spiritual nature was "above the brightness of the sun."

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* Memorials of Sir William Penn, by Grenville Penn.

† Penn's Life, prefixed to his Select Works. In Penn's time the year began with the *first of March*, which, among the Friends, was then called the first month, April the second month, and so on. October, as its name implies, was then the 8th month. In this work the old style is retained.

‡ Clarkson's Life of Penn.

In the year 1656, Admiral Penn removed with his family to Ireland, where he possessed valuable estates;* and William being then about twelve years of age, diligently pursued his studies at home, under the direction of a private tutor. At the age of fifteen he went to Oxford, and was entered as a student at Christ's Church College. Here he advanced rapidly in learning, and cultivated the acquaintance of those students who were most distinguished for talents and virtue, while at intervals he engaged in manly sports and athletic exercises, in which he took great delight.† Among his comrades at this time was John Locke, afterwards distinguished for his Essay on the Human Understanding.

While Penn was at Oxford, the Duke of Gloucester, brother of Charles II., died of the small pox. He was much beloved by the king, and was a favorite with the nation on account of his amiable character.

Many poetic effusions were written by the students in commemoration of this mournful event, and among the rest, William Penn produced an elegy written in Latin verse, which affords evidence of his genius and acquirements.‡

About this time, he attended a meeting of the religious Society of Friends, who were then, in derision, called Quakers. Thomas Loe, who had formerly belonged to the University of Oxford, preached on this occasion, and his discourse made a deep impression on the mind of Penn, who began to perceive that the simplicity and purity of the Christian religion was lost sight of by most of its professors, while their attention was occupied by a round of lifeless ceremonies. His early religious impressions were revived, and earnest desires were experienced for a "closer walk with God."

While in this frame of mind, he found that some of his fellow-students were, like himself, dissatisfied with the established form of worship. They concluded to withdraw from it, and they held among themselves meetings for divine worship, in which they were engaged in preaching and prayer. This conduct gave offence to the heads of the college, who fined them for non-conformity; but Penn and his associates, believing themselves bound by a sense of duty to continue their meetings and to absent themselves from the established church, were finally expelled from the college.*

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* Memorials of Sir William Penn.

† Clarkson's Life of Penn.

‡ Ibid.

After his return home, his exemplary conduct and serious deportment evinced the change that had been wrought in his feelings. He withdrew from the society of the gay and frivolous, and sought the company of the pious and sedate.

His father saw with grief this change in his manners, and began to fear that all the prospects of worldly honor he had cherished for him would be blasted. Being himself a man of the world, he could not enter into the feelings of his son, nor appreciate that noble devotion of soul which enabled him to contemn the perishing things of time, and to fix his affections upon those heavenly treasures—those pure principles of righteousness—which are the gift of God and will endure forever. Having tried persuasion and threats without turning him from his purpose, the Admiral at length resorted to blows; and these being alike ineffectual, he gave way to a transport of rage, and drove him from his house.†

In this trying situation William evinced that patience and fortitude which distinguished him through life. His father soon began to relent; for although hasty in his temper, he was naturally a man of kind feelings, and his wife, who was an excellent woman, interceded for her son, and obtained his forgiveness and recall.

His father now adopted another expedient to dissipate this serious turn of mind which he so much deprecated. He sent him to France in company with some persons of rank, who were about to make the tour of Europe. He resided first in Paris, and then went to Saumur, where he remained some months in the years 1662–63, in order to enjoy "the conversation and instruction of the learned Moses Auryrault, who was a protestant minister of the Calvanistic persuasion, professor of divinity in Saumur, and at this time in the highest estimation of any divine in France.* While residing here he read the works of the early Christian writers, paid some attention to other theological studies, and applied himself to the acquisition of the French language, in which he became a proficient. On leaving Saumur, he directed his course towards Italy; but on reaching Turin he received a letter from his father recalling him home, in order to take charge of his affairs during the Admiral's absence at sea.

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* See Gough's History of Quakers, ii. 213. The account given by Clarkson, that William Penn and *Robert Spencer* "tore the surplices over the heads" of the students, must be founded in mistake; for it appears from a letter of Penn, written in 1683 to Spencer, then Earl of Sunderland, that they first became acquainted in France, about 1663.

† Gough ii. 214. Select Works of Penn; Proud's History Pennsylvania.

William Penn, whilst in France, from whence he returned in the year 1664, is said to have acquired that polish of manners for which the French have long been distinguished. He is described by Pepys as "a most modish person, grown quite a fine gentleman;" and it may reasonably be inferred that he had also worn off, by association with the gay world, a portion of that serious demeanor which had so much displeased his father, for we find that he was received with great satisfaction. An incident occurred during his residence in Paris, which gives an interesting view of his character at this period.

He was waylaid in the street, at night, by a person armed with a sword, who attacked him for an alleged affront. Penn, who was armed, as was then the custom, defended himself with skill, and disarmed his antagonist; but when he had him completely at his mercy, he showed his magnanimity by allowing him to depart without injury. In one of his works, written after he became a Friend, he alludes to this incident to show "what envy, quarrels and mischief have happened among private persons upon their conceit that they have not been respected according to their degree of quality among men, with hat, knee or title. Suppose he had killed me, (for he made several passes at me), or that I, in my defence, had killed him, I ask any man of understanding or conscience, if the whole round of ceremony were worth the life of a man, considering the dignity of his nature and the importance of his life with respect to God his Creator, himself, and the benefit of civil society?"

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* Clarkson.

Soon after his return from France, he became, at his father's suggestion, a student at Lincoln's Inn, in order to acquire a knowledge of the laws of England.

In the spring of 1665 the British fleet put to sea under the command of the Duke of York, assisted by the nautical skill of Sir William Penn, who occupied the next post under him. The younger Penn, then about twenty-one years of age, accompanied his father for a few days, and was sent to the king with despatches, as appears by the following letters:

"From Harwich, 23d April, 1665.

"HONORED FATHER:—

"We could not arrive here sooner than this day, about twelve of the clock, by reason of the continued cross winds, and, as I thought, foul weather. I pray God, after all the foul weather and dangers you are exposed to, and shall be, that you come home as secure. And I bless God, my heart does not in any way fail, but firmly believe that if God has called you out to battle, he will cover your head in that smoky day. And, as I never knew what a father was till I had wisdom enough to prize him, so I can safely say, that now, of all times, your concerns are most dear to me. It's hard, meantime, to lose both a father and a friend, &c.

"W. P."

"Navy Office, 6th May, 1665.

"At my arrival at Harwich, (which was about one of the clock on the Sabbath day, and where I staid till three,) I took post for London, and was at London the next morning by almost daylight. I hasted to Whitehall, where, not finding the king up, I presented myself to my Lord of Arlington and Colonel Ashburnham.

"At his majesty's knocking, he was informed there was an express from the Duke; at which, earnestly skipping out of his bed, he came only in his gown and slippers; who, when he saw me, said, 'Oh! is't you? how is Sir William?'

"He asked how you did at three several times. He was glad to hear your message about Ka. [?] After interrogating me above half an hour, he bid me go about your business and mine too. As to the Duchess, he was pleased to ask several questions, and so dismissed me.

"I delivered all the letters given me. My mother was to see my Lady Lawson, and she was here.

"I pray God be with you, and be your armor in the day of controversy! May that power be your salvation, for his name's sake. And so will he wish and pray, that is with all true veneration, honored father,

"Your obedient son and servant,

"WILLIAM PENN."*

After this short trial of naval life, he returned again to his legal studies, until the ravages of the plague in London induced him to quit the city, and probably revived the religious impressions of his early years.

His mind now underwent a great conflict of religious exercise. The seeds of piety sown in his heart during youth, although at times repressed by the influence of the gay world around him, continued to grow in secret, being nourished by the dews of heaven,—the holy influences of Divine grace,—by which he was drawn into silent meditation, and inward prayer. His natural disposition being lively and social, his accomplishments such as to render his society attractive, and his father's influence being exerted to the utmost to lead him in the path of worldly glory, where all his prospects were bright and dazzling; we may readily conceive he was exposed to temptations unusually great, and that the ordeal through which he was passing, must have been severe in the extreme. Early in the spring of 1666, his father, perceiving that he was growing more serious in his deportment, concluded to send him to Ireland, where the Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant, presided over a court of great gaiety and splendor.

Being furnished with a letter from the Admiral to Sir Geo. Lane, the Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, he was received with the utmost kindness at the vice-regal court, where the Duke of Ormond's regard for his father procured him many distinguished acquaintances to whom he highly recommended himself by his own personal qualities.*

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* Mem. Sir William Penn, ii. 318.

During his residence there a mutiny took place among the soldiers in the garrison of Carrickfergus, and being a young man of high spirit, and acquainted with the use of arms, he joined the forces under the Lord of Arran, (second son of the Duke of Ormond,) and evinced so much energy and valor in quelling the mutiny, that the Duke wished to make him captain of the foot-company attached to his father's government of the fort of Kinsale.

His cousin, Captain (afterwards *Sir*) Richard Booth, who commanded the frigate Dartmouth on the Irish coast, thus wrote to Sir William Penn, under date the 19th of July, 1666:

"Right Honorable:—

"Since my last from Holyhead I have been to Carrickfergus, where the soldiers mutinied, and was there commanded by his grace to remain till the castle was reduced, which was done by the Lord of Arran, and four companies of the R regiment; an account whereof I presume your honor has long since had from my cousin William, who was pleased to accompany his lordship in that action, to his no small reputation."

The following letter from William to his father, written the same month, gives some further particulars of this transaction, and shows his willingness to accept the military distinction that the Duke wished to confer upon him:

"Honorable Sir:—

"When I was at Carrickfergus with my Lord Arran, Sir George Lane, in my Lord Dunagle's house, called me aside and told me the character my Lord Arran had pleased to give his father, obliged him to write you a letter on my behalf, which was to surrender your government and fort. My Lord Lieutenant himself, before a very great company, was pleased to call me to him, and asked whether you had not done it, and why? I answered that you had once intended it, and that his lordship had promised to favor his request. To assure you of my lord's design, I saw the letter under his own hand, but am to seek whether Sir George Lane sent it or no, which I am to ask of yourself; my Lord Lieutenant telling me sometimes he wondered you never answered his letter. I excused it by the remoteness of your present residence from London. If there be any under-dealing 'tis the secretary's fault, not my lord's.

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* Memorials of Sir William Penn, ii, 572.

"However, sir, I humbly conceive it may be necessary you take notice of my lord's kindness in a letter by the very first, since he has asked whether you had writ me anything in reference to it.

"I beseech your answer to this, as also if you please, an acknowledgment to my Lord Lieutenant and Lord Arran's great and daily kindness. I wish, sir, you may have respite from your troubles, and some refreshments from your continual toils, (we supposing the fleet to be near out). I am, sir, your most obedient son, W. PENN.

"Dublin, 4th July, 1666."

THE DUKE OF ORMOND TO SIR WILLIAM PENN.

"SIR:—Remembering that formerly you made a motion for the giving up your company of foot here to your son, and observing his forwardness on the occasion of his repressing the late mutiny among the soldiers in this garrison, I have thought fit to let you know that I am willing to place the command of that company in him, and desire you to send a resignation to that purpose, and so I remain your affectionate servant,

"ORMOND.

"Carrickfergus, 29th May, 1666."

THE ADMIRAL'S ANSWER TO HIS SON.

July 17th, 1666.

"SON WILLIAM:—

"I have received two or three letters from you since I wrote any to you. Besides my former advice I can say nothing but advise to sobriety and all those things that will speak you a Christian and a gentleman, which prudence may make to have the best consistency. As to the tender made by his grace the Lord Lieutenant concerning the fort at Kinsale, I wish your youthful desires mayn't outrun your discretion. His grace may, for a time, dispense with my absence—yours he will not, for so he told me. God bless, direct and protect you.*

"Your very affectionate father, W. PENN."

From this correspondence it is evident that William had suffered the gay circle by which he was surrounded, so far to obliterate his former serious impressions, that he began to fix his affections upon worldly glory, and was even desirous of obtaining the distinction of a military post, with the flattering title of Captain Penn. But happily for himself and for the world, the Admiral's pertinacious adherence to the captaincy, frustrated the ambitious aspirations of his son, who was destined, by Divine Providence, to a far nobler post, and a wider field of service.

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* Memorials of Sir William Penn, by Grenville Penn.

About this time was painted the only portrait of William Penn, ever taken from life. A copy of this portrait was presented by Grenville Penn to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and from it was taken the engraving which accompanies this work. It will be observed that he is dressed in the military costume usually appropriated to the high-born cavalier, which was well adapted to express the rank he held in society, as well as the hopes he then cherished of martial distinction. The features are rather full and beautifully moulded, the countenance combines energy and sweetness happily blended, and we read in that calm and earnest expression, the index of a mind formed for high designs and noble achievements.

Sir William Penn being occupied with his naval command, intrusted to his son the management of his estates in Ireland, which lay in the county of Cork. This business he conducted with such ability, as to give entire satisfaction, and the Admiral hoped that his son, being now far removed from his English acquaintances, and fully occupied with business, would soon forget the serious impressions which stood so much in the way of his worldly advancement.

But here Divine Providence again interposed to call him to that sphere of life in which he was destined to accomplish so great a work.

Being at Cork on business, he heard that Thomas Loe, the instrument of his religious impressions at Oxford, was to attend a meeting of the Friends in that city. His affection for this eminent minister would not allow him to leave the city without seeing him, he therefore attended the meeting.

After an interval of silence, Thomas Loe arose and commenced his discourse with these words, "There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." On this theme he enlarged in so remarkable and impressive a manner, that every word went home to the feelings of William, whose inward conflicts were, doubtless, depicted by the speaker, and attributed to their true cause, the opposition of his natural inclinations and desires to the secret touches of Divine grace and love, by which he had been called to renounce the glory of the world, and to devote himself to a higher and holier life.

The result was, that his feelings were deeply moved, his convictions of religious duty were revived, and he became a constant attender of the meetings of Friends.

Many years afterwards, when relating an interview he had with some pious persons, he alluded to his religious exercises in early life, saying,* "I let them know how and when the Lord first appeared unto me, which was about the twelfth year of my age, anno. 1656; and how, at times, betwixt that and the fifteenth, the Lord visited me, and the divine impressions he gave me of himself; of my persecution at Oxford, and how the Lord sustained me in the midst of that hellish darkness and debauchery; of my being banished the college; the bitter usage I underwent when I returned to my father, whipping, beating, and turning out of doors in 1662. Of the Lord's dealings with me in France, and in the time of the great plague in London; in fine, the deep sense he gave me of the vanity of this world, of the irreligiousness of the religious of it; then, of my mournful and bitter cries to him that he would show me his own way of life and salvation, and my resolution to follow him, whatever reproaches or sufferings should attend me, and that with great reverence and brokenness of spirit. How, after all this, the glory of the world overtook me, and I was even ready to give up myself unto it, seeing as yet no such thing as the primitive spirit and church on the earth; and being ready to faint concerning my hope of the restitution of all things." "It was at this time that the Lord visited me with a certain sound and testimony of his Eternal Word, through one of those the world calls Quakers, namely, Thomas Loe. I related to them the bitter mockings and scornings that fell upon me, the displeasure of my parents, the invectiveness and cruelty of the priests, the strangeness of all my companions; what a sign and wonder they made of me, but above all, that great cross of resisting and watching against mine own inward vain affections and thoughts."

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* See his Journey into Holland and Germany.

William Penn being now drawn into close fellowship with the Friends, was soon made to experience some of the persecutions then so liberally inflicted upon that unoffending people.

Being at a meeting in Cork in the autumn of 1667, he was, with others, apprehended and carried before the Mayor, who, observing his dress to be different from that of the Friends, offered to set him at liberty, on his giving bond for his good behavior; which refusing, he was, with eighteen others, committed to prison.* While in prison he wrote the following letter:—

"To the Earl of Orrery, Lord President of Munster.

"The occasion may seem as strange as my cause is just, but your lordship will no less express your charity in the one than your justice in the other.

"Religion, which is at once my crime and mine innocence, makes me a prisoner to a mayor's malice, but mine own free-man; for being in the assembly of the people called Quakers, there came several constables, backed with soldiers, rudely and arbitrarily requiring every man's appearance before the mayor, and amongst others violently haled me with them: upon my coming before him, he charged me for being present at a tumultuous and riotous assembly; and unless I would give bond for my good behavior, who challenge the world to accuse me justly with the contrary, he would commit me. I asked for his authority; for I humbly conceive, without an act of Parliament, or an act of State, it might be justly termed too much officiousness: his answer was, 'a proclamation in the year 1660, and new instructions to revive that dead and antiquated order.' I leave your lordship to judge if that proclamation relates to this concernment, that only was designed to suppress 'Fifth-monarchy' killing spirits, and since the King's Lord Lieutenant and yourself being fully persuaded the intention of those called Quakers by their meetings, was really the service of God, have therefore manifested a repeal by a long continuance of freedom, I hope your lordship will not now begin an unusual severity, by indulging so much malice in one, whose actions savor ill with his nearest neighbors, but that there may be a speedy releasement to all for attending their honest callings; with the enjoyment of their families, and not to be longer separated from both.

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* Penn's life, prefixed to his select works.

"And though to dissent from a national system imposed by authority, renders men heretics; yet I dare believe your lordship is better read in reason and theology, than to subscribe a maxim so vulgar and untrue; for imagining most visible constitutions of religious government suited to the nature and genius of a civil empire, it cannot be esteemed heresy, but to scare a multitude from such inquiries as may create divisions, fatal to a civil policy, and therefore at worst, deserves only the name of Disturbers.

"But I presume, my Lord, the acquaintance you have had with other countries, must needs have furnished you with this infallible observation: that diversities of faith and worship contribute not to the disturbance of any place, where moral uniformity is barely requisite to preserve the peace. It is not long since you were a good solicitor for the liberty I now crave, and concluded no way so effectual to improve or advantage this country, as to dispense with freedom in things relating to conscience; and I suppose were it riotous or tumultuary, as by some vainly imagined, your lordship's inclination, as well as duty, would entertain a very remote opinion. My humble supplication, therefore, to you is, that so malicious and injurious a practice to innocent Englishmen, may not receive any countenance or encouragement from your lordship, for as it is contrary to the practice elsewhere, and a bad argument to invite English hither, so, with submission, will it not resemble that clemency and English spirit, that hath hitherto made you honorable.

"If in this case I may have used too great liberty, it is my subject, nor shall I doubt your pardon, since, by your authority, I expect a favor, which never will be used unworthy an honest man, and

"Your Lordship's faithful, &c.,

"W. P."

In this letter may be seen the germ of a noble principle, more fully developed in his subsequent works; it was his first essay in behalf of universal toleration,—the beginning of that long series of efforts, which, after more than twenty years of arduous conflict, were crowned with success.

His request, so far as related to himself, was granted by the

Earl, who gave an order for his immediate release.* This imprisonment, so far from cooling his zeal, only tended to bring him into closer union with the Friends, whose principles became more and more dear to him, so that he became willing to bear the reproach and contumely which in that age were every where cast upon them, as upon the primitive Christians, by a misjudging world.

The report that he had become a "Quaker," was soon conveyed to his father, which induced him to recall him, an order which he promptly obeyed by returning home.

At first the Admiral perceived nothing peculiar in his dress or manners, but his seriousness and religious deportment continuing to increase, and especially the usual ceremony of taking off the hat being omitted, his father became uneasy and required an explanation. The scene which ensued was deeply painful to both parties, for the son avowed his religious principles, and respectfully declined to renounce them, as he conceived that his duty to God was paramount to all other obligations, but he evinced his desire of manifesting his obedience to his father, and his affection for him, in every thing that did not conflict with his convictions of religious duty. The Admiral, on the other hand, having set his heart on advancing his son to a high station of wealth and honor, could not endure to see him forego the dazzling prize that appeared to be within his reach; and to unite himself to the despised Quakers, seemed to be nothing less than an act of madness. He made use of every argument, he even condescended to entreat and implore; but all to no purpose; his son stood firm to his principles. Finding he could not prevail, the Admiral desired that William would at least conform so far to his wishes, as to take off his hat in the presence of the King, the Duke of York and himself. William asked time to consider of this request, and his father, supposing he wished to consult some of the Friends upon it, was highly displeased; but William, having assured him that he would consult none of them, retired to his chamber and sought for Divine aid in fasting and prayer.*

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* Life of Penn, prefixed to his works.

It may be thought by some that this compliance required but a small concession, and ought to have been made by a dutiful son in deference to the judgment of a parent.

But it must be borne in mind that William was now more than twenty-three years of age, and that he had, after mature deliberation, adopted the views of the Friends, among whom nothing which had the least relation to religious duty, was deemed trivial or unimportant. They considered the uncovering of the head an act of reverence or of worship, that was due to none but Deity. In their public ministry, and in vocal prayer, they uncovered their heads, agreeably to the Apostolic injunction, but they could not pay the same mark of homage to a mortal like themselves.

Although this refusal, especially in courts of justice, subjected them to great abuse, and even to fine and imprisonment, they persevered in adhering to their convictions of duty until their constancy gained them an exemption from the general usage, and perhaps has been one means of diminishing a practice which was then considered indispensable. In addition to their objections to this custom, as an act of homage improper to be offered to a human being, they believed that it was very generally adopted without sincerity.

Like the expression, "Your humble servant," which generally accompanied the hat honor,—it was, in fashionable life, offered to all equals or superiors, when, in most cases, there was no corresponding feeling of reverence or humility entertained by those who made the profession. The primitive Friends felt it their duty to bear an uncompromising testimony against this custom, as well as all others, which had been adopted for the purpose of flattering human pride. When William had retired from his father's presence to reflect upon the subject of his request, his mind became deeply impressed with the danger of compromising his principles, even in the

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Life of Penn, prefixed to his select works, and Gough's History of Q.

smallest particular, for innovation, once begun, induces weakness, and there is no place where we can so safely take our stand, as on the high ground of religious principle.

He felt that this ground was impregnable, and that the man who adheres firmly to the line of duty, although he may suffer persecution, will always possess a heart-felt assurance of Divine approbation that will sustain him in every trial.

In their next interview, therefore, he apprised his father firmly, but with expressions of duty and affection, that he could not comply with his request.

The Admiral could restrain his anger no longer, he had exhausted every expedient; his hopes for his son were all frustrated, and he again indignantly expelled him from his house.*

Having been educated in affluence, and accustomed to the luxuries of life, his situation must have been painful and embarrassing. Destitute of pecuniary resources, and without a trade or profession to obtain a livelihood, he was for a time dependent upon the hospitality of his friends, until his mother, true to the promptings of maternal love, found means secretly to send him relief.

Here let us pause and contemplate the change which, in the brief space of a few months, had come over this young and devoted servant of the cross. While at the vice-regal court of the Duke of Ormond, he had been a conspicuous and favored guest; strikingly handsome in his person, polished, and even courtly in his manners, distinguished for the sprightliness of his wit, and the depth of his erudition; but more than all, admired for the prowess he displayed in his first and only martial engagement; he seemed on the high road to worldly honor, and no post beneath the crown was too high to be the object of his hopes.

But now he turns his back upon the world, associates himself with a despised and persecuted sect, becomes the subject of sarcastic remark among his former companions; and even his father spurns him from his presence. In this extremity one heart still remained faithful to him. She who had cherished him in the weakness of his infancy, now clings to him in the season of his adversity; thus manifesting the constancy and disinterestedness of a mother's love, the strongest, if not the brightest, link in the chain of human affections.

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* Gough's Hist. ii. 217.

At length his father, softened, perhaps, by the entreaties of his wife, so far relented as to allow him to obtain subsistence at home, though he gave him no open countenance. It is supposed that the Admiral, notwithstanding his displeasure, exerted his influence for the release of his son, whenever he was imprisoned on account of his religious profession; for though a man of high temper, and accustomed to the exercise of stern discipline, he possessed kind feelings and strong attachments. It was the greatest among all the crosses and trials that William was called upon to bear at this period of his life, that he was cut off from kindly intercourse with a parent whom he tenderly loved; but he firmly adhered to the course he had chosen, counting nothing too dear to be sacrificed for the love of the Gospel, and knowing that "he that putteth his hand to the plough and looketh back, is not worthy of the kingdom of heaven."

CHAPTER II.

Penn's connexion with the Society of Friends; Rise of the Society; Early Life of George Fox; His ministry and sufferings; Summary of the principles of Friends.

1667.

Among all the changes incident to man in this stage of existence, none are so important as those which influence his religious character. He may acquire wealth, or he may lose it; he may attain to the highest earthly honors, or be subjected to the deepest humiliation, yet none of these things necessarily affect his permanent happiness.

It is far otherwise with the growth of his religious principles: if these are suffered to languish and decay, no outward circumstances can make him happy, or enable him to fulfil the great end of his being; but if, on the contrary, these are nourished by obedience to the teachings of divine grace, the animal nature is brought into subjection to the spiritual, there is a continual development of his moral powers and benevolent affections; and his happiness, being no longer dependent on time and sense, is fixed upon a basis that must endure for ever.

William Penn had been for some years subjected to trials, which, under the blessing of divine goodness, were made instrumental to his religious progress. Having renounced the amusements of fashionable life and the honors of the world, he became a constant attendant on the meetings of Friends.

As his connexion with this society, and the prominent part he took as a religious writer and minister of the Gospel, had a most important influence on his character and conduct through life, it seems proper to refer briefly to the rise and progress, up to this period, of the people with whom he was thus associated.

It was during that troubled period in English history, when Charles the first was contending with his Parliament, and the whole nation was agitated and convulsed by the force of new ideas of civil and religious liberty, that George Fox, a young man of blameless life, and of obscure, but upright and pious parentage, felt himself impelled by the strongest convictions of duty to withdraw, for a time, from the companionship of men, in order to seek for light and strength in religious contemplation.

He had been placed with a shoemaker, but his master was also engaged in the keeping of sheep, and George, during part of his minority, was employed as a shepherd, a business peculiarly suited to his quiet and contemplative spirit, as well as a "fit emblem of his future service in the Church of Christ."* In his nineteenth year, being on business at a fair, he was induced by two professors of religion to join them in drinking some beer; but when they had drank a glass apiece, the conversation of his companions becoming distasteful to him, as being in his view inconsistent with their religious profession, he paid his reckoning and left them.

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* Fox's Journal, and William Penn's Rise and Progress of Quakers.

This incident was the means of awakening more fully his religious consciousness. He saw that the professors of religion were too generally resting in a lifeless form of outward observances. He could not sleep for the distress that preyed upon his mind; but through the night "he walked up and down," and "sometimes prayed and cried to the Lord." It was then that a language was impressed upon his mind as from on high; "thou seest how young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth; thou must forsake all, young and old, keep out of all, and be as a stranger unto all."

This was in the year 1643. The same year that Hampden died on the field of battle fighting for civil liberty, was George Fox, the champion of religious liberty, called into a warfare whose weapons are not carnal, and whose victories are not stained with blood. The adversaries he was called to encounter, were those which are common to human nature; for although he had led a life of remarkable purity, he found within himself a conflict between the powers of light and of darkness, he was asailed by strong temptations, and the enemies of his soul rose like a flood to overwhelm him. It was then "he saw how Christ was tempted," and was led to believe that through the power of Christ revealed in his soul, he also should be enabled to overcome.

During some years he continued in this state of deep probation, being, at times, almost reduced to despair, but at intervals relieved and comforted by gleams of heavenly joy that made all his troubles seem as nothing for Christ's sake.

In his deep distress, he sought for instruction from the teachers and professors of religion, but the priests could not speak to his condition. Those who were accounted the most experienced in divine things, could afford him no relief, and he was led to the only physician who can heal our spiritual maladies, "Christ Jesus, the true shepherd and bishop of souls."

As he was going into Coventry in the year 1646, he was led to reflect upon the proposition that "all Christians are believers, both Protestants and Papists." It was made clear to his understanding "that if all were believers, then would all be born of God, and passed from death to life," and that none were true believers but such; and though others said they were believers, yet they were not."

At another time, as he was walking in the fields, it was "opened to him," that "being bred at Oxford or Cambridge, was not enough to qualify men to be ministers of Christ;" and he wondered at it, for such was then the common belief.

Thus his mind was gradually opened by the influence of divine grace to understand the Scriptures of truth, and the mysteries of the heavenly kingdom, which are "hidden from the wise and prudent and revealed unto babes."

He had been educated in the established church, but after these convictions he began to regard the priests less favorably and to look more towards the Dissenters. Among these he found some whose minds had been brought under the influence of religious truth; but as he had forsaken the priest, so he found he must also leave the dissenting preachers, for none of them could afford relief to his soul, which was hungering for spiritual food. It was then a voice was addressed to his mental ear saying, "there is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition." His heart leaped for joy, his desires increased for communion with God, his spiritual perceptions became more clear, and he found that "the path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

Thus he grew in the knowledge of divine things, "without the help of any man, book, or writing." For although he diligently read the sacred Scriptures, and had read them from his youth, yet he understood them not, save as "he who hath the key did open."

At this time there was in England a class of Christian professors, who, having become dissatisfied with the established church, and with the various sects of dissenters, had withdrawn themselves from all others and lived in retirement. Sometimes they met for mutual edification, or sat together in silence; hence they were called Seekers.

Among these persons, George Fox met with some whose spirits were kindred with his own, for they relied much upon the inward operation of the Holy Spirit, and when he declared to them the result of his own experience, that "Jesus Christ teaches his people himself," by the immediate revelation of his grace in the soul, they were ready to receive his testimony.

This divine power, by which salvation is wrought in man, he usually designated by the expressive scriptural terms "the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. (John i. 9.) He sometimes referred to the same holy Power as the *blood of Christ*, which is the saints' drink, (John vi. 55), for according to the Scriptures the blood is the life, (Gen. ix. 4), and the life is the light of men." (John i. 4).

In the year 1648, he attended a great meeting of professors, among whom was Captain Amor Stoddard. They were discoursing of the blood of Christ, when George Fox felt constrained to cry out "do ye not see the blood of Christ? see it in your hearts, to sprinkle your hearts and consciences from dead works to serve the living God." This startled the professors who would have the blood only without them and not in them; but Captain Stoddard said, "let the youth speak; hear the youth speak," when he saw they were disposed to bear him down with many words.*

At this time it was common in England for large numbers of different persuasions to meet together for the purpose of discussing religious doctrines, for religion was then the engrossing topic of the day, in which all classes took part. Such a meeting being held at Leicester, wherein Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and Episcopalians were concerned, George Fox attended and listened to their discussions.

At length a woman asked a question from the first epistle of Peter, "What that birth was, viz., a being born again of incorruptible seed, by the word of God, that liveth and abideth forever?"

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* George Fox's Journal, i. p. 18.

The priest said to her, "I permit not a woman to speak in the church," though he had before given liberty to any to speak. This brought George Fox to his feet, who stepped up and asked the priest, "Dost thou call this place a *church?* or dost thou call this mixed multitude a *church?*" But instead of answering him, the priest asked what a church was? to which George replied, "The church is the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual household, of which Christ is the head; but he is not the head of a mixed multitude, or of an old house made up of limestones and wood." This set them all on fire; the priest came down from his pulpit, the others out of their pews, and the discussion was broken up.

At this time George Fox went from place to place, visiting fairs, markets, and other places of public resort, as well as the meetings of religious professors, and many were convinced by his ministry, which was so different from the doctrines held forth by others, that multitudes flocked to hear him.

He was still at times assailed by strong temptations. One morning as he sat by the fire a suggestion of Atheism arose in his mind, accompanied by an impression that "all things come by nature," "the elements and the stars came over him," the heavens were clouded, and darkness shrouded his mind. As he sat still, waiting for light, a living hope arose within him, and a true voice said, "There is a living God, who made all things." Immediately the cloud was dispelled, the temptation vanished away, and his heart was filled with joy and praise. Soon after this, he met with some persons who, having yielded to a similar temptation, denied the existence of a Deity, and he was enabled, from his own experience, to speak to their condition and convinced them there is a living God. Several congregations of Friends being now gathered through his ministry, they were accustomed to meet together for divine worship, waiting upon God *in silence*, to watch and pray for the influence of his spirit, or to minister to each other, as divine grace might be afforded.

As George Fox attended to the impressions of duty, his prospects of religious service were enlarged, and he saw that God had called him to a great work among men, to lead many "from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God." Having in himself experienced the saving power of divine truth, he rejoiced that the Lord had called him forth to preach the same glad tidings to others, directing them to that inward principle of light and life, by obedience to which man is restored to the image of God in which he was created. This divine power, in his judgment, saves not only from the punishment due to sin, but from the dominion of evil in the heart, so that a state of *perfection* or freedom from sin might be known on this side the grave. But of all the professors of religion he conversed with, none would admit that man can be restored, in this life, to the state of purity in which Adam was before the fall, much less could they bear to be told that a measure of the same power and spirit that guided the prophets and apostles, may now be experienced by the faithful, though it is certain that none can truly understand their writings, without the influence of the same spirit by which they were dictated.*

Although this doctrine met with much opposition from the professors of religion, there was, in the plain and unflattering address of George Fox, a cause of offence that rendered him still more obnoxious to opprobrium and abuse. When sent forth on his mission of love to preach the gospel in its ancient simplicity, he felt himself restrained from giving to his fellow-men the usual tokens of reverence, which, having originated in human vanity and pride, were, in his view, calculated to nourish the same pernicious passions.

He could not "put off the hat" to any man, how exalted soever his station or rank; he durst not use vain compliments or titles, and in speaking to a single person he was required to adhere to the ancient scriptural language *thee* and *thou*. These deviations from popular manners, although small matters in the eye of human reason, were, by the persecution they occasioned, shown to be important to the progress of truth, for the love of worldly honor had taken deep hold of the public mind, not excepting the ministers and professors of religion, who "received honor one of another, and sought not the honor that cometh from God only."

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* George Fox's Journal, i. p. 27.

In proportion as the meetings of Friends increased, the opposition to them and their doctrines became more violent, and it was not long before the secular arm was resorted to by the priests and their followers, for their suppression. On one occasion George Fox, feeling himself bound to visit the parish house of worship in Nottingham, heard the minister take for his text these words of the Apostle, 2 Peter, i. 19: "We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn and the day-star arise in your hearts." This text the preacher attempted to expound by saying, that the Scriptures were the "more sure word of prophecy, by which all doctrines, religions and opinions were to be tried." George Fox felt constrained to declare to the congregation, that the Apostle did not here allude to the Scriptures, but to the Holy Spirit, which Christ has said shall lead his disciples into all truth, whereas the Jews who had the Scriptures, did not understand them, because they resisted the Holy Spirit. For speaking thus, he was cast into a loathsome prison; but the word spoken had taken effect in the hearts of the people, and among those convinced were the head sheriff and his family, who sent for him to visit them, and when he arrived, they met him with the salutation, "Salvation is come to our house."

Being now lodged at the sheriff's house, he had great meetings there, and many were convinced of the doctrines he taught, but the mayor and magistrates being incensed against him, took him from thence and sent him back to the common prison, where he remained a considerable time.

When released from prison, he continued to travel, preaching the Gospel wherever he came, and multitudes flocked to hear him; but often he was assailed and beaten by rude people, and sometimes denied food and lodging at inns and private houses, although he offered to pay for them, so that he was forced to spend the night in the fields, making his bed on the furze, or taking shelter under the stacks of hay.

But none of these things daunted him: his frequent imprisonments,—his arduous labors,—the denunciations of the priests,—and the abuse of the populace, were all encountered with cheerful resignation, for the love of God that overflowed his soul, was more than a recompense for all.

He saw that there was a great work to be done; the "fields were white already to harvest," and the desire of his heart was fulfilled in many other laborers being called to assist in "gathering fruit unto life eternal."

Among those who were convinced of the doctrines he taught, many became powerful ministers of the Gospel, and were made willing to suffer reproach, imprisonment, and death for the word of the Lord and the testimony of Jesus. Nor was the ministry confined to men, for, as in the primitive church, so now in the revival of the Gospel spirit, women were called and qualified to declare to others, what "their eyes had seen and their hands had handled of the word of life."

Thus was planted, through suffering and reproach, a religious society whose doctrines struck at the root of despotism, both in church and state.

Luther did much when he appealed to the Scriptures to invalidate the traditions and expose the abuses of the Papal power, but George Fox did more when he appealed to the voice of God in the soul, which alone can open the Scriptures, and even without their aid, can rend the vail woven by tradition, deliver from the bondage of corruption, and introduce its followers into the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

"The rise of the people called Quakers," says an eloquent historian,* "is one of the memorable events in the history of man. It marks the moment when intellectual freedom was claimed unconditionally by the people as an inalienable birthright. To the masses in that age, all reflection on politics and morals presented itself under a theological form. The Quaker doctrine is philosophy summoned from the cloister, the college and the saloon, and planted among THE MOST DESPISED of the people. The mind of George Fox had the highest systematic sagacity, and his doctrine developed and rendered illustrious by Barclay and Penn, was distinguished by its simplicity and unity. The Quaker has but one word, the *inner light*, the voice of God in the soul. That light is a reality, and therefore in its freedom, the highest revelation of truth, it is kindred with the Spirit of God, and therefore merits dominion as the guide to virtue; it shines in every man's breast, and therefore joins the whole human race in the *unity of equal rights*. Intellectual freedom, the supremacy of mind, universal enfranchisement,—these three points include the whole of Quakerism, as far as it belongs to civil history."*

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* Bancroft.

From the first rise of the Society to the year 1668, when William Penn appeared as a minister among them, was about twenty years. During this period their religious principles became developed, and this sketch of their rise and progress may be closed by a brief summary of their prominent doctrines and testimonies.

It has already been shown, in relating the experience of George Fox, that the great fundamental principle of Friends is the immediate teaching of the Holy Spirit,—"the law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus, which makes free from the law of sin and death." This Divine principle is universally given to the human race,—"it lights every man that comes into the world," but many "love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil," "and they will not come to the light, lest their deeds should be reproved."

This light is not the natural conscience, nor the natural reason of man, but it is the Divine power that quickens the conscience and gives spiritual perception. The mental faculty by which we perceive the light of Divine Truth, is improved by exercise and impaired by abuse, but the light itself does not change, for God is one and the same, yesterday, to-day, and forever.

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* Bancroft's United States, ii. p. 337.

From the application of this fundamental doctrine, sprung their peculiar mode of worshipping God *in silence.* If "we are not sufficient of ourselves to think any thing, (that is good,) but our sufficiency is of God," it follows, that all true worship must flow from the influence of his Spirit,—no sacrifice is acceptable but that which he commands,—no prayer availing but that which he inspires,—for "we know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us."

As we have not this Divine gift at our command, we must wait for it in silence; "and as every one is thus gathered, and so met together inwardly in their spirits, as well as outwardly in their persons, there the secret power and virtue of life is known to refresh the soul, and the pure motions and breathings of God's spirit are felt to arise, from which, as words of declaration, prayers or praises flow, the acceptable worship is known which edifies the church, and is well pleasing to God."*

There are diversities of gifts in the church, but all from the same spirit; some are called to the ministry of the Gospel, some to the administration of discipline,—others to visiting the sick, comforting the afflicted, or instructing the youth. To every one some talent is committed, and the usefulness and happiness of each individual depends upon his filling the measure of his duty.

No outward instruction or human learning can qualify for the Gospel ministry,—none are fitted for this office unless called of God and qualified by his grace, and they who are thus called and qualified, should administer freely what they have freely received, without fee or reward from man.

No rites or ceremonies are enjoined in the Church of Christ; the Baptism which saves, is "not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God," the bread and wine of the kingdom is that spiritual food which comes down from God and gives life to the soul.

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* Barclay's Apol., 352.

The Bible is the best of books, for "all Scripture given by inspiration of God, is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." But although the primitive Friends made use of the Bible to confirm their doctrines, they did not place it above the Spirit from whom it proceeded, nor did they give it the title of the *word of God;* for this term is applied by the sacred writers to the manifestation of God in man; "the word that was in the beginning with God, and was God;" "the word of God that liveth and abideth forever."

Salvation is wrought in man by the power or Spirit of Christ, and it consists in being delivered from the guilt and dominion of sin.

Sanctification is the work of God in man, and none are justified any further than they are sanctified.*

They who are sanctified by obedience to Divine grace, are subjects of the kingdom of heaven, whatever may be their religious opinions.

The universal church of Christ consists of all the faithful servants of God, of every age and country, who have been "born again of incorruptible seed;" and Jesus Christ,—"the first-born among many brethren,"—is the head of this body, of which all are members who are united to Him by the invisible and eternal bond of the Spirit.†

In every congregation, they who *have experienced the new birth*, form part of the visible church of Christ, whatever may be the creed they adopt or reject, or the ceremonies they perform or omit.

There is no distinction of clergy or laity in the Church, they are all brethren and sisters, having no master but Christ; they are a "royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people," to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.

The testimonies of Friends, as well as their doctrines, distinguished them from all other professors of religion.

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* George Fox's Works, iii. 450, Am. ed., 1831.

† Barclay's Apol., Prop. x. § 1.

They declined *to pay tythes*, but patiently suffered the distraining of their goods, whereby the amount taken from them for priests' wages, was greatly enhanced, and sometimes proved ruinous to their estates.

The establishment or endowment of a church by temporal authority, they considered not only a usurpation, but a direct violation of the order which had been established by the Divine Master, who, being the true "shepherd and bishop of souls," putteth forth his own sheep and goeth before them."

The Friends took no oaths, from a persuasion that Christ had forbidden them in his sermon on the mount. They maintained that the Divine Power under which they were gathered, required and enabled them to speak the truth on all occasions, so as to render oaths unnecessary.

War, and oppression of every kind, they considered contrary to the Gospel of Christ, which speaks "peace on earth, good will to men," and gains all its victories by meekness and love.

They avoided all sports and pastimes that were calculated to nourish vain thoughts, or inordinate desires, or to draw the mind away from religious contemplation.

They felt it a duty to observe temperance and moderation in all things,—they drank no healths, they abstained from luxury in the furniture of their houses, and in their dress and equipage; they declined the use of all compliments and flattering titles, and adhered to the singular pronoun in addressing a single person.

They were industrious and prudent in business, and made it an invariable rule to ask no more for their wares than they intended to take.

They believed that the assumption by the English clergy of an exclusive right to solemnize marriage, was unauthorized, either by the Mosaic law or the early practice of the Christian church, and hence their marriages were solemnized in their own religious meetings, by the parties acknowledging the engagement, and signing a certificate in the presence of the congregation.

Their burials were performed without pomp or ceremony, and no habits of mourning were worn.

They took care of their own poor, so that none of them became chargeable to the parish, and they assisted liberally in works of general charity.

Although tolerant to all persuasions, and benevolent to all men, they were, by their peculiar habits, manners and opinions, much restricted in their intercourse with the world, hence they associated chiefly with each other, and it became a common remark, "see how these Quakers love one another."

CHAPTER III.

Anecdote of his sword; Dress of Friends; He becomes a Preacher and an Author; His Tract called "Truth Exalted;" Controversy with Vincent; Tract called "Sandy Foundation Shaken;" His imprisonment in the Tower; Writes "No Cross no Crown;" Letter to Lord Arlington; Tract called "Innocency with her Open Face;" His Liberation from the Tower; A fragment of his autobiography.

1668–9.

When William Penn was convinced of the principles of Friends, and became a frequent attendant at their meetings, he did not immediately relinquish his gay apparel; it is even said that he wore a sword, as was then customary among men of rank and fashion. Being one day in company with George Fox, he asked his advice concerning it, saying that he might, perhaps, appear singular among Friends, but his sword had once been the means of saving his life without injuring his antagonist, and moreover, that Christ has said, "he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one." George Fox answered, "I advise thee to wear it as long as thou canst." Not long after this they met again, when William had no sword, and George said to him, "William, where is thy sword?"

"Oh!" said he, "I have taken thy advice; I wore it as long as I could." This anecdote, derived from reliable tradition,* seems to be characteristic of the men and the times. It shows that the primitive Friends preferred that their proselytes should be led by the principle of divine truth in their own minds, rather than follow the opinions of others without sufficient evidence.

It must have been manifest to George Fox that his young friend, while expressing his uneasiness about the sword, was under the influence of religious impressions that would, if attended to, lead him, not only into purity of life, but likewise into that simplicity of apparel which becomes the disciples of a self-denying Saviour.

It is worthy of remark, that no peculiar form of dress has ever been prescribed by the discipline of Friends. The first members of the Society wore the dress then common among serious and religious people in England; it was much more simple than that worn in fashionable society, and when, in the reign of Charles II., the nation became infected with that passion for gaudy and extravagant apparel which distinguished his court, the Friends still adhered to their plain and simple costume, and thus became peculiar by refusing to follow the changeable fashions of the world. They maintained that the only proper objects of dress are decency and comfort, and that useless ornaments and gaudy apparel are inconsistent with the Christian profession.

We are not informed of the precise date at which Penn became a member of the Society of Friends, but it was probably in the year 1667; and in the following year, being the 24th of his age, he felt himself called to the Gospel ministry.

One of his early biographers† speaks of his qualifications for this service as being of a high order, and we may conclude from those of his discourses which were taken down by a stenographer and are still extant, that his matter was rich in instruction, and his diction pure and forcible, without any attempt at ornament or display.

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* Related to me by J. P. of Montgomery County, Pa., who had it from James Simpson.

T. Elwood wore a sword when he first began to attend Friends meeting. See his Life.

† Life of Penn, prefixed to his works.

He soon became eminent as a minister and a writer of religious works. Many of his publications were of a controversial nature, a species of writing which, though needful at times for the correction of errors and the advancement of truth, is seldom interesting or edifying to succeeding generations, especially when tinctured with party zeal, or imbued with the prejudices of the age. He was, perhaps, as clear of these faults as any writer of his day; and if the impartial reader of his works shall find, in his controversial writings, some expressions more harsh than should be expected from his enlarged views and liberal feelings, it must be remembered that all men are liable to be influenced by the spirit of the age in which they live.

Having in the preceding chapter given a summary of the principles of Friends, it is not necessary to enter minutely into an examination of these voluminous writings; those, however, most remarkable for their merit, or for the influence they had on the events of his life may, not inappropriately, be noticed.

His first publication, issued in 1668, bears the title of "Truth Exalted;" being a call to the professors of religion of every name to cease from a dependence upon outward observances or confessions of faith, and to seek for salvation where alone it may be known, by obedience to the law of God written in the heart.

The same year a circumstance occurred which led to a controversy attended with important consequences.

Two persons belonging to the congregation of Thomas Vincent, at Spitalfields, visited a Friends' meeting, where they were convinced of the doctrines they heard, which induced them to withdraw from the meetings of their former pastor. This produced in the mind of the latter a violent animosity to Friends, of whom he spoke in the harshest terms, saying they held most erroneous and damnable doctrines, and William Penn he publicly stigmatized as a Jesuit.

This coming to the ears of Penn, he and George Whitehead, an eminent minister among the Friends, demanded an opportunity to clear themselves and the society before the same congregation where the slanders had been uttered. After some demur, Vincent appointed a day and hour for them to meet, but he called his own congregation together an hour earlier, so as to pre-occupy the house. When Penn and Whitehead arrived and heard Vincent proclaiming that the Quakers held damnable doctrines, one of them demanded that they should be heard in their own defence, but Vincent proposed that *he* should question them, which was agreed to by the congregation who were mostly his followers.

He then queried whether Friends "owned one *Godhead subsisting in three distinct and separate persons*," and objection being made to this doctrine, he proceeded to *prove* it by the following syllogism, which may serve as a specimen of the mode of argument employed in that age of religious controversy.

"There are three that bear record in heaven: the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one."

"These are either three manifestations, three operations, three substances, nor three something else besides subsistences."

"But they are not three manifestations, three operations, three substances, nor three anything else besides subsistences."

Ergo, three subsistences.

George Whitehead utterly rejected the terms as not found in Scripture, nor deducible from the place he instanced; wherefore he desired an explanation of the terms, inasmuch as God does not choose to wrap up his truths in heathenish metaphysics, but in plain language."* On the weakness of their syllogism being exposed, and the expression "*three distinct and separate persons*" being objected to as not found in the Scriptures, the audience attempted to put down the Friends, and prevent their defence by hisses, opprobrious epithets and other rude behaviour. Vincent, affecting to be shocked with the doctrines of the Friends, fell suddenly to prayer, in which he accused them of blasphemy, and that he might prevent them from defending themselves, he desired the people when he had done, to retire, setting the example himself by withdrawing from the house. The Friends being about to proceed with their defence, the others attempted to pull them down and extinguished the candles, but they still continued to speak in the dark, and many remained to hear them, until Vincent came back with a candle and dismissed the audience, after promising the Friends another hearing.

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* See Penn's Select Works. Sandy Foundation Shaken.

This promise not being fulfilled, Whitehead and Penn went to his meeting-house on a lecture day, waited till he had done, and then requested an opportunity to clear their Society of his false accusations; but he left the house, and none who were there would attend to their request.* Being thus frustrated in their efforts to obtain a hearing, Penn resorted to the press for a vindication, and published a tract with the following title: "The Sandy Foundation Shaken, or those so generally believed and applauded doctrines, of one God subsisting in three distinct and separate persons; the impossibility of God's pardoning sinners without a plenary satisfaction; the justification of impure persons by an imputative righteousness, *refuted*, from the authority of Scripture testimonies and right reason."

This work gave great offence to the clergy, and especially to the bishop of London, insomuch that an order was procured from the government for Penn's imprisonment in the Tower, where he was confined with great rigor, and his friends denied access to him.

After having been some time in prison, he was informed by his servant, that "the Bishop was resolved he should either publicly recant, or die a prisoner." He answered, "All is well: I wish they had told me so before, since the expecting of a release put a stop to some business; thou mayst tell my father, who I know will ask thee, these words: that my prison shall be my grave, before I will budge a jot; for I owe my conscience to no mortal man; I have no need to fear, God will make amends for all; they are mistaken in me; I value not their threats and resolutions, for they shall know I can weary out their malice and peevishness, and in me shall they all behold a resolution above fear; conscience above cruelty, and a baffle put to all their designs by the spirit of patience, the companion of all the tribulated flock of the blessed Jesus, who is the author and finisher of the faith that overcomes the world, yea, death and hell too. Neither great nor good things are ever attained without loss and hardships. He that would reap and not labor, must faint with the wind and perish in disappointments; but an hair of my head shall not fall without the Providence of my Father that is over all."*

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* Penn's Select Works, p. 12.

Being thus prevented from going abroad in the performance of his religious duties, he could not remain unemployed, but, like many others of his brethren, occupied the time of his imprisonment by writing on religious subjects.

The principal work produced at this time is called "No Cross, No Crown," a book that has been frequently republished, extensively read, and universally approved. It is not controversial, but practical, being intended to show the nature of true religion in its effects upon the life and conversation of men, by withdrawing them from the pomp and vanity of the world, and leading them to seek for peace and happiness in communion with God, and in deeds of charity and love. These views are illustrated by numerous quotations from the sayings and writings of the wise and good of former ages, who have left their testimony to the value of an approving conscience, and a heart at peace with God.

This work shows great erudition and research. From the excellent example of wise and good men of ancient and modern times cited in its pages, two, communicated to Penn himself, seem appropriate to this work. The first relates to "Count Oxenstiern, Chancellor of Sweden, and one of the most eminent men of the age." After his retirement from office, being visited in his retreat by Commissioner Whitlock, Ambassador to Queen

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* Penn's Life prefixed to his Select Works.

Christina, in the conclusion of their discourse, he said to the ambassador, "I have seen much, and enjoyed much of this world, but I never knew how to live till now. I thank my good God, that he has given me time to know him and to know myself. All the comfort I have, and all the comfort I take, and which is more than the whole world can give, is feeling the good spirit of God in my heart, and reading in this good book (holding up the Bible) that came from it." And further addressing himself to the ambassador, "You are now in the prime of your age and vigor, and in great favor and business; but this will all leave you, and you will one day better understand and relish what I say to you, and then you will find there is more wisdom, truth, comfort, and pleasure in retiring and turning your heart from the world to the good Spirit of God, and in reading the Bible, than in all the courts and favors of princes."

"This I had," says William Penn, "from the ambassador's own mouth more than once." A very edifying history, when we consider from whom it came; one of the greatest and wisest men of his age, while his understanding was as sound and vigorous as his experience and knowledge were great." "Bulstrode Whitlock has left his own character in his "Memorials of English Affairs," a book that shows both his employments and great abilities. He was Commissioner of the Great Seal, Ambassador to the Crown of Sweden, and sometimes President of the Council; a scholar, a lawyer, a statesman; in short, one of the most accomplished men of the age. Being with him sometimes at his own house in Berkshire, where he gave me that account I have related of Chancellor Oxenstiern, amongst many serious things he spoke, this was very observable.

"I ever have thought," said he, "there has been one true religion in the world, and that is the work of the Spirit of God in the hearts and souls of men. There have been, indeed, various forms and shapes of things, through the many dispensations of God to man, answerable to his wise ends, in reference to the low and uncertain state of man in the world; but the old world had the spirit of God, for it strove with them, and the new world has had the Spirit of God, both Jew and Gentile, and it strives with all, and they that have been led by it, have been the good people in every dispensation of God to the world. And I myself must say I have felt it from a child, to convince me of my evil and vanity, and it has often given me a true measure of this poor world, and some taste of divine things, and it is my grief I did not more early apply my soul to it; for I can say since my retirement from the greatness and hurries of the world, I have felt something of the work and comfort of it, and that it is both ready and able to instruct and lead and preserve those that will humbly and sincerely hearken to it. So that my religion is the good spirit of God in my heart; I mean, what that has wrought in and for me." And after a meeting at his house, to which he gave an entire liberty for all that pleased to come, he was so deeply affected with the testimony of the Light Spirit and grace of Christ in man, as the Gospel dispensation, that after the meeting closed in prayer, he rose up and pulled off his hat and said, "This is the everlasting Gospel I have heard this day, in which the ancient Gospel is preached to them that dwell upon the earth."

In the conclusion of this excellent work, Penn shows that they who will not take up the cross of self-denial, cannot expect to enjoy the crown of eternal glory; he refers to the holy lives of the primitive Christians, their self-sacrificing zeal for the cause of truth; and he calls upon all, but more especially upon those whose hearts have been awakened to the convictions of duty, to come away from the vanities of a perishing world.

While imprisoned in the Tower, he wrote a letter to Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, showing the illegality of his imprisonment, without trial and conviction, and the impolicy of persecuting people on account of their opinions. In this letter he says, "What if I differ from some religious apprehensions? Am I therefore incompatible with human societies? Shall it not be remembered with what success kingdoms and commonwealths have lived under the balance of divers parties?" "I know not any unfit for political society, but those who maintain principles subversive of industry, fidelity, justice and obedience;" "but to conceit that men must form their faith of things proper to another world, according to the prescriptions of other mortal men of this, is both ridiculous and dangerous."

"The understanding can never be convinced by other arguments than what are adequate to its own nature. Force may make hypocrites, but it can make no converts." "If I am at any time convinced, I will pay the homage of it to truth, and not to base hypocrisy."

In conclusion, he requests that Lord Arlington will represent his case to the King, and obtain his release, or at least the privilege of being heard in his own defence, but he adds, "I make no apology for my letter, as a trouble,—the usual style of suppliants; because I think the honor that will accrue to thee by being just, and releasing the oppressed, exceeds the advantage that can succeed to me." This letter appears to have been without effect, and he soon after published a small tract, entitled, "Innocency with her Open Face," presented by way of apology for the "Sandy Foundation Shaken."

In this tract he neither recants nor renounces any of the doctrines advanced in the former work, but believing his views had been misunderstood, he explains them, on some points, more fully. He remarks, that he has understood the principal cause of his imprisonment, was a malicious charge spread among the people, that he had *denied the Divinity of Christ*, and he proceeds to disprove this charge, by showing, from Scripture, that as "Christ is the true Light," and Saviour of men; and as "God is Light," and has proclaimed himself *the only Saviour*, therefore he asserts, *the unity of God and Christ*, because, though nominally distinguished, they are essentially the same." As for the doctrine of satisfaction, he shows that his arguments were principally levelled at the prevailing notion of the *impossibility* of God's forgiving sin upon repentance, without Christ's paying his justice, by suffering infinite vengeance and eternal wrath, for sins past, present, and to come; and he quotes from Bishop Stillingfleet to show that this eminent prelate has granted both the possibility of God's pardoning sins as debts without such a rigid satisfaction, and the impossibility of Christ's so suffering for the world, reflecting closely upon those persons as "giving so just an occasion to the Church's adversaries to think they triumph over her faith, whilst it is only over their mistakes who argue with more zeal than judgment." "One of the main ends," says Penn, "that first induced me to that discourse, I find delivered by him (Stillingfleet,) namely, If they did believe Christ came into the world to reform it, "that the wrath of God is now revealed from heaven against all unrighteousness; that his love which is shown to the world, is to deliver them from the hand of their enemies, that they might serve him in righteousness and true holiness all the days of their lives; they never could imagine that salvation is entailed by the Gospel upon a mighty confidence or vehement persuasion of what Christ hath done and suffered for them."

"Thus doth he confess upon my hypothesis or proposition, what I mainly contend for: and however positively I may reject or deny my adversaries' unscriptural and imaginary satisfaction, let all know this, that I pretend to know no other name by which remission, atonement, and salvation can be obtained, but Jesus Christ the Saviour, who is the power and wisdom of God. As for justification by an imputed righteousness, I still say, that whosoever believes in Christ, shall have remission and justification, but then it must be such a faith as can no more live without works than a body without a spirit; wherefore I conclude that true faith comprehends evangelical obedience, and here the same Doctor Stillingfleet comes in to my relief by a plain assertion of the necessity of obedience, viz. "Such who make no other condition of the gospel, but believing, ought to have a great care to keep their hearts sounder than their heads."*

This tract appears to have given satisfaction, and soon after its appearance he was released from the Tower, after having been a prisoner there nearly nine months.

In a fragment of Penn's autobiography, preserved in his own hand-writing in the archives of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, and published in the memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, (Vol. III., Part II.) we find the following memoranda relating to this portion of his life:

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* Stillingfleet's Contra Crellius, quoted by Penn, folio work, p. 26.

"The first time I went to court after I had embraced the communion I am of, was in '68. The business that engaged me was the suffering condition of my Friends in several parts of this kingdom, the cause of it tenderness of conscience, no evil fact. Those in company with me were George Whitehead, Josiah Coale, and Thomas Loe. The person went to was the Duke of Buckingham; but an application at that time did not answer our expectation, tho' in his own inclination he favored liberty of conscience.

"The second time I went to court, was the same summer, and upon the same errand, in company of G. Whitehead and Josiah Coale. We addressed ourselves to Sir Henry Berwick, then Secretary of State, with whom our business had no better success than before. I was much toucht with the sense of our Friends' many and great hardships, and the more for that they were inflicted in a Protestant country, and came from Protestant hands, and could not but think the severities they lay under, for mere conscience to God, must necessarily bring the very Protestant religion under scandal abroad. Being Protestants in all those points, wherein the very church of England might claim that title, and whose main point was a strict and holy life. This made it seem reasonable and requisite to me, to make their sufferings and them better known to those in authority: charitably hoping that if they would give themselves the leisure to be truly informed of both, they would afford them better quarter in their new country, than Stocks, Whips, Gaols, Dungeons, Præmunices, Fines, Sequestrations, and Banishment, for their peaceable dissent in matters relative to faith and worship, and accordingly I had framed a scheme to myself for that purpose. But it so fell out, that towards the close of that year I was made incapable of prosecuting the resolution I had taken, and the plan I had laid of this affair, by a close and long imprisonment in the Tower of London, for a book I writ called the 'Sandy Foundation Shaken,' occasioned by some reflections upon us and our principles, by one Tho. Vincent, a dissenting minister, because some of his congregation inclined to be of our persuasion.

"[That which engaged the Bishop of London to be warm in my persecution, was the credit some Presbyterian ministers had with him, and the mistake they improved against me, of my denying the Divinity of Christ, and the doctrine of the Trinity.]*

"I was committed the beginning of December, and was not discharged till the fall of the leaf following; wanting about fourteen days of nine months.

"As I saw very few, so I saw them but seldom, except my own father and Dr. Stillingfleet, the present Bishop of Worcester. The one came as my relation, the other at the King's command, to endeavor my change of judgment. But as I told him, and he told the King, that the Tower was the worst argument in the world to convince me, for whoever was in the wrong; those who used force for religion, never could be in the right—so neither the Doctor's arguments, nor his moving and interesting motives of the King's favor and preferment, at all prevailed; and I am glad I have the opportunity to own so publicly the great pains he took, and humanity he showed, and that to his moderation, learning, and kindness, I will ever hold myself obliged."

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* These brackets are in the original MS.

It is said that Penn's discharge from the Tower came from the King, through the intercession of his brother, the Duke of York, who afterwards took the title of James II.

This kindness on the part of the Duke, and his continued favor after he became King, produced, in the mind of Penn, a sentiment of gratitude, and a strong personal attachment, which continued through life, and subjected him to groundless suspicion and persecution, after the fall of his royal patron.

CHAPTER IV.

He visits Thomas Loe on his death-bed; Goes to Ireland on his father's business; A fragment of his autobiography; Conventicle Act; Sufferings of Friends; William Penn and William Mead taken at a meeting and committed to Newgate; Their trial at the Old Baily.

1669–70.

Soon after his release from the Tower, William Penn visited his friend Thomas Loe, under whose ministry he had first been convinced of the principles of Friends, and who was now on his death-bed. When we consider the circumstances under which these two remarkable men had met, first at Oxford, and afterwards in Ireland, the change that had taken place in the manners and character of Penn, his conspicuous standing in the ranks of a persecuted sect, his undaunted courage in advocating his principles, and his meekness in suffering for them; we can readily conceive that this last meeting between the dying minister and his disciple, must have been peculiarly solemn and impressive.

Thomas Loe had been extensively and successfully engaged in the ministry of the Gospel, and now that the close of life drew nigh, he looked forward to the prospect of death with cheering hope and confidence that it would be to him the entrance into endless joy. To a Friend he said, "I am near leaving you, I think, but am as well in my spirit as I can desire: I bless the Lord I never saw more of the glory of God, than I have done this day." And to William Penn, he addressed the following exhortation: "Bear the cross, and stand faithful to God; then he will give thee an everlasting crown of glory, that shall not be taken from thee. There is no other way that shall prosper than that which the holy men of old have walked in. God hath brought immortality to light, and life immortal is felt. Glory, glory to him, for he is worthy of it. His love overcomes my heart, nay, my cup runs over; glory be to his name forever." Thus rejoicing in the Divine presence, he died the death of the righteous, whose end is peace.

About this time, the asperity that Admiral Penn had manifested towards his son began to abate, owing probably to his sympathy for him, during his imprisonment in the Tower, and the admiration that his courage and fidelity could not fail to inspire.

Although he would not yet condescend to an open reconciliation with his son, he informed him through his mother, that he might return to Ireland and execute a commission for him.

William proceeded with alacrity to fulfil his father's wishes, cheered and encouraged with the prospect of again being restored to his favor without having relinquished his principles.

In the fragment of autobiography, before alluded to, he says, "within six weeks after my enlargement (from the Tower), I was sent by my father to settle his estate in Ireland, when I found those of that kingdom under too general persecution, and those of the City of Cork almost all in prison, and the gaol by that means became a meeting house and a work-house, for they would not be idle anywhere. I was sorry to see so much sharpness from English to English, as well as Protestants to Protestants, when their interest was civilly and nationally the same, and their profession of religion fundamentally so too. Having informed myself of their case, and the grounds of this severity, as near as they could inform me, (which without doubt was at least as much from envy about trade, as zeal for religion,) I adjourned all private affairs to my return from Dublin, whither in a few days I went post, and after conferring with my friends at that city, and digesting the whole into a general state of our case, I went with two or three of them to the castle, and—" Here there is a hiatus in his narrative, but it appears from Gough's history of the Friends, that in the autumn of the year 1669, during this visit of Penn to Ireland, the half-year's meeting of Friends was held in his lodgings, where an account of the sufferings of the members of the society was drawn up in an address to the lord lieutenant and presented to him. After repeated applications, an order of council was obtained for the release of those who were imprisoned.*

While in Ireland he wrote a letter to the "young convinced," that is to those who had lately joined the society of Friends, or been convinced of its principles.

The following passages will serve to illustrate its character and spirit. He says, "In the tender love of Jesus Christ I earnestly salute you, let us no more look back upon our ancient pastimes and delights, but with holy resolution press on, press on; for they will steal away our precious souls, beget new desires, raise the old life, and finally ensnare and pollute our minds again; and what will be the end of such rebellion, but woes and tribulations from the hand of a just God, world without end. Neither let us enter into many reasonings with opposers, for that is the life which God's power is revealed to slay. It is the still, the quiet, and the righteous life, which must be exalted over all. And this I say in a sound understanding through the mercies of the Lord, that deadness, darkness, and anguish of spirit, will be the end of such disputing, pragmatical Christians, whose religion consists more in words than works; confessing then forsaking; and in their own will performances and external observations, than in the reformation and conversion of their souls to God. And we who have known something more of the Lord, may also reduce our good conditions to an utter loss, by seeking to comprehend dubious matters in our understandings, and disputing about them with every opposer, whom the devil, in a way of temptation, shall present to us, which does no way advance our growth and increase in the noble principles of truth."*

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* Gough ii. 479, and Life of Penn prefixed to his works.

Having completed his business in Ireland he returned to England in the year 1670, when a reconciliation with his father took place, which, as well to his mother as himself, was a source of heart-felt satisfaction. In this year was renewed the noted "Conventicle Act," which was professedly against "seditious conventicles," but really intended to suppress all religious meetings, conducted "in *any other manner* than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England." It had been first suggested by some of the bishops. The chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury had previously printed a discourse against toleration, in which he asserted as a main principle, that, "it would be less injurious to the government to dispense with profane and loose persons, than to allow toleration to religious dissenters."†

"This act," says Thomas Ellwood, "broke down and overrun the bounds and banks anciently set for the security of Englishmen's lives, liberties, and properties; namely, trials by jury, instead thereof, authorizing justices of the peace (and that too, privately, out of sessions) to convict, fine, and by their warrants, distrain upon offenders against it, directly contrary to the Great Charter."‡ There is a remarkable clause in this act, which shows the bitter spirit of persecution then existing in the House of Commons. It provides, "that in case of any doubt arising about the interpretation of it, the act shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppression of Conventicles," thus violating one of the plainest maxims of civil policy, which requires that in criminal prosecutions, the prisoner should always have the advantage of such doubts.

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* Select works, Folio. p. 156.

† Clarkson's Life of Penn, chap. vi. and Penn's Preface to his trial.

‡ Ellwood's Life.

The chief burden of this persecuting statute fell upon Friends, for it was their practice to keep up their meetings for divine worship at stated times and places; as though no such law existed, for they held that no human authority could exempt them from openly avowing their allegiance to God by that mode of worship, to which they believed that he had called them; whereas, many others among the dissenters, stooped for the storm to pass over them, by changing the places of their meetings, and holding them at unusual times.*

It was not long before Penn was made to feel the force of this arbitrary law, for on going to the meeting at Grace-church street, he found the house guarded by a band of soldiers. He and other Friends not being permitted to enter, gathered about the doors, where, after standing some time in silence, he felt it his duty to preach, but had not proceeded far, when he and another of the society, William Mead, were arrested by the constables, who produced warrants from Sir Samuel Starling the Mayor of London, dated August the 14th, 1670.

They were conducted by the officers to a place of confinement in Newgate market, as related in the following letter.

WILLIAM PENN TO HIS FATHER.

"Second day morning, 15th of 6th mo. (August) 1670.

"MY DEAR FATHER:

"This comes by the hand of one who can best allay the trouble it brings. As true as ever Paul said, that such as live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution, so for no other reason am I at present a sufferer. Yesterday I was taken by a band of soldiers, with one Capt. Mead, a linen draper, and in the evening carried before the Mayor; he proceeded against me according to the ancient law; he told me I should have my hat pulled off, for all I was Admiral Penn's son. I told him that I desired to be in common with others, and sought no refuge from the common usage. He answered, it had been no matter if thou hadst been a commander twenty years ago. I discoursed with him about the hat; he avoided it, and because I did not readily answer him my name, William, when he asked me in order to a mittimus, he bid his clerk write one for Bridewell, and there would he see me whipped himself, for all I was Penn's son, that starved the seamen. Indeed these words grieved me, as well as that it manifested his great weakness and malice to the whole company, that were about one hundred people. I told him I could very well bear his severe expressions to me concerning myself, but was sorry to hear him speak those abuses of my father, that was not present, at which the assembly seemed to murmur. In short, he committed that person with me as rioters; and at present we are at the sign of the Black Dog, in Newgate market.

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* Ellwood and Gough.

"And now, dear father, be not displeased nor grieved. What if this be designed of the Lord for an exercise of our patience? I am sure it hath wonderfully laid bare the nakedness of the Mayor. Several Independents were taken from Sir J. Dethicks, and Baptists elsewhere. It is the effect of a present commotion in the spirits of some, which the Lord God will rebuke; and I doubt not but I may be at liberty in a day or two, to see thee. I am very well, and have no trouble upon my spirits, besides my absence from thee, especially at this juncture, but otherwise I can say, I was never better; and what they have to charge me with is harmless. Well, eternity, which is at the door, (for he that shall come will come, and will not tarry,) THAT shall make amends for all. The Lord God everlasting consolate and support thee by his holy power, and preserve to his eternal rest and glory. Amen.

"Thy faithful and obedient son,
"WILLIAM PENN.*

"My duty to my mother.
"For my dear father, Sir William Penn."

The trial, as related in the published works of Penn, is deeply interesting, and resulting as it did, in the greater security and more firm establishment of civil liberty in England, is deemed worthy of insertion here.

There being present on the Bench as Justices:

Saml. Starling,	Mayor,	John Robinson,	Alderman,
John Howell,	Recorder,	Joseph Shelden,	"
Thos. Bludworth,	Alderman,	Richard Brown,	Sheriffs.
Wm. Peak,	"	John Smith,	
Richd. Ford,	"	James Edwards,	

The citizens of London that were summoned for Jurors, appearing, were empanneled, viz:

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* Friend, vi. 170.

Clerk.—Call over the jury.

Cryer.—O yes, Thomas Veer, Ed. Bushell, John Hammond, Charles Wilson, Gregory Walklet, John Brightman, Wm. Plumstead, Henry Henley, James Damask, Henry Michel, Wm. Lever, John Baily.

THE FORM OF THE OATH.

You shall well and truly try, and true deliverance make betwixt our Sovereign Lord the King, and the prisoners at the bar, according to your evidence; so help you God.

THE INDICTMENT.

That William Penn, gent., and William Mead, late of London, linen-draper, with divers other persons, to the jurors unknown, to the number of three hundred, the 15th day of August, in the 22nd year of the King, about eleven of the clock in the forenoon, the same day with force and arms, &c., in the Parish of St. Bennet, Grace-Church, in Bridge-Ward, London, in the street called Grace-Church Street, unlawfully and tumultuously did assemble and congregate themselves together, to the disturbance of the peace of the said Lord the King; and the aforesaid William Penn and William Mead, together with other persons, to the jurors aforesaid unknown, then and there so assemble and congregate together; the aforesaid William Penn, by agreement between him and William Mead, before made, and by abetment of the aforesaid Wm. Mead, then and there, in the open street, did take upon himself to preach and speak, and then, and there, did preach and speak, unto the aforesaid Wm. Mead, and other persons there, in the street aforesaid, being assembled and congregated together, by reason whereof a great concourse and tumult of people in the street aforesaid, then and there a long time did remain and continue, in contempt of the said Lord the King, and of his law; to the great disturbance of his peace, to the great terror and disturbance of many of his liege people and subjects, to the ill example of all others in the like case offenders, and against the peace of the said Lord the King, his crown and dignity.

What say you, Wm. Penn and Wm. Mead, are you guilty, as you stand indicted, in the manner and form as aforesaid, or not guilty?

Penn.—It is impossible that we should be able to remember the indictment verbatim, and therefore we desire a copy of it, as is customary on the like occasions.

Recd.—You must first plead to the indictment, before you have a copy of it.

Penn.—I am unacquainted with the formality of the law, and, therefore, before I shall answer directly, I request two things of the court, First, That no advantage may be taken against me, nor I deprived any benefit which I might otherwise have received. Secondly, That you will promise me a fair hearing and liberty of making my defence.

Court.—No advantage shall be taken against you, you shall have liberty, you shall be heard.

Penn.—Then I plead not guilty in manner and form.

Clerk.—What sayst thou, Wm. Mead; art thou guilty in manner and form, as thou stand'st indicted, or not guilty?

Mead.—I shall desire the same liberty as granted to Penn.

Court.—You shall have it.

Mead.—Then I plead not guilty in manner and form.

The Court adjourned until afternoon.

Cry.—O yes, &c.

Clerk.—Bring Wm. Penn and Wm. Mead to the bar.

Observer.—The said prisoners were brought, but were set aside, and other business prosecuted; where we cannot choose but observe, that it was the constant and unkind practice of the court to the prisoners, to make them wait upon the trials of felons and murderers, thereby designing, in all probability, both to affront and tire them.

After five hours' attendance the court broke up, and adjourned to the third instant.

The third of September, 1670, the court sat.

Cry.—O yes, &c.

Mayor.—Sirrah, who bid you put off their hats? Put on their hats again.

Obser.—Whereupon one of the officers, putting the prisoners' hats upon their heads, (pursuant to the order of the Court,) brought them to the bar.

Record.—Do you know where you are?

Penn.—Yes.

Recd.—Do you know it is the King's court?

Penn.—I know it to be a court, and I suppose it to be the King's court.

Recd.—Do you know there is respect due to the court?

Penn.—Yes.

Recd.—Why do you not pay it then?

Penn.—I do so.

Recd.—Why do you not put off your hat then?

Penn.—Because I do not believe that to be respect.

Recd.—Well, the court sets forty marks a-piece upon your heads, as a fine, for your contempt of the court.

Penn.—I desire it may be observed, that we came into the court with our hats off, (that is, taken off,) and if they have been put on since, i was by order from the bench; and therefore, not we, but the bench should be fined.

Mead.—I have a question to ask the Recorder; am I fined also?

Recd.—Yes.

Mead.—I desire the jury and all the people to take notice of this injustice of the Recorder, who spake not to me to pull off my hat, and yet hath he put a fine upon my head. O, fear the Lord and dread his power, and yield to the guidance of this Holy Spirit; for He is not far from every one of you.

The Jury sworn again.

Obser.—J. Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, disingenuously objected against Edward Bushell, as if he had not kissed the book, and therefore would have him sworn again; though indeed it was on purpose to have made use of his tenderness of conscience, in avoiding reiterated oaths, to have put him, by his being a juryman, apprehending him to be a person not fit to answer their arbitrary ends.

The clerk read the indictment as aforesaid.

Clerk.—Cryer, call James Cook into the court, give him his oath.

Clerk.—James Cook, lay your hand upon the book: "The evidence you shall give the court betwixt our Sovereign the King and the prisoners at the bar, shall be the truth, and the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; so help you God."

Cook.—I was sent for from the exchange, to go and disperse a meeting in Gracious street, where I saw Mr. Penn speaking to the people, but I could not hear what he said, because of the noise; I endeavored to make way to take him, but I could not get to him for the crowd of people; upon which Captain Mead came to me, about the kennel of the street, and desired me to let him go on; for when he had done, he would bring Mr. Penn to me.

Court.—What number do you think might be there?

Cook.—About three or four hundred people.

Court.—Call Richard Read, give him his oath.

Read being sworn, was asked, What do you know concerning the prisoners at the bar?

Read.—My Lord, I went to Gracious street, where I found a great crowd of people, and I heard Mr. Penn preach to them, and I saw Capt. Mead speaking to Lieutenant Cook, but what he said I could not tell.

Mead.—What did Wm. Penn say?

Read.—There was such a great noise, that I could not tell what he said.

Mead.—Jury, observe this evidence: he saith he heard him preach, and yet saith, he doth not know what he said.

Jury, take notice, he swears now a clean contrary thing, to what he swore before the Mayor, when we were committed: for now he swears that he saw me in Gracious streets, and yet he swore before the Mayor, when I was committed, that he did not see me there. I appeal to the Mayor himself, if this be not true; but no answer was given.

Court.—What number do you think might be there?

Read.—About four or five hundred.

Penn.—I desire to know of him what day it was?

Read.—The 14th day of August.

Penn.—Did he speak to me, or let me know he was there; for I am very sure I never saw him.

Clerk.—Cryer, call —— —— into the court.

Court.—Give him his oath.

—— ——.—My Lord, I saw a great number of people, and Mr. Penn, I suppose, was speaking; I saw him make a motion with his hands, and heard some noise, but could not understand what he said; but for Capt. Mead, I did not see him there.

Recd.—What say you, Mr. Mead? Were you there?

Mead.—It is a maxim in your own law, nemo tenetur accusare seipsum, which, if it be not true Latin, I am sure that it is true English, that no man is bound to accuse himself. And why dost thou offer to ensnare me with such a question? Doth not this shew thy malice? Is this like unto a judge, that ought to be counsel for the prisoner at the bar?

Recd.—Sir, hold your tongue, I did not go about to ensnare you.

Penn.—I desire we may come more close to the point, and that silence be commanded in the court.

Cry.—O yes, all manner of persons keep silence, upon pain of imprisonment,—silence in the court.

Penn.—We confess ourselves to be so far from recanting, or declining to vindicate the assemblage of ourselves to preach, pray, or worship the Eternal, Holy, Just God, that we declare to all the world, that we do believe it to be our indispensable duty, to meet incessantly upon so good an account; nor shall all the powers upon earth be able to divert us from reverencing and adoring our God, who made us.

Brown.—You are not here for worshipping God, but for breaking the law; you do yourselves a great deal of wrong in going on in that discourse.

Penn.—I affirm I have broken no law, nor am I guilty of the indictment that is laid to my charge: and to the end, the bench, the jury, and myself, with those that hear us, may have a more direct understanding of this procedure, I desire you would let me know by what law it is you prosecute me, and upon what law you ground my indictment.

Recd.—Upon the common law.

Penn.—What is that common law?

Recd.—You must not think that I am able to run up so many years, and over so many adjudged cases, which we call common law, to answer your curiosity.

Penn.—This answer, I am sure, is very short of my question; for if it be common, it should not be so hard to produce.

Recd.—Sir, will you plead to your indictment?

Penn.—Shall I plead to an indictment that hath no foundation in law? If it contain that law you say I have broken, why should you decline to produce that law, since it will be impossible for the jury to determine or agree to bring in their verdict, who hath not the law produced, by which they should measure the truth of this indictment, and the guilt or contrary of my fact.

Recd.—You are a saucy fellow; speak to the indictment.

Penn.—I say it is my place to speak to matter of law; I am arraigned a prisoner; my liberty, which is next to life itself, is now concerned; you are many mouths and ears against me, and if I must not be allowed to make the best of my case, it is hard: I say again, unless you shew me, and the people, the law you ground your indictment upon, I shall take it for granted, your proceedings are merely arbitrary.

Obsr.—(At this time several upon the bench urged hard upon the prisoner, to bear him down.)

Recd.—The question is, whether you are guilty of this indictment?

Penn.—The question is not whether I am guilty of this indictment, but whether this indictment be legal. It is too general and imperfect an answer, to say it is the common law, unless we knew both where and what it is; for where there is no law, there is no transgression, and that law which is not in being, is so far from being common, that it is no law at all.

Recd.—You are an impertinent fellow; will you teach the Court what law is? It's lex non scripta, that which many have studied thirty or forty years to know, and would you have me tell you in a moment?

Penn.—Certainly, if the common law be so hard to be understood, it's far from being very common: but if the Lord Cook in his Institutes be of any consideration, he tells us that common law is common right; and that common right is the great charter privileges, confirmed 9 Hen. III. 29; 25 Edw. I. 1; 2 Edw. III. 8; Cook's Insts. 2, p. 56.

Recd.—Sir, you are a troublesome fellow, and it is not for the honor of the court to suffer you to go on.

Penn.—I have asked but one question, and you have not answered me; though the rights and privileges of every Englishman be concerned in it.

Recd.—If I should suffer you to ask questions till to-morrow morning, you would be never the wiser.

Penn.—That's according as the answers are.

Recd.—Sir, we must not stand to hear you talk all night.

Penn.—I design no affront to the court, but to be heard in my just plea; and I may plainly tell you, that if you will deny me the oyer of that law, which you suggest I have broken, you do at once deny me an acknowledged right, and evidence to the world your resolution to sacrifice the privileges of Englishmen to your sinister and arbitrary designs.

Recd.—Take him away; my Lord, if you take not some course with this pestilent fellow, to stop his mouth, we shall not be able to do any thing to-night.

Mayor.—Take him away, take him away! turn him into the Bale-dock.

Penn.—These are but so many vain exclamations; is this justice or true judgment? Must I, therefore, be taken away because I plead for the fundamental laws of England? However, this I leave upon your consciences, who are of the jury, (and my sole judges,) that if these ancient fundamental laws, which relate to liberty and property, (and are not limited to particular persuasions in matters of religion,) must not be indispensably maintained and observed, who can say he hath a right to the coat upon his back? Certainly, our liberties are openly to be invaded; our wives to be ravished; our children slaved; our families ruined; and our estates led away in triumph by every sturdy beggar and malicious informer, but our (pretended) forfeits for conscience-sake; the Lord of heaven and earth will be judge between us in this matter.

Recd.—Be silent there.

Penn.—I am not to be silent in a case wherein I am so much concerned; and not only myself, but many ten thousand families besides.

Obser.—They having rudely haled him in the Bale-dock, Wm. Mead they left in the court, who spake as followeth:

Mead.—You men of the jury, here I do now stand to answer to an indictment against me, which is a bundle of stuff full of lies and falsehoods; for therein I am accused, that I met, vi and armis, illicite and tumultuouse. Time was when I had freedom to use a carnal weapon, and then I thought I feared no man; but now I fear the living God, and dare not make use thereof, nor hurt any man; nor do I know I demeaned myself as a tumultuous person. I say I am a peaceable man, therefore it is a very proper question what Wm. Penn demanded in this case, an oyer of the law on which our indictment is grounded.

Recd.—I have made answer to that already.

Mead, turning his face to the jury, said, you men of the jury, who are my judges, if the Recorder will not tell you what makes a riot, a rout or an unlawful assembly, Cook, (he that once they called) the Lord Cook, tells us what makes a riot, a rout, and an unlawful assembly,—a riot is, when three or more are met together to beat a man, or to enter forcibly into another man's land, to cut down his grass, his wood, or break down his pales.

Obsr.—Here the Recorder interrupted him, and said, I thank you, sir, that you will tell me what the law is?—scornfully pulling off his hat.

Mead.—Thou mays't put on thy hat, I have never a fee for thee now.

Brown.—He talks at random, one while an Independent, another while some other religion, and now a Quaker, and next a Papist.

Mead.—Turpe est doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum.

Mayor.—You deserve to have your tongue cut out.

Recd.—If you discourse on this manner, I shall take occasion against you.

Mead.—Thou didst promise me I should have fair liberty to be heard. Why may I not have the privileges of an Englishman? I am an Englishman, and you might be ashamed of this dealing.

Recd.—I look upon you to be an enemy to the laws of England, which ought to be observed and kept, nor are you worthy of such privileges as others have.

Mead.—The Lord is judge between me and thee in this matter.

Obsr.—Upon which they took him away into the Bale-dock, and the Recorder proceeded to give the jury their charge, as followeth:

Recd.—You have heard what the indictment is; it is for preaching to the people, and drawing a tumultuous company after them; and Mr. Penn was speaking. If they should not be disturbed, you see they will go on; there are three or four witnesses that have proved this, that he did preach there, that Mr. Mead did allow of it; after this you have heard, by substantial witnesses, what is said against them. Now we are upon the matter of fact, which you are to keep to and observe as what hath been fully sworn, at your peril.

Obsr.—The prisoners were put out of the court into the Bale-dock, and the charge given to the jury in their absence, at which Wm. Penn, with a very raised voice, it being a considerable distance from the bench, spake,

Penn.—I appeal to the jury, who are my judges, and this great assembly, whether the proceedings of the court are not most arbitrary, and void of all law, in offering to give the jury their charge in the absence of the prisoners; I say it is directly opposite to, and destructive of the undoubted right of every English prisoner, as Cook in the 2 Inst. 29, on the chapter of Magna Charter, speaks.

Obser.—The Recorder being thus unexpectedly lashed for his extra-judicial procedure, said, with an enraged smile,

Recd.—Why ye are present, you do hear; do you not?

Penn.—No thanks to the court, that commanded me into the Bale-dock; and you of the jury take notice, that I have not been heard, neither can you legally depart the court, before I have been fully heard, having at least ten or twelve material points to offer, in order to invalidate their indictment.

Recd.—Pull that fellow down; pull him down.

Mead.—Are these according to the rights and privileges of Englishmen, that we should not be heard, but turned into the Bale-dock for making our defence, and the jury to have their charge given them in our absence? I say these are barbarous and unjust proceedings.

Recd.—Take them away into the hole; to hear them talk all night, as they would, I think doth not become the honor of the court; and I think you, (i. e. the jury,) yourselves, would be tired out, and not have patience to hear them.

Obsr.—The jury were commanded up to agree upon their verdict, the prisoners remaining in the stinking hole; after an hour and half's time, eight came down agreed, but four remained above; the court sent an officer for them, and they accordingly came down. The bench used many unworthy threats to the four that dissented; and the Recorder, addressing himself to Bushell, said, Sir, you are the cause of this disturbance, and manifestly shew yourself an abettor of faction. I shall set a mark upon you, sir.

J. Robinson.—Mr. Bushell, I have known you near this fourteen years; you have thrust yourself upon this jury, because you think there is some service for you; I tell you, you deserve to be indicted more than any man that hath been brought to the bar this day.

Bushell.—No, Sir John, there were threescore before me, and I would willingly have got off, but could not.

Bludw.—I said, when I saw Mr. Bushell, what I see is come to pass; for I knew he would never yield. Mr. Bushell, we know what you are.

Mayor.—Sirrah, you are an impudent fellow, I will put a mark upon you.

Obsr.—They used much menacing language, and behaved themselves very imperiously to the jury, as persons not more void of justice, than sober education. After this barbarous usage, they sent them to consider of bringing in their verdict, and after some considerable time, they returned to the court. Silence was called for, and the jury called by their names.

Clerk.—Are you agreed upon your verdict?

Jury.—Yes.

Clerk.—Who shall speak for you?

Jury.—Our foreman.

Clerk.—Look upon the prisoners at the bar. How say you? Is Wm. Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands indicted, in manner and form, or not guilty?

Foreman.—Guilty of speaking in Gracious street.

Court.—Is that all.

Foreman.—That is all I have in commission.

Recd.—You had as good say nothing.

Mayor.—Was it not an unlawful assembly? You mean, he was speaking to a tumult of people there?

Foreman.—My Lord, this was all I had in commission.

Obsr.—Here some of the jury seemed to buckle to the question of the court, upon which Bushell, Hammond, and some others, opposed themselves, and said, they allowed of no such word as an unlawful assembly, in their verdict, at which the Recorder, Mayor, Robinson, and Bludworth, took great occasion to vilify them, with most opprobrious language; and this verdict not serving their turns, the Recorder expressed himself thus:

Recd.—The law of England will not allow you to depart, till you have given in your verdict.

Jury.—We have given in our verdict, and we can give in no other.

Recd.—Gentlemen, you have not given your verdict, and you had as good say nothing; therefore go and consider it once more, that we may make an end of this troublesome business.

Jury.—We desire we may have pen, ink, and paper.

Obsr.—The court adjourns for half an hour; which, being expired, the court returns, and the jury not long after. The prisoners were brought to the bar, and the jurors' names called over.

Clerk.—Are you agreed of your verdict?

Jury.—Yes.

Clerk.—Who shall speak for you?

Jury.—Our foreman.

Clerk.—What say you? Look upon the prisoners. Is Wm. Penn guilty in manner and form, as he stands indicted, or not guilty?

Foreman.—Here is our verdict; holding forth a piece of paper to the clerk of the peace, which follows:

We, the jurors, hereafter named, do find Wm. Penn to be guilty of speaking or preaching to an assembly, met together in Gracious street, the 14th of August last, 1670, and that Mr. Mead is not guilty of the said indictment.

Foreman, Thomas Veer,
Edw. Bushell,
John Hammond,
Henry Henly,
Henry Michel,
John Brightman,
Chas. Milson,
Gregory Walklet,
John Bailey,
Wm. Lever,
Jas. Damask,
Wm. Plumstead.

Obsr.—This both Mayor and Recorder resented at so high a rate, that they exceeded the bounds of all reason and civility.

Mayor.—What, will you be led by such a silly fellow as Bushell, an impudent, canting fellow? I warrant you, you shall come no more upon juries in haste. You are a foreman indeed, (addressing himself to the foreman,) I thought you had understood your place better.

Recd.—Gentlemen, you shall not be dismist till we have a verdict the court will accept; and you shall be locked up without meat, drink, fire, and tobacco. You shall not think thus to abuse the court; we will have a verdict, by the help of God, or you shall starve for it.

Penn.—My jury, who are my judges, ought not to be thus menaced; their verdict should be free, and not compelled; the bench ought to wait upon them, but not forestall them; I do desire that justice may be done me, and that the arbitrary resolves of the bench may not be made the measure of my jury's verdict.

Recd.—Stop that prating fellow's mouth, or put him out of the court.

Mayor.—You have heard that he preached; that he gathered a company of tumultuous people; and that they do not only disobey the martial power, but the civil also.

Penn.—It is a great mistake, we did not make the tumult, but they that interrupted us. The jury cannot be so ignorant as to think that we met there with a design to disturb the civil peace, since (1st) we were by force of arms kept out of our lawful house, and met as near it in the street as the soldiers would give us leave; and (2d) because it was no new thing, (nor with the circumstances exprest in the indictment, but what was usual and customary with us,) 'tis very well known that we are a peaceable people, and cannot offer violence to any man.

Obsr.—The court being ready to break up, and willing to huddle the prisoners to their jail, and the jury to their chamber, Penn spake as follows:

Penn.—The agreement of twelve men is a verdict in law, and such a one being given by the jury, I require the clerk of the peace to record it, as he will answer at his peril. And if the jury bring in another verdict contrary to this, I affirm they are perjured men in law; (and looking upon the jury, said:) You are Englishmen, mind your privilege; give not away your right.

Bushell, &c.—Nor will we ever do it.

Obsr.—One of the jurymen pleaded indisposition of body, and therefore desired to be dismissed.

Mayor.—You are as strong as any of them; starve, then, and hold your principles.

Recd.—Gentlemen, you must be content with your hard fate; let your patience overcome it; for the court is resolved to have a verdict, and that before you can be dismist.

Jury.—We are agreed, we are agreed, we are agreed.

Obsr.—The court swore several persons to keep the jury all night, without meat, drink, fire, or any other accommodation.

Cryr.—O yes, &c.

Obsr.—The court adjourned till seven of the clock next morning (being the 4th inst., vulgarly called Sunday), at which time the prisoners were brought to the bar, the court sat, and the jury called in to bring in their verdict.

Cryr.—O yes, &c. Silence in the court, upon pain of imprisonment.

The juries names called over.

Clerk.—Are you agreed upon your verdict?

Jury.—Yes.

Clerk.—Who shall speak for you?

Jury.—Our foreman.

Clerk.—What say you? look upon the prisoners at the bar. Is William

Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands indicted, in manner and form as aforesaid, or not guilty?

Foreman.—William Penn is guilty of speaking in Gracious street.

Mayor.—To an unlawful assembly?

Bushell.—No, my lord, we give no other verdict than what we gave last night; we have no other verdict to give.

Mayor.—You are a factious fellow; I'll take a course with you.

Bludw.—I knew Mr. Bushell would not yield.

Bushell.—Sir Thomas, I have done according to my conscience.

Mayor.—That conscience of yours would cut my throat.

Bushell.—No, my lord, it never shall.

Mayor.—But I will cut yours as soon as I can.

Recd.—He has inspired the jury; he has the spirit of divination; methinks I feel him; I will have a positive verdict, or you shall starve for it.

Penn.—I desire to ask the Recorder one question: Do you allow of the verdict given of William Mead?

Recd.—It cannot be a verdict, because you are indicted for a conspiracy; and one being found not guilty, and not the other, it could not be a verdict.

Penn.—If not guilty be not a verdict, then you make of the jury and Magna Charta but a mere nose of wax.

Mead.—How? Is not guilty no verdict?

Recd.—No, 'tis no verdict.

Penn.—I affirm that the consent of a jury is a verdict in law; and if William Mead be not guilty, it consequently follows that I am clear, since you have indicted us of a conspiracy, and I could not possibly conspire alone.

Obsr.—There were many passages which could not be taken which passed between the jury and the court. The jury went up again, having received a fresh charge from the bench, if possible to extort an unjust verdict.

Cryr.—O yes, &c. Silence in the court.

Court.—Call over the jury: which was done.

Clerk.—What say you? Is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands indicted, in manner and form aforesaid, or not guilty?

Foreman.—Guilty of speaking in Gracious street.

Recd.—What is this to the purpose? I say I will have a verdict. And speaking to E. Bushell, said, you are a factious fellow; I will set a mark upon you; and whilst I have anything to do in the city, I will have an eye upon you.

Mayor.—Have you no more wit than to be led by such a pitiful fellow? I will cut his nose.

Penn.—It is intolerable that my jury should be thus menaced; is this according to the fundamental law? Are not they my proper judges by the Great Charter of England? What hope is there of ever having justice done when juries are threatened and their verdict rejected? I am concerned to speak, and grieved to see such arbitrary proceedings. Did not the Lieutenant of the Tower render one of them worse than a felon? And do you not plainly seem to condemn such for factious fellows who answer not your ends? Unhappy are those juries, who are threatened to be fined, and starved, and ruined, if they give not in their verdict contrary to their consciences.

Recd.—My Lord, you must take a course with that same fellow.

Mayor.—Stop his mouth; jailor, bring fetters, and stake him to the ground.

Penn.—Do your pleasure; I matter not your fetters.

Recd.—Till now I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards, in suffering the Inquisition among them; and certainly it will never be well with us till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England.

Obsr.—The jury being required to go together to find another verdict, and steadfastly refusing it, (saying they could give no other verdict than what was already given,) the Recorder, in great passion, was running off the bench, with these words in his mouth: I protest I will sit here no longer to hear these things. At which the Mayor calling, Stay, stay, he returned, and directed himself unto the jury, and spake as followeth:

Recd.—Gentlemen, we shall not be at this pass always with you. You will find the next session of Parliament there will be a law made that those that will not conform shall not have the protection of the law. Mr. Lee, draw up another verdict that they may bring it in special.

Lee.—I cannot tell how to do it.

Jury.—We ought not to be returned, having all agreed, and set our hands to the verdict.

Recd.—Your verdict is nothing; you play upon the court; I say you shall go together and bring in another verdict, or you shall starve; and I will have you carted about the city, as in Edward the Third's time.

Foreman.—We have given in our verdict and all agree to it, and if we give in another, it will be a force upon us to save our lives.

Mayor.—Take them up.

Officer.—My Lord, they will not go up.

Obsr.—The Mayor spoke to the Sheriff, and he came off his seat, and said:

Sher.—Come, gentlemen, you must go up; you see I am commanded to make you go.

Obsr.—Upon which the jury went up, and several were sworn to keep them without any accommodation, as aforesaid, till they brought in their verdict.

Cryr.—O yes, &c. The court adjourns till to-morrow morning at seven of the clock.

Obsr.—The prisoners were remanded to Newgate, where they remained till next morning, and then were brought into court, which being sat, they proceeded as followeth:

Cryr.—O yes, &c. Silence in court upon pain of imprisonment.

Clerk.—Set William Penn and William Mead to the bar. Gentlemen of the jury answer to your names: Thos. Veer, Edw. Bushell, John Hammond, Henry Henly, Henry Michel, John Brightman, Chas. Milson, Gregory Walklet, John Baily, Wm. Lever, James Damask, Wm. Plumstead, are you all agreed of your verdict?

Jury.—Yes.

Clerk.—Who shall speak for you?

Jury.—Our foreman.

Clerk.—Look upon the prisoners: What say you, is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands indicted, in manner and form, &c., or not guilty?

Foreman.—You have there read in writing already our verdict, and our hands subscribed.

Obsr.—The Clerk had the paper, but was stopped by the Recorder from reading it; and he commanded to ask for a positive verdict.

Foreman.—If you will not accept of it, I desire to have it back again.

Court.—That paper was no verdict, and there shall be no advantage taken against you by it.

Clerk.—How say you? Is William Penn guilty, &c., or not guilty?

Foreman.—Not guilty.

Clerk.—How say you? Is William Mead guilty, &c., or not guilty?

Foreman.—Not guilty.

Clerk.—Then harken to your verdict: you say that William Penn is not guilty in manner and form as he stands indicted; you say that William Mead is not guilty in manner and form as he stands indicted, and so you say all.

Jury.—Yes, we do so.

Obsr.—The bench being unsatisfied with the verdict, commanded that every person should distinctly answer to their names, and give in their verdict, which they unanimously did, in saying, Not guilty, to the great satisfaction of the Assembly.

Recd.—I am sorry, gentlemen, you have followed your own judgments and opinions rather than the good and wholesome advice which was given you. God keep my life out of your hands; but for this the court fines you forty marks a man, and imprisonment till paid; at which Penn stept forward towards the bench, and said:

Penn.—I demand my liberty, being freed by the jury.

Mayor.—No you are in for your fines.

Penn.—Fines for what?

Mayor.—For contempt of the court.

Penn.—I ask if it be according to the fundamental laws of England, that any Englishman should be fined or amerced but by the judgment of his peers or jury? since it expressly contradicts the fourteenth and twenty-ninth chapter of the Great Charter of England which says, No freeman ought to be amerced, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage.

Recd.—Take him away, take him away, take him out the court.

Penn.—I can never urge the fundamental laws of England but you cry, Take him away, take him away; but 'tis no wonder, since the Spanish Inquisition hath so great a place in the Recorder's heart. God Almighty, who is just, will judge you all for these things.

Obsr.—They haled the prisoners to the Bale-dock, and from thence sent them to Newgate for the non-payment of their fines: and so were their jury.

While in Newgate prison William wrote the following affectionate letters to his father, who was then in a declining state of health.

WILLIAM PENN TO HIS FATHER.

"5th, 7th (Sept.) 1670.

"Dear Father,

"Because I cannot come, I write. These are to let thee know that this morning about seven we were remanded to the sessions. The jury, after two nights and two days being locked up, came down and offered their former verdict, but that being refused as not so positive, they explained themselves in answering, not guilty, upon which the bench were amazed, and the whole court so satisfied, that they made a kind of hymn, but that the Mayor, Recorder Robinson, &c., might add to their malice, they fined us to the number of about twelve of us, for not pulling off our hats, and kept us prisoners for the money. An injurious trifle which will blow over, or we shall bring it to the common pleas, because it was against law, and not by a jury sessed.

"How great a dissatisfaction three of their actions have begot, may very reasonably be conjectured from the bare mention of them. 1st. That the jury was about six times rejected in their verdict: and besides, vain, fruitless, illegal menaces, were kept two days and two nights without bed, tobacco, provisions, &c. 2nd. That a session should be held on first-day, (the design we know.) 3rd. That the jury, the only judges by law, should be fined 40 marks each, and to be prisoners till they have paid it, and that without any jury to pass upon them. However, their verdict is accepted for us, because they did not dare deny it.

"This is the substance. The circumstances I shall personally relate, if the Lord will. I am more concerned at thy distemper, and the pains that attend it, than at my own mere imprisonment, which works for the best.

I am, dear father, thy obedient son,

"WM. PENN."*

WILLIAM PENN TO HIS FATHER.

"Newgate, 6, 7th, 1670.

"DEAR FATHER:—I desire thee not to be troubled at my present confinement, I could scarce suffer on a better account, nor by a worse hand, and the will of God be done. It is more grievous and uneasy to me that thou shouldst be so heavily exercised, God Almighty knows, than any living worldly concernment. I am clear by the jury, and they in my place—they are resolved to lay until they get out by law; and they, every six hours, demand their freedom by advice of counsel.

"They have so overshot themselves,† that the generality of people much detest them. I intreat thee not to purchase my liberty. They will repent them of their proceedings. I am now a prisoner notoriously against law. I desire the Lord God, in fervent prayer, to strengthen and support thee, and anchor thy mind in the thoughts of the immutable blessed state, which is over all perishing concerns.

"I am, dear father, thy obedient son,

"WILLIAM PENN.‡

WILLIAM PENN TO HIS FATHER.

"Newgate, 7th Sept., 1670.

"DEAR FATHER:—To say I am truly grieved to hear of thy present illness, are words that might be spared, because I am confident they are better believed.

"If God in his holy will did see it meet that I should be freed, I could heartily embrace it; yet considering I cannot be free, but upon such terms as strengthening their arbitrary and base proceedings, I shall rather choose to suffer any hardship.

"I am persuaded some clearer way will suddenly be found out to obtain my liberty, which is no way so desirable to me, as on the account of being with thee. I am not without hopes that the Lord will sanctify the endeavors of thy physician unto a cure, and then much of my worldly solicitude will be at an end. My present restraint is so far from being humor, that I would rather perish than release myself by so indirect a course as to satiate their revengeful, avaricious appetites. The advantage of such a freedom would fall very short of the trouble of accepting it.

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* Friend, vii. p. 59.

† The Court.

‡ Friend, vol. vii. p. 59.

"Solace thy mind in the thoughts of better things, dear father. Let not this wicked world disturb thy mind, and whatever shall come to pass, I hope in all conditions to approve myself thy obedient son,

"WILLIAM PENN."*

CHAPTER V.

Sickness of Admiral Penn; Release of William Penn from prison; Interview with his Father; Dying expressions of the Admiral; His death and epitaph; William Penn's controversy with Ives; Letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford; Publishes his "Caveat against Popery;" Is arrested at meeting; His examination before Sir J. Robinson; Imprisonment in Newgate; Description of that Prison; His tract on "Liberty of Conscience."

1670–1.

The life of Admiral Penn was now drawing to its close. His constitution had been impaired by hard service, changes of climate and anxiety; and for some months he had been confined to his bed by sickness. As the mists of time began to roll away, and the light of eternity to dawn upon his mind, he found, that in his eager pursuit of worldly glory, he had only been pursuing shadows, while the substantial enjoyments that flow from a soul united to God, had long been hidden from him. His heart now yearned towards his son, who was still in prison for his faithful adherence to religious duty. In order to obtain his release, he sent the money privately to pay his fine and that of his companion in bonds.

The meeting between the father and son must have been deeply moving to both; and their sentiments, which were once so wide asunder, had been brought into near agreement by the change that had taken place in the father's mind.

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* Friend, vi. 179.

The more he saw of his son, the more he esteemed him for his sincerity, his uniform kindness, and his entire devotion to his sense of duty. He could not but acknowledge that in renouncing the honors of the world and assuming the cross, William had chosen that better part which could not be taken from him. He was sensible that while the persecuting laws remained in force, his son would be exposed to many sufferings; and he sent one of his friends to the Duke of York with his dying request, that he would endeavor to protect him, and use his influence with the King on his behalf. The answer was encouraging; both the King and the Duke promising to comply with his request.

Sensible of his approaching end, he addressed his son in these words: "Son William, I am weary of the world! I would not live over my days again if I could command them with a wish; for the snares of life are greater than the fears of death. This troubles me, that I have offended a gracious God.

"The thought of that has followed me to this day. Oh! have a care of sin! It is that which is the sting both of life and death. Three things I commend to you:

"First. Let nothing in this world tempt you to wrong your conscience; so you will keep peace at home, which will be a feast to you in the day of trouble.

"Secondly. Whatever you design to do, lay it justly and time it seasonably, for that gives security and dispatch.

"Lastly. Be not troubled at disappointments, for if they may be recovered, do it; if they cannot, trouble is vain. If you could not have helped it, be content; there is often peace and profit in submitting to Providence: for afflictions make wise. If you could have helped it, let not your trouble exceed instruction for another time.

"These rules will carry you with firmness and comfort through this inconstant world."

At another time he inveighed against the profaneness and impiety of the age, and expressed his apprehensions that divine judgments would fall upon England on account of the wickedness of her nobility and gentry. Just before he died, looking with composure at his son, he said: "Son William, if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world. Bury me by my mother. Live in love. Shun all manner of evil, and I pray God to bless you all, and he will bless you."*

Thus died Admiral Penn, a man who had been satiated with worldly honors, whose greatest disappointment in the meridian of his career was the religious disposition of his son, and whose highest consolation in the evening of his day, was to behold that same son walking in the path of self-denial, and dedicating his heart to the service of God.

The following inscription on the monument erected to his memory, in the City of Bristol, gives a succinct account of his rapid promotions and brilliant career:

"To the just memory of Sir William Penn, Knight and sometimes General, born at Bristol, Anno. 1621, son of Captain Giles Penn, several years consul for the English in the Mediterranean, of the Penns of Penslodge, in the County of Wilts, and those Penns of Penn in the County of Bucks, and by his mother from the Gilberts in the County of Somerset, originally from Yorkshire; addicted from his youth to maritime affairs. He was made Captain at the years of 21, Rear-Admiral of Ireland at 23, Vice-Admiral of Ireland at 25, Admiral to the Straights at 29, Vice-Admiral of England at 31, and General in the first Dutch war at 32. Whence returning Anno 1655, he was Parliament-man for the town of Weymouth; 1660, made Commissioner of the Admiralty and navy, Governor of the town and fort of Kingsail, Vice-Admiral of Munster, and a member of that Provincial Council; and Anno 1664 was chosen Great Captain Commander under his Royal Highness in that signal and most evidently successful fight against the Dutch fleet. Thus he took leave of the sea, his old element, but continued still his other employs till 1669, at what time, through bodily infirmities contracted by the care and fatigue of public affairs, he withdrew, prepared and made for his end; and with a gentle and even gale, in much peace, arrived and anchored in his last and best port, at Wanstead, in the County of Essex, the 16th of September, 1670, being then but 49 and 4 months old.

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* No Cross no Crown, ch. xxi., 2d ed. 1681.

"To his name and memory his surviving lady hath erected this remembrance."

At his father's death, William Penn came into the possession of an ample estate, affording an annual income of about fifteen hundred pounds. This enabled him to contribute liberally to charitable purposes, and there is abundant evidence to show that throughout life, he made use of his wealth for the benefit of others, rather than to promote his own ease or indulgence.

About this time he again appeared before the public in defence of his principles. A dissenting preacher by the name of Ives, in a discourse from the pulpit, had cast injurious reflections upon the society of Friends, and upon Penn in particular. Being thus unjustly assailed, he demanded of Ives an opportunity to clear himself of the charges, and a time was fixed for a public controversy at a meeting to be held at West Weycomb.

At the time appointed, Jeremy Ives (a brother of the assailant) appeared on behalf of his sect, and Penn was in readiness to meet him.

According to the rules of controversy then in use, the assailant was to speak first; accordingly, Ives proceeded with a string of syllogisms which he had brought ready prepared; and when he had exhausted his stock, he came down and left the house with a few of his followers, but the greater part remained to hear Penn's refutation; which was satisfactory to most of the company. Ives being mortified to find that many of the company remained to hear his opponent, returned and expressed his disapprobation of their conduct, which only tended to increase their disgust.*

Soon after this controversy Penn visited Oxford, where finding that many of his brethren in religious profession had been cruelly persecuted, through the instigation of the Vice-Chancellor of the University, he addressed that officer a letter of severe reproof, and expostulation.†

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* Ellwood's Life, p. 131.

† Penn's Life, prefixed to his works, ix.

The measures pursued by this high functionary to ensnare and punish the dissenters, were of the most treacherous and disgraceful kind. He employed an unprincipled man to go among the Friends, Baptists, and other non-conformists, pretending to be of their communion; and when he had induced them, in conversation, to express themselves incautiously, he would accuse them of treasonable language, and have them prosecuted.* There was no class of men so much disliked by the heads of universities and the higher ranks of the clergy, as the Friends, for their doctrines struck at the very root of the hierarchy, then so powerful in Great Britain.

It had been the policy of the clergy and heads of colleges, to inculcate the opinion, among the people, that none but those who had received a collegiate education, and a regular ordination by a bishop, were authorized to preach the Gospel; hence, they stigmatized the Independents, the Baptists, and some other dissenters, as dangerous schismatics; but the Friends were still more obnoxious to their censure, for they denied the absolute necessity of human learning to qualify a minister of the Gospel; maintaining that a gift from on high was sufficient, and, moreover, that this gift being received freely, should be exercised without fee or reward from man.

In the year 1670, Penn wrote and published a tract called, "A seasonable caveat against Popery," being an answer to a pamphlet entitled, "An explanation of the Roman Catholic belief." In this tract he treats of the Roman Catholic doctrines relative to the Scriptures, the Trinity, prayer to saints and angels, justification by merits, the eucharist, prayers in latin, and for the dead, &c. Showing that for many of their principles and practices, there is no authority in the Scriptures, nor in the example of the primitive church. But although he thought it his duty to caution the public against the inroads of Catholic doctrines, yet he declares, in his introductory remarks, that nothing is further from his purpose than "incensing the civil magistrate against them (were such a thing possible) for he was himself a friend to an universal toleration of faith and worship." Notwithstanding this tract and many other passages in his writings, showing his strong opposition to Papal doctrines, he was frequently accused of being a Catholic, and even a Jesuit; so much were his enemies straitened to find cause of accusation against him.

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* Gough's History, ii 344. Ellwood's Life, 182.

In the latter part of this year, being at a meeting in Wheeler Street, a sergeant, with soldiers, came and waited at the door until he stood up to preach, when the sergeant came in, pulled him down from his place, and taking him into the street delivered him to a constable and his assistant, who took him to the Tower. Here he was kept, and a message sent to Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, by whose order he had been arrested. In the evening the lieutenant, in company with Sir Samuel Starling, Sir John Shelden, and others, came to the Tower and proceeded to an examination, of which the following account has been given by an eye-witness.

Sir John Robinson —What is this person's name?*

Constable.—Mr. Penn, sir.

J. R.—Is your name Penn?

W. P.—Dost thou not know me? Hast thou forgot me?

J. R.—I do not know you; I do not desire to know such as you are.

W. P.—If not, why didst thou send for me hither?

J. R.—Is that your name, sir?

W. P.—Yes, yes, my name is Penn; thou knowest it is. I am not ashamed of my name.

J. R.—Constable, where did you find him?

Const.—At Wheeler Street, at a meeting, speaking to the people.

J. R.—You mean he was speaking to an unlawful assembly?

Const.—I do not know indeed, sir; he was there and he was speaking.

J. R.—Give them their oaths.

W. P.—Hold, do not swear the man; there is no need of it, I freely acknowledge I was at Wheeler Street, and that I spake to an assembly of people there.

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* The mittimus was already made, and his name put in.

J. R., and several others.—He confesses it.

W. P.—I do so, I am not ashamed of my testimony.

J. R.—No matter, give them their oaths.* Mr. Penn, you know the law better than I can tell you, and you know these things are contrary to the law.

W. P.—If thou believest me to be better known in the law than thyself, hear me, for I know no law I have transgressed. All laws are to be considered strictly and literally, or more explanatorily, and lenitively. In the first sense, the execution of many laws may be *extrema injuria*, the greatest wrong; in the latter, wisdom and moderation. I would have thee make that part thy choice.

Now, whereas, I am probably to be tried by the late act against Conventicles, I conceive it doth not reach me.

J. R.—No, sir, I shall not proceed upon that law.

W. P.—What then? I am sure that law was intended for the standard on these occasions.

J. R.—The Oxford Act of six months.

W. P.—That, of all laws, cannot concern me, for first, I was never in orders, neither episcopally nor classically, and one of them is intended by the preamble of the act.

J. R.—No, no, any that speak in unlawful assemblies, and you spoke in an unlawful assembly.

W. P.—Two things are to be considered. First, that the words "such as speak in any unlawful assemblies," alter the case much; for such is relative of the preamble, and cannot concern prisoners in any other qualification, than under some ordination or mark of priesthood. I am persuaded thou knowest I am no such person; I was never ordained, nor have I any particular charge or stipend, that may entitle me to such a function, and, therefore, I am wholly unconcerned in the word "such." Secondly, an unlawful assembly, is too general a word; the act doth not define to us what is meant by an unlawful assembly.

J. R.—But other acts do.

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* They were sworn to answer such questions as should be asked, upon which they gave the evidence before given by the constable.

W. P.—That is not to the purpose, for that may be an unlawful assembly in one act that may, by circumstances, not be so adjudged in another; and it is hard that you will not stick to some one act or law, but to accomplish your ends, borrow a piece out of one act to supply the defects of another, and of a different nature from it.

J. R.—Will you swear? will you take the oath that the act requires of you?

W. P.—This is not to the purpose.

J. R.—Read him the oath.

THE OATH.

I, W. P. do swear, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king, and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms, by his authority, against his person, or against those that are commissionated by him, in pursuance of such commissions, and that I will not at any time endeavor any alteration of government, either in church or state.

J. R.—Will you take it?

W. P.—What need I take an oath not to do that it is my faith not to do, so far as concerns the king?

Lieut. Price.—Then swear it.

W. P.—The oath, in that respect, is already answered to all intents and purposes, for if I cannot fight against any man, (much less against the king,) what need I take an oath not to do it? Should I swear not to do what is already against my conscience to do?

J. R.—You will not take the oath then?

W. P.—What if I refuse the oath, not because of the matter contained in it, (which only can criminate in the sense of the act,) but of scrupling any oath? Shall I, therefore, be committed to prison. This is most unequal. It was about *fighting*, the oath and act were designed, and not taking of oaths: therefore, the denying to swear when there is a denial to fight or plot, is no equitable ground for commitment.

J. R.—Do you refuse to swear?

W. P.—Yes, and that upon better grounds than those for which thou wouldst have me swear, if thou wilt please to hear me.

J. R.—I am sorry you should put me upon this severity, it is no pleasant work to me.

W. P.—These are but words; it is manifest this is a prepense malice: thou hast several times laid the meetings for me, and this day in particular.

J. R.—No, I profess I could not tell you would be there.

W. P.—Thine own corporal told me, that you had intelligence at the Tower, that I would be at Wheeler Street to-day, almost as soon as I knew it myself. It is disingenuous and partial, I never give thee occasion for such unkindness.

J. R.—I knew no such thing; but if I had, I confess I should have sent for you.

W. P.—That might have been spared, I do heartily believe it.

J. R.—I vow, Mr. Penn, I am sorry for you; you are an ingenious gentleman, all the world must allow you, and do allow you that, and you have a plentiful estate. Why should you render yourself unhappy by associating with such a simple people.

W. P.—I confess I have made it my choice to relinquish the company of those that are ingeniously wicked, to converse with those that are more honestly simple.

J. R.—I wish you wiser.

W. P.—And I wish thee better.

J. R.—You have been as bad as other folks.

W. P.—When, and where? I charge thee to tell the company to my face.

J. R.—Abroad, and at home too.

Sir John Sheldon (as is supposed).—No, no, Sir John, that is too much, (or words to that purpose.)

W. P.—I make this bold challenge to all men, women and children upon earth, justly to accuse me of ever having seen me drunk, heard me swear, utter a curse, or speak one obscene word, (much less that I ever made it my practice). I speak this to God's glory, that has ever preserved me from the power of those pollutions, and that from a child begat an hatred in me towards them. But there is nothing more common than when men are of a more severe life than ordinary, for loose persons to comfort themselves with the conceit, "that they were once as they are," as if there were no collateral, or oblique line of the compass, or globe, men may be said to come from, to the *arctic* pole; but directly and immediately from the *antarctic.* Thy words shall be thy burden, and I trample thy slander as dirt under my feet.

J. R.—Well, Mr. Penn, I have no ill will towards you; your father was my friend, and I have a great deal of kindness for you.

W. P.—But thou hast an ill way of expressing it. You are grown too high to consider the plea of those you call your forefathers, for liberty of conscience against the Papists, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Bradford, &c. It was then plea good enough, "my conscience won't let me go to mass," and "my conscience wills that I should have an English Testament."

But that single plea for separation, *then reasonable*, is now by you that pretend to succeed them, adjudged unreasonable and factious.

I say, since the only just cause of the first revolt from Rome, was a dissatisfaction in point of conscience, you cannot reasonably persecute others who have right to the same plea, and allow that to be warrantable.

J. R.—But you do nothing but stir up the people to sedition: and there was one of your friends that told me you preached sedition, and meddled with the government.

W. P.—We have the unhappiness to be misrepresented, and I am not the least concerned therein. Bring me the man that will dare to justify this accusation to my face, and if I am not able to make it appear that it is both my practice and all my friends to instil principles of peace and moderation, (and only war against spiritual wickedness, that all men may be brought to fear God and work righteousness), I shall contentedly undergo the severest punishment all your laws can expose me to.

As for the King, I make this offer, that if any living can make it appear, directly or indirectly, from the time I have been called a Quaker, (since from thence you date me seditious), I have contrived or acted anything injurious to his person, or the English government, I shall submit my person to your utmost cruelties, and esteem them all but a due recompense. It is hard that I, being innocent, should be reputed guilty; but the will of God be done. I accept of bad report as well as good.

J. R.—Well, I must send you to Newgate for six months; and when they are expired you will come out.

W. P.—Is that all? Thou well knowest a larger imprisonment has not daunted me. I accept it at the hand of the Lord, and am contented to suffer his will. Alas! you mistake your interest; you will miss your aim; this is not the way to compass your ends.

J. R.—You bring yourself into trouble; you will he the heading of parties, and drawing people after you.

W. P.—Thou mistakest: there is no such way as this to render men remarkable. You are angry that I am considerable; and yet you take the very way to make me so, by making this bustle and stir about one peaceable person.

J. R.—I wish your adhering to these things do not convert you to something at last.

W. P.—I would have thee and all other men to know that I scorn that religion which is not worth suffering for, and able to sustain those that are afflicted for it; mine is, and whatever may be my lot for my constant profession of it, I am no ways careful, but resigned to answer the will of God, by the loss of goods, liberty, and life itself. When you have all, you can have no more; and then, perhaps, you will be contented, and by that you will be better informed of our innocency. Thy *religion persecutes*, and mine *forgives;* and I desire my God to forgive you all that are concerned in my commitment, and I leave you all in perfect charity, wishing your everlasting salvation.

J. R.—Send a corporal with a file of musqueteers along with him.

W. P.—No, no, send thy laquey; I know the way to Newgate.

This being the second time, within three months, that Penn had been committed to Newgate, it may not be uninteresting to the reader to inquire what was then the condition of that celebrated prison, and the general character of its inmates? At that period the attention of the British nation had not been awakened to the condition of her prisons; the philanthropy of Howard had not yet been employed "to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain," nor had the angelic spirit of Elizabeth Fry yet visited those gloomy cells to instruct the ignorant, and call the degraded to penitence and prayer.

Thomas Ellwood, a cotemporary of Penn, who had himself been immured in the same prison, describes Newgate as the loathsome and pestilential abode of misery and crime.

For refusing to swear, he and many other Friends were committed and thrust into the "common side," which, he says, "is generally accounted, and really is, the worst part of that prison not so much from the place as the people, it being usually stocked with the veriest rogues and meanest sort of felons and pickpockets, who, not being able to pay chamber rent on the master's side, are thrust in there."* "When we came there," says Ellwood, "we found that side of the prison very full of Friends, who were prisoners there before, (as, indeed, were at that time all other parts of that prison, and most of the other prisons about town), and our addition caused a great throng on that side; notwithstanding which, we were kindly welcomed by our friends whom we found there, and kindly entertained by them, as well as their condition would admit, until we could get in our own accommodations, and provide for ourselves.

"We had the liberty of the hall, (which is on the first story over the gate, and which in the day-time is common to all the prisoners on that side, felons as well as others, to walk in, and to beg out of), and we had also the liberty of some other rooms over the hall to walk or to work in a-days; but in the night we all lodged in one room, which was large and round, having in the middle of it a great pillar of oaken timber, which bore up the chapel that is over it. To this pillar we fastened our hammocks at the one end, and to the opposite wall on the other end, quite round the room, and in three degrees or three stories high, one over the other; so that they who lay in the upper and middle row of hammocks were obliged to go to bed first, because they were to climb up to the higher, by getting into the lower; and under the lower rank of hammocks, by the wall sides, were laid beds upon the floor, in which the sick and such weak persons as could not get into the hammocks lay; and, indeed, though the room was large and pretty airy, yet the breath and steam that came from so many bodies of different ages, conditions and constitutions, packed up so close together, was enough to cause sickness amongst us, and I believe did so, for there were many sick, and some very weak. Though we were not long there, yet in that time one of our fellow-prisoners, who lay in one of those pallet-beds, died.

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* Ellwood's Life, p. 90–94.

"A coroner's inquest being held over the body of the deceased, one of the jury insisted upon being shown the room where he had died; this was granted by the keeper with great reluctance, and when the jury came to the door, the foreman who led them, lifting up his hands, said, Lord bless me, what a sight is here? I did not think there had been so much cruelty in the hearts of Englishmen, to use Englishmen in this manner! We need not now question (said he to the rest of the jury) how this man came by his death: we may rather wonder that they are not all dead, for this place is enough to breed an infection among them."*

From a letter of Penn, addressed to the sheriff of London during his imprisonment at Newgate, it may be inferred that he and his friends had hired lodgings in another part of the prison, but owing to the ill treatment they received from the jailors, they determined to go into the common jail among the felons, rather than submit to their extortions and abuse.

In the conclusion of his letter, he says, "we are not willing to be bondsmen at our own cost, not for *the value* of the house rent and other additional expenses, but for our testimony against the insulting menaces and extortions of some of the jailors, who would cast us into the common stinking jail! and therefore are resolved to undergo that severity."†

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* Ellwood's Life.

† Life of Penn, prefixed to his works.

How intense must have been the intolerance and bigotry of that age! when a man of Penn's refined feelings, accomplished manners, and amiable deportment, could be thus cast into a noisome prison among felons and vagabonds, merely because he asserted the right to worship God according to his own convictions of duty.

During the six months of his imprisonment, he found useful employment for his pen, and wrote several religious tracts, the most important of which is entitled, "The great cause of Liberty of Conscience once more briefly Debated and Defended by the Authority of Reason, Scripture, and Antiquity."

This work evinces ability and erudition, as well as the most enlarged Christian charity.

It is not deemed necessary here to analyze its contents; for although much needed at the time of its publication, none of its positions would be controverted now. We should, however, bear in mind that this and other writings of Penn, having the same object, exerted a powerful influence in preparing the public mind for that change of policy in regard to toleration, which he afterwards had the happiness to see adopted by the British government.

While in Newgate he learned that the government was about to enact further laws to enforce the Conventicle Act, and increase its severity. This drew from him a respectful but spirited remonstrance, addressed "to the High Court of Parliament," in which, after stating the great sufferings already endured by dissenters, and especially "by the poor, the widows, and the fatherless," he proceeds to state some of the principles of Friends in relation to civil government.

First. That "they owned civil government as God's ordinance, for the punishment of evil-doers and the praise of them that do well," and though they could not comply with those laws which prohibited them from worshiping God according to their consciences; believing it to be His alone prerogative to preside in matters of faith and worship, "yet they were ready to yield obedience to every ordinance relating to human affairs."

Secondly. They deny and renounce, as horrible impiety, all plots and conspiracies.

Thirdly. That in all revolutions they had demeaned themselves peaceably, notwithstanding the numerous provocations they had received.

Fourthly. That it was their fixed resolution to continue the same, and where they could not *actually obey*, they would *patiently suffer*.

And finally, he desired, if these reasons were not satisfactory, that Parliament would grant them a hearing, as they had "many reasons to offer against such severe proceedings."

When the time of his imprisonment had expired, he was set at liberty, and he then resumed his religious labours; passed over into Holland, and visited some parts of Germany, in order to preach the Gospel, but no particular account of this visit appears to have been preserved.

CHAPTER VI.

His marriage; Travels as a Minister; Declaration of Indulgence issued by Charles II.; Effect of it on Dissenters; Controversial tracts; Penn's Christian Quaker; Public discussion with Thomas Hicks and others; Letter from William Penn to George Fox; Letter of Dr. Henry Moore; Controversy with John Perrot; Letter to Friends in Maryland.

1672–73.

After his return from his first religious visit on the Continent, Penn, then in his twenty-eighth year, entered into the married state. The object of his choice, was Gulielma Maria Springett, daughter of Sir William Springett, formerly of Darling in Sussex, who was killed in the civil wars, at the siege of Bamber. His widow was afterwards married to Isaac Pennington, and they having embraced the doctrine of Friends, Gulielma, while under their care, was convinced of the same principles, and also became a member. She was not only beautiful in person, but was esteemed a woman of extraordinary merit and great sweetness of temper. Penn considered it "a match of Providence's making," and says, "she loved him with a deep and upright love, choosing him before all her many suitors."*

Soon after their marriage, they went to live at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire. Being now settled in the most agreeable manner, with a wife for whom he always cherished the most tender affection, and in possession of an ample estate, which must have claimed a considerable share of his attention, we yet do not find him desisting from his religious labors or taking up his rest in temporal enjoyments.

In the summer of 1672, he took a journey to visit the meetings of Friends in the counties of Kent, Sussex and Surrey; during which, his own memorandums furnish an evidence of great industry in his ministerial labors. In the space of three weeks he and his companion attended meetings at twenty-one different places, in which he was enabled to labor in the work of the ministry with satisfaction and success.

After speaking of their last meeting on that journey as being a season of divine consolation and refreshment, he concludes with this acknowledgment: "And thus hath the Lord been with us in all our travels for His truth, and with His blessings of peace are we returned, which is a reward beyond all worldly treasure."†

In this year (1672) Charles II. issued a "declaration of indulgence," by which the penal laws against non-conformists were suspended. This act, which appears in itself commendable, was far from being satisfactory to the nation, on account of the great extension of the king's prerogative implied in it; for he expressly stated in his proclamation, that it was granted "*by virtue of his supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters*," and it was generally believed that his object was to favor the Papists, to whose communion he was supposed to be secretly attached.

As the king's declaration granted to dissenters no more than they believed to be their natural and indefeasible right, they were, generally, not backward in accepting its provisions, although disposed to protest against this arbitrary and dangerous exercise of power, by which the monarch undertook to set aside the laws of the realm without the concurrence of parliament.

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* See his letter to his children.

† Life, prefixed to his works.

The friends now began to enjoy a short respite from persecution, and upwards of four hundred who were in prison for nonconformity, were immediately restored to their families. But this season of toleration was the means of exciting among some of the dissenting ministers a greater disposition to attack the society of Friends, than they had hitherto manifested. While the penal laws to enforce uniformity and suppress Conventicles, were so barbarously executed, certain sects among the dissenters exercised what they called "Christain prudence," in holding their meetings but seldom, or at such times and places as would be least suspected. By this means the Friends were exposed to bear the brunt of the persecution, for they would not abandon their meetings, and when their meeting-houses were pulled down, they met upon the ruins; even the children among them assembled to keep up the meetings after their parents were sent to prison.

This fidelity and perseverance had a wonderful effect in spreading their principles; for a religion which could arm its votaries with such fortitude and self-sacrificing zeal, must, it was thought, be founded in sincerity and truth. Hence, many persons from among the other dissenting societies, were induced to come among them and embrace their principles.* The ministers finding their flocks deserting them, as soon as the sunshine of toleration brought them out from their hiding places, took up their pens to controvert, and in many cases to misrepresent, the principles of the society. To answer these attacks, afforded Penn much employment during the first year of his residence at Rickmansworth.

As most of the tracts written at this time refer to publications and circumstances now almost forgotten, it seems scarcely necessary to refer to them, further than to remark, that his answers were written with ability, and were thought to be serviceable to the cause of truth.

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* Gough, ii 368.

On sending one of his tracts to Justice Fleming, Deputy Lieutenant in Westmoreland, Penn wrote him a letter, in which, after acknowledging a kindness the justice had done to his wife some years before, he remarks, "I know of no religion that destroys courtesy and kindness, which, rightly understood, are great indications of true men, if not of good Christians."*

In the year 1673, accompanied by his wife and George Whitehead, an eminent minister of the society, he visited the western part of England. At Bristol, during the great fair, they were joined by George Fox, who had just returned from America, whither he had gone on a religious mission. Great meetings were held in Bristol, and many were convinced of the principles of Friends.

About this time, Thomas Hicks, a dissenting preacher, wrote a pamphlet called "A dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker," in which he misrepresented the principles of Friends, by putting such silly and unsound expressions into the mouth of his pretended Quaker, that they were easily confuted; yet it was written with so much art, as to make the public believe it was the report of a dialogue with a real Friend. Penn, in order to counteract its effect, wrote the first part of his "Christian Quaker, and his Divine Testimony Vindicated," in which he treats of "the light of Christ within, the great principle of God in man, the root and spring of divine life and knowledge in the soul, that by which salvation is effected for man, and which is the characteristic of the people called Quakers; their faith and testimony to the world." In this able and excellent work, he maintains the universality of divine grace, and its sufficiency for man's salvation, which he proves conclusively from the Scriptures; and corroborates by the testimony of many among the Gentiles, who were enlightened by it, and who "held and practised high sanctity of life."†

It was not long, before Hicks published a second part of his dialogue between a Quaker and a Christain, and then a third part, all in the same strain of misrepresentation. Penn answered these in two books, the first, entitled "Reason against Railing," the other, "The counterfeit Christain Detected," in which he exposed the perversions of Hicks, and explained the principles of Friends.

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* Life, prefixed to his works.

† Select works, folio, 223, 237.

But some members of the society were not disposed to let the matter end here. They thought Hicks had taken an unfair advantage, by palming off upon the public a counterfeit Quaker, and they appealed to his own society to give them an opportunity to clear their profession of the odium cast upon it. This was at length agreed to, and they named a time for a meeting to be held at their meeting-house in London, but the Friends objected to the time proposed, as Penn and Whitehead were at a distance on a religious journey, and could not attend. The others persisted in holding the meeting at that time, and there being a great attendance on their side and but very few Friends, Hicks was declared to be acquitted by a majority of voices.

On the return of Penn and Whitehead, they protested against this unfair proceeding, and with much difficulty got another meeting appointed at the same place. When the parties met, Thomas Ellwood read the charges against Hicks, but his partisans, instead of allowing those charges to be investigated, commenced an attack on the doctrines of Friends, as stated in Penn's Christian Quaker.

A long debate ensued, in which the principal speakers, on the part of Hicks, were Jeremy Ives, William Kiffin, Thomas Hicks, Thomas Plant and Robert Ferguson; and on the part of the Friends, George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, William Penn and George Keith. A sketch of this debate is preserved in Sewell's History of Friends. It was attended by several thousand people, and continued till night without coming to any decision.* One of the points at issue, related to the person of Christ, as may be seen by the following fragment of a letter from William Penn to George Fox, inserted in Clarkson's Life of Penn.

> "Thy fatherly love," says he, "and tender care, I do with all gentleness and true respect, receive; but thou shalt understand the occasion of our answer, wherein we stated that, 'the holy manhood was a member of the Christ of God.' The question was, 'if the manhood were a part of

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* Sewell, ii. 216.

Christ?' To this, we must either have answered nothing, or only a Scripture, or in the terms of the question, which we did.

"If we had answered nothing, we had gratified the enemy, stumbled the moderate, and grieved friends.

"If a Scripture, it had been no way satisfactory; for the question, they would have said, was not about the text, but about the understanding of it; and they would have charged us with so wresting it to a mystical sense, as to shut out the person that appeared in the flesh; so that if we had answered them in any of those Scriptures, they would have asked, in all probability, what man do you mean? the spiritual and heavenly man? the new creature or creation; or that outward man, that was outwardly born of the Virgin in Palestine, and was there outwardly crucified? If we had said no, we had been lost. That they would have put a mystical construction, on our words, if we had not answered them plainly, that is, by what we understood by the Scripture rather than by the Scripture itself, I have cause to believe, because the same person that proposed the question thus expounded, after the meeting, our belief in Christ, 'that he was born of a virgin, that is, of a virgin-nature and spirit; crucified, that is, slain by sin in us; rose, that is, rose up to rule us, and the like'—making the people believe, that we denied that person, that outwardly appeared, to be the true Christ.

"Further, if we had answered in the terms of the question, we had taken Christ into PARTS, whereas I cried twice to them, 'Christ is not to be divided into parts.' But they still pressed the question, six thousand people, I believe, being present, and many of them were desirous of an answer. Upon this, Friends consented that it should be answered them, 'that the manhood was a part of Christ.' But I feared the word PART, and chose rather to say, that we believed the holy manhood to be a MEMBER of the Christ of God, and my reasons for so doing were these; first, what needed we to grant more than was asked? Friends only desired to have us grant that the manhood was a part of Christ, in order to overthrow T. Hick's attempts to prove us no Christians; and that was of so great moment in that solemn and great assembly as tongue cannot utter. Secondly, since we were willing to go no further in our confessions than they asked at our hands, this was my reason for rejecting the word PART for MEMBER, to wit, that a body may be taken into members without a breach of union, but not into parts. A member divides not: parts divide, Christ is called the head, that is, the most noble member, the Church the body, and particulars are styled members of that body. Now calling these members, DIVIDES THEM NOT INTO PARTS. Thirdly, I did not say, it was BUT a member, and I often repeated, that it was OF AND BELONGING TO CHRIST, and in my confession at the close I said, that we believed in Christ, BOTH AS HE WAS THE MAN JESUS, AND GOD OVER ALL, BLESSED FOR EVER. And I am sure that Paul divides him more than we did (Rom. ix. 5), since he makes a distinction between Christ as God, and Christ as man.

Now if that hold, the one was not completely Christ without the other, as said these Baptists. Therefore, G. K. said, that he was most excellently called so, as God less excellently as man, and least excellently as to his body. We might truly say then, that the BODY WAS A MEMBER, OR BELONGING TO THE TRUE CHRIST; and if we had said more, we had gone too far, as I have learned. But, blessed be the Lord, I have not sought to comprehend or imagine; but as I am furnished upon the occasion, so it goes. I value the invisible touches and feelings of heavenly virtue and life beyond it all, nor am I delighted with these matters: but, dear George, I confess I never heard any Friend speak so fully as to Christ's manhood as thyself. I think so much in print, in our name as a people, would remove much prejudice, and the contest would come more to power against power, than words against words; only we must remember, that Christ is said to have been in the wilderness, and to have brought the people out of Egypt. If so, then he was Christ before he was born of the Virgin, and the Apostles say that Christ is God, and that all things were made by him; though doubtless the great and glorious appearance might, by way of eminency, most properly deserve and require that title. As for those gross terms of HUMAN FLESH and HUMAN BLOOD, I never spoke or wrote them since I knew the Lord's truth. And this I must needs say, we have been as poor tossed sheep, up and down, much abused, villified and belied: but over all God is raising the strong horn of his salvation; and he has magnified his name in all these bustles and stirs; and truth has manifestly gotten ground, and in no one thing, more than our plain confessions of Christ: so much had the devil roosted and nestled himself in them under their misapprehensions of our words in that particular; and if any weakness attended the phrasing of it, I hope and believe the simplicity in which it was delivered will hide it from the evil watcher." (Here the first sheet of the letter ends, the second being lost.)

Some time previous to the discussion with Hicks, an Independent preacher, named John Faldo, had written a book entitled, "Quakerism no Christianity."

Faldo now republished his work, and called together a council of divines who accompanied it by a commendatory preface, prepared by their joint labors.

An answer to this enlarged edition was prepared by Penn, under the title, "A just rebuke to one and twenty learned and reverend divines." This production coming into the hands of Dr. Henry Moore, a learned and pious member of the established church, he wrote a letter to Penn, in which he expresses himself thus:—

> "Indeed, meeting with the little pamphlet of yours, newly come out, wherein some twenty and odd learned and reverend divines are concerned, I had the curiosity to buy and read it: and though I wish there were no occasion for these controversies and contests betwixt those who have left the church of Rome; yet I found such a taste both of wit and seriousness in that pamphlet, and the argument it was about so weighty, that I was resolved to buy all of John Faldo's and all of yours touching that subject; but before that little pamphlet, I never met with any of your writings. As to your other two books against John Faldo, whatever passages there be that may not be agreeable to my sentiments, you will easily perceive of what nature they are, by perusing my remarks upon G. K.'s immediate revelation. But there are sundry passages in those two books of yours, nobly Christian, and for which I have no small kindness and esteem for you, they being testimonies of that which I cannot but highly prize wherever I find it."*

Hitherto the controversial writings of Penn had been in defence of his principles, when attacked by persons of other religious societies; now, he was about to be engaged in a controversy rendered more painful by the delusions of some who were of his own communion.

The doctrine, which Friends have ever considered the corner stone of their religious edifice, is the immediate *teaching of the Holy Spirit*, which they believe is given to all, but more especially to those who have experienced the new birth, being their bond of union with Christ, the head of the church. But in every age there have been some who, for want of dwelling in humility, watchfulness and prayer, have suffered their heated imaginations to lead them into extravagant opinions, and disorderly behavior. Such an one, in the primitive church, is described by the apostle Paul, as "intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up in his fleshly mind," and not remaining in subordination to the head, which is Christ. Among the early Friends, there were a number of persons thus led away, whose defection gave much uneasiness to those who were esteemed as fathers in the church.

One of these fanatics, named John Perrot, attained some notoriety by his sufferings at Rome.

Having gone to that city with another Friend by the name of

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* Clarkson's Life of Penn.

John Luff (or Love), they declaimed with such boldness against the idolatry and corruption prevailing there, that they were arrested and put in prison. Luff was confined in the prison of the Inquisition, where he died, not without strong suspicions that he came to his end by violent means. Perrot was immured in a hospital for the insane, which perhaps was a place not altogether inappropriate to the state of his mind. From Rome, he wrote to his friends in the apostolic style, signing himself "John," without the surname, and adding by way of P. S. "send this forward, and *read my life in your meetings*."* After much effort on the part of his friends he was liberated, and, returning to England, he began to manifest opposition to the practice which prevailed among Friends, of taking off the hat in time of public vocal prayer, saying, that unless they had an immediate inward motion to take off their hats, they need not do it, and he, professing to have no such evidence, refused to comply.

This was considered, by the prominent members of the Society, a species of disorder that could not be overlooked, for one of the reasons they had always assigned for not taking off their hats in the presence of rulers and magistrates, was, that this is an act of homage due only to the Almighty, and to be paid Him by the congregation in time of public prayer, as well as by the minister, while engaged in preaching the Gospel. For this mode of manifesting reverence to the Divine majesty, they adduced the authority of the apostle Paul, (1 Cor. xi. 4,) and the practice of the primitive church.

Perrot being unwilling to comply with the judgment of the society, was, after many admonitions, disowned; and subsequently, being placed in an office under government, he wore a sword, and became a rigid exacter of oaths. Some time after his expulsion, a pamphlet, attributed to him, was published anonymously, called "The Spirit of the Hat." This brought out a reply from Penn, with the singular title, "The Spirit of Alexander the Coppersmith lately Revived, and now justly Rebuked." Perrot followed up his attack upon the order and discipline of the Society, by another pamphlet, entitled, "Tyranny and Hypocrisy detected," which was answered by Penn in a publication called, "Judas and the Jews combined against Christ and his followers."*

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* Sewell's Hist. i. 358. Ellwood's Life, 116.

This controversy is important in the history of the Society of Friends, from the principles involved in it. They were from their first rise a people strongly attached to religious and civil liberty, and some of them were disposed to view with jealousy every restraint imposed by the discipline which George Fox and other experienced minds proposed for their government. It is, therefore, not surprising that some of them should have been led astray by the high professions and plausible reasoning of John Perrot.

Penn maintained that there is, and must be, a judgment in the church when assembled, which is superior to the judgment of individuals, for the Spirit of God does not lead into confusion, but into order, harmony, and love.

At this time the Friends in Maryland being subjected to some sufferings or disabilities on account of their scruples in regard to taking oaths, Penn interposed his influence with Lord Baltimore, the proprietary, and with the attorney general of the colony, to procure an order for their exemption. It appears that the previous year (1672), a Yearly Meeting of Friends was held at West river, in Maryland, being the first meeting of the kind established on this continent, and dating its origin only three years later than the Yearly Meeting of London. Hence we may conclude that the number of Friends who had then settled in the colony, must have been considerable, which may be attributed to the wise and tolerant policy pursued by the proprietary. To Sir George Calvert, the founder of Maryland, must be awarded the merit of having been one of the first legislators who had the wisdom to embrace, and the fidelity to carry out in practice the great doctrine of religious toleration. Although a member of the Catholic church, which in Europe had shown the most unrelenting hostility to heretics, he gave to all religious persuasions a free toleration, and to all believers in Christianity he extended equal privileges in the civil government.

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* Clarkson, p. 50.

It is probable that a legal provision for the exemption of those who were scrupulous about taking oaths, had not been thought of at the foundation of the colony, but it may be inferred, from the following extract, from William Penn's letter to Friends in Maryland, that his request on their behalf was granted.

"Dear Friends:—It fell to my lot to manage your concerns with the attorney general of the colony and the Lord Baltimore about oaths: I obtained to George Fox's paper the answer endorsed on the back. Now my advice to you is to represent to them,

"First.—That oaths have arisen from corruptions; that falseness, distrust, and jealousies, brought them into the world, as say Polybius, Grotius, Bishop Gawden, and others, and God having redeemed you to truth-speaking, the cause is taken away, viz. falsehood, and therefore the effect by way of remedy, to wit, oaths should cease.

"Secondly.—Christ expressly forbids swearing; inasmuch as he doth not only prohibit VAIN swearing, which was already forbidden under the law, but that swearing which the law allowed.

"Thirdly.—That it is not only OUR sense: Polycarpus, Ponticus, Blandina, Basilides, primitive martyrs, were of this mind; and Justin Martyr, Cyprian, Origin, Lactantius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Basilius, Magnus Chrysostom Theophylact, Oecumenius, Chromatius, Euthymius, (Fathers,) so read the text, not to mention any of the Protestant martyrs. Therefore, should they be tender.

Fourthly.—There is no injury done to the plantation to take your words; if any, to you that suffer the same penalty for a LIE, which is only due to PERJURY; and which the law, without your consent, does not inflict; your caution and pledge for honesty is as large as he that SWEARS, for as truth-speaking fulfils the law, so equal punishment with perjured persons satisfies it.

Lastly.—That your coming thither as to a sanctuary, makes it reasonable that they should not drive you thence for mere conscience, so well grounded and confirmed by Scripture, reason, and authorities. Let your yea and nay be all.

"The Lord Baltimore mentioned something about your allowing some small matter for not performing martial matters. In that be wise, deliberate, and passive; only if they press too hard, interpose.

"I suppose they will be moderate in that and all other cases relating to you, at least I was told and assured so.

"I have no more, but the truth prospers in meetings and out of them: our adversaries fall before us, and the sober people of these three nations are open to hear, and ready both to think and speak well of the way of the

Lord. I sent you one of Edward Burrough's books, and two small ones of my own, as a token of my love, which accept. So the Lord God of eternal strength preserve us all, living, fresh, zealous, and wise in that which is pure of Himself, which he hath shed abroad in our hearts, to his eternal praise and our everlasting comfort. Amen, saith my soul.

"Your friend and brother in the truth and cause of Christ Jesus, the Light of the world.

"W. PENN.

"Anno, 1673."

CHAPTER VII.

Declaration of Indulgence revoked; Persecution renewed; William Penn's Letter to Justices of Middlesex; Extract from his autobiography; His "Treatise on Oaths;" On "England's Present Interest;" "The cry of the Oppressed;" Dispute and Correspondence with Baxter.

1673–75.

In the year 1673, Charles II. was induced by his necessities, to yield to the wishes of Parliament, and to revoke the Declaration of Indulgence issued the previous year.

The nation at that time was under great apprehensions of papal encroachments from the suspected predilection of the king, and the open preference shown by his brother, the Duke of York, for the Catholic religion.

It was generally believed that the solicitude professed by the monarch to protect Protestant dissenters from the operation of the penal laws was, in part at least, assumed for the purpose of protecting the Catholics who were permitted by the Declaration the exercise of their religious worship in private houses.

The Friends were much relieved by the indulgence granted by the king, but they knew it was not to be relied on as a permanent measure, and in common with other Protestant dissenters, they desired that liberty of conscience should be secured by act of Parliament, instead of the dispensing power of the king, which was considered a dangerous exercise of prerogative. The Dissenters having seconded the views of the Established Church in opposing the king's Declaration of Indulgence, the House of Commons became disposed to favor them, and passed a bill for the relief of Protestant non-conformists, but it met with opposition and delay in the House of Peers.* The delay of this measure, and the withdrawal of the king's indulgence, gave an opportunity for bigoted and malicious persons to revive the persecutions against Friends under the Conventicle Act, and in many places they were subjected to great sufferings by fines, imprisonment, and personal abuse.†

Some of the justices of Middlesex having sent the constables to break up a meeting where William Penn was present, he wrote them a letter of remonstrance, in which, after showing that their conduct was not such as he expected from them, but unneighborly and unjust, he proceeds to argue that this persecution was not only contrary to the wishes of the king, who was the head of *their* church, but of the Parliament also, for it had voted indulgence to the king's Protestant subjects, and intended to ratify the same more firmly. He says, "we came not to our liberties and properties by the Protestant religion; their date rises higher. Why then should a non-conformity to it deprive us of them. The nature of body and soul, earth and heaven, this world and that to come, differs. There can be no reason to persecute any *man in this world* about anything that *belongs to the next*. Who art thou (saith the holy Scripture), that judgeth another man's servant? He must stand or fall to his master, the great God. Let tares and wheat grow together till the great harvest. To call for fire from heaven was no part of Christ's religion, though the reproved zeal of some of his disciples. His sword is spiritual, like his kingdom. Be pleased to remember that faith is the gift of God: and what is not of faith, is sin. We must either be hypocrites in doing what we believe in our consciences we ought not to do, or forbearing what we are fully persuaded we ought to do.

Either give us better faith, or leave us with such as we have, for it seems unreasonable in you to disturb us for this that we have, and yet be unable to give us any other."*

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* Hume's Hist E. iv. 266. Gough's Hist ii. 375.

† Gough, ii. 392.

These cogent arguments against persecution were unanswerable, but in most cases unavailing; for bigotry does not stop to reason, and prejudice is too often deaf to the appeals of humanity.

The same spirit of persecution was manifested in other counties, and Penn wrote to the king for protection, but his appeal was in vain; for Charles II., though opposed to persecution, was too much engrossed with his pleasures to attend to such cases, and was, moreover, at this time, embarrassed by the state of his finances and the measures of Parliament.

The Oath of Allegiance was wrested from its intended purpose in order to persecute the Friends. The magistrates or judges when they had no evidence to convict them, would often tender them this oath, knowing that they could not swear, and then for a refusal to take it would commit them to prison, and even subject them to the penalties of a premunire, under which George Fox was kept in prison nearly fourteen months.

In order to obtain his release, Penn made application to the Duke of York, who evinced a lively interest in his favor. The following account of this interview is extracted from "Penn's Autograph Apology for Himself."†

"The third time I came to court was in '73, having not frequented it for five years. The business that drew me thither, was the imprisonment of that servant of God, my worthy friend George Fox, in Worcester Castle; the cause, worshipping God after another manner than that of the Church of England, and lest it should prove too feeble a tie to hold him, the Justices of the Peace that had laid his commitment, officiously tendered him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, not that he should take them, but because they were pretty sure he would not take them, as a supplemental snare to gratify their humor, and accomplish their design against him. This ending in a Præmunire, and finding no applications in the country were likely to succeed for his deliverance out of the hands of some very angry, obstinate persons, it was resolved amongst us at London to remove him by habeas corpus to the King's bench, and try what we could do at the court to procure his discharge.

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* Life prefixed to his works.

† Mem. P. H. S. vol iii. p. ii. p. 240.

"It fell to my lot to go on this errand, in which solicitation William Mead accompanied me. The person we first addressed ourselves to was the Earl of Middlesex, now also Dorsat, who advised us to make our application to the Duke of York as most powerful with the king, and that if he would receive us, that nobody would be more zealous to perform what he undertook, adding that he would speak to him, and that Fleetwood Shepherd should introduce us.

"The time being fixt, we found that gentleman as was agreed, and went with him to the Duke's palace, where he endeavored our admission by the means of the Duchess' Secretary; but the house being very full of people and the Duke of business, the said Secretary could neither procure our nor his own admission; but Colonel Aston, of the bed-chamber, then in waiting, and my old acquaintance and friend (yet I had not seen him in some years before) looking hard at me, thinking he should know me, asked me in the drawing-room, first my name and then my business, and upon understanding both, he presently gave us the favor we waited for, of speaking with the Duke, who came immediately out of his closet to us.

"After something I said as an introduction to the business, I delivered him our request. He perused it, and then told us 'That he was against all persecution for the sake of religion. That it was true he had in his younger time been warm, especially when he thought people made it a pretence to disturb government, but that he had seen and considered things better, and he was for doing to others as he would have others do unto him; and he thought it would be happy for the world if all were of that mind; for he was sure,' he said, 'that no man was willing to be persecuted himself for his own conscience.' He added that 'he looked upon us as a quiet, industrious people, and though he was not of our judgment, yet he liked our good lives,' with much more to the same purpose, promising he would speak to his brother, and doubted not but that the king's counsel would have orders in our friend's favor.

"I and my companion spoke as occasion offered, to recommend both our business and our character, but the less because he prevented us in the manner I have expressed.

"When he had done upon this affair, he was pleased to take a very particular notice of me, both for the relation my father had had to his service in the navy, and the care he had promised him to show in my regard upon all occasions.

"That he wondered I had not been with him, and that whenever I had any business thither, he would order that I should have access; after which he withdrew and we returned.

"This was my first visit to the court after five years' retirement; and this the success of it, and the first time I had spoken with him since '65. That it should be grateful to me was no wonder; and, perhaps, that with some was the beginning of my faults at court, but what impression it made upon my companion, and the expressions he used to declare it, cannot well escape the memory of F. Shepherd, to whom, in the garden, he presently related what had past, and his own extraordinary satisfaction, both in that and the Duke."

The following letter to George Fox, was written soon after the interview above related:

"Dear George Fox:—Thy dear and tender love in thy last letter I received, and for thy business thus: A great lord, a man of noble mind, did as good as put himself in a loving way to get thy liberty. He prevailed with the King for a pardon, but that we rejected. Then he prest for a more noble release, that better answered hath. He prevailed, and got the King's hand to a release. It sticks with the Lord Keeper, and we have used and do use what interest we can. The King is angry with him (the Lord Keeper), and promiseth very largely and lovingly; so that, if we have been deceived, thou seest the grounds of it. But we have sought after a writ of error these ten days past, well nigh resolving to be as sure as we can; and an habeas corpus is gone or will go to-morrow night. My dear love salutes thee and thy dear wife. Things are brave as to Truth in these parts; great conviction upon the people. My wife's dear love is to you all. I long and hope ere long to see thee. So, dear George Fox, am, &c.

"WM. PENN."

It appears that through the exertions of Penn and others, George Fox was brought by a writ of habeas corpus before the court of the King's Bench, Sir Matthew Hall presiding, when so many errors were found in the indictment that he was cleared and discharged by proclamation.*

In order to abate the rigor of persecutions by enlightening the public mind, Penn wrote a Treatise on Oaths, which was published in the year 1675. It is introduced by a short address to Parliament, signed by himself and some of the most prominent members of the Society, showing the hardships under which they were suffering on account of their conscientious refusal to swear, and praying that measures might be taken for their relief.

He assigns ten reasons why Friends cannot swear:

1st. As oaths were introduced on account of falsehood and distrust, it is reasonable that a religion which establishes truth and confidence should put an end to them.

2d. They subject truth and those that love it to the same tests that have been invented against fraud, thereby effacing the distinction between integrity and perfidiousness.

3d. By complying with the custom of taking oaths, we fear we should be guilty of rebellion against the discoveries God hath made to our souls of his ancient holy way of truth.

4th. Oaths have become so familiar among men, that they have lost that "awful influence," which was the reason alleged for using them.

5th. A proper sense of the omnipresence of God renders oaths unnecessary.

6th. They do not afford to the hearer any certain evidence of truth, for the judgments of God are not usually seen to attend false swearing as they did in the ancient law of jealousy.

7th. We consider it presumptuous to summon God as a witness on trivial occasions.

8th. The form of the oath is itself objectionable, being made up of superstition and ceremony.

9th. The example and precepts of our Saviour are directly opposed to oaths of every kind. Under the Mosaic law, swearing, like divorce, and some other practices, was permitted "because of the hardness of their hearts," but Jesus Christ refers to that law, and adds, "I say unto you, swear not at all," &c. Matt. v. 33–37.

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* Gough's Hist. ii. 391.

10th. Swearing is contrary to the very nature of Christianity, for it is intended to extirpate those dispositions in man which first led to oaths.

It does not appear that this treatise had any immediate influence on the Parliament or nation, for persecution still continued without abatement, which induced our author to publish another treatise, in which he offers many weighty considerations of a *political nature* to show the necessity of toleration.

This is a work of great ability, entitled "England's present interest considered, with honor to the prince and safety to the people, in answer to this one question: what is most fit, easy and safe, at this juncture of affairs, to be done for quieting of differences, allaying the heat of contrary interests, and making them subservient to the interests of the government, and consistent with the prosperity of the kingdom?"

In this work he traces the history and progress of civil liberty in England from the earliest times, showing that it existed long before the Reformation, and had no necessary connexion with the established church. Those rights and privileges which he terms *English*, and which are the proper birth-right of Englishmen, may be reduced to three.

1st. An ownership, and undisturbed possession of property.

2d. A voting of every law that is made, whereby that ownership may be maintained.

3d. An influence upon, and real share in that *judiciary power* that must apply every such law, which is the ancient, necessary, and laudable use of juries.

"The first of these rights relates to *security of estate and liberty of person* from the violence of arbitrary power." It was not unknown to the ancient Britons; was established among the Saxons, who were a free people, governed by laws of which they themselves were the makers, and it was acknowledged by the Norman Conqueror, who made a covenant, "to maintain the good, approved and ancient laws of this kingdom, and to inhibit all spoil and unjust judgment."

The second of these privileges he proves to be of ancient date, for the Britons had their "council," the Saxons their "wittangemote" or parliament, and William the Conqueror in his laws refers to the "Common Council of the whole kingdom" as acting with him.

The third privilege was well established among the Saxons; for in the laws of King Ethelred, three hundred years before the entrance of the Norman Duke, it is said, "In every hundred let there be a court, and let twelve ancient freemen, together with the Lord of the hundred, be sworn that they will not condemn the innocent nor acquit the guilty." This privilege was also acknowledged under the Norman kings.

Hence he concludes that the Great Charter, made in the ninth of Henry III., was not the *nativity* but *restoration* of ancient privileges from abuses. No grant of *new rights*, but a new grant, or confirmation rather, of ancient laws and liberties, violated by King John and restored by his successor at the expense of a long and bloody war, which showed them as resolute to keep as their ancestors had been careful to make those excellent laws.

He then refers to the provisions of Magna Charta, by which these privileges were secured to the freemen of England, and shows that these *fundamental principles* are binding on the Parliament as well as the King, for the *representatives* of the people have no right to encroach on their liberties.

He lays down these great principles: That no man in England is born slave to another, neither hath one a right to inherit the sweat of the other's brow, or reap the benefit of his labor but by consent; therefore no man should be deprived of his property unless he injure another man's, and then by legal judgment. But certainly nothing is more unreasonable than to sacrifice the liberty and property of any man for religion, when he is not found breaking any law relating to natural and civil things.

"Religion, under any modification, is no part of the old English government. A man may be a very good *Englishman*, and yet a very indifferent *churchman*.

"Nigh three hundred years before Austin set his foot on English ground, had the inhabitants of this island a *free govern-*

ment." It is want of distinguishing between it and the modes of religion which fills every clamorous mouth with such impertinent cries as this, "Why do not you submit to the government? As if the English civil government came in with Luther, or were to go out with Calvin. What prejudice is it for a Popish landlord to have a Protestant tenant, or a Presbyterian tenant to have an Episcopalian landlord? Certainly the civil affairs of all governments in the world may be peaceably transacted under the different liveries or trims of religion, where civil rights are inviolably observed."

He then proceeds to maintain a sentiment far in advance of that age, which is this: that so far from a government being weakened or endangered by a variety of religious sentiments it is, on *the contrary*, *strengthened by them*, provided *that all are equally tolerated*, for it prevents combinations against the government; and he quotes from Livy to show that "Hannibal's army, which for thirteen years roved up and down the Roman empire, was made up of many countries, divers languages, laws, customs and religions, yet under all their successes of war and peace they never mutinied."

The last chapter of this work treats of general and practical religion. He says "No one thing is more unaccountable and condemnable among men than their uncharitable contests about religion, indeed, about *words and phrases*, whilst they all verbally meet in the most, if not only, necessary part of the Christian religion; for nothing is more certain, than that if men would but live up to one half of what they know in their consciences they ought to practice, their edge would be taken off, their blood would be sweetened by mercy and truth, and this unnatural sharpness qualified. They would quickly find work enough at home; each man's hands would be full by the unruliness of his own passions and in subjecting his own will, instead of devouring one another's good name, liberty or estate, compassion would rise, and mutual desires to be assistant to each other in a better sort of living. Oh! how delightful it would be to see mankind, the creation of one God, that hath upheld them to this day, of one accord, at least in the weighty things of God's holy law."

In the conclusion of this excellent treatise he draws this corrolary: that the way to quiet differences and promote the public interest, is, 1st, To maintain inviolably the rights of liberty and property; 2d. That the Prince govern himself upon a balance towards all religious interests; and, Lastly, That minor differences be overlooked and *practical religion* promoted.

This treatise, and those which preceded it, not having had the desired effect, and persecution still continuing, our author determined to make another effort to arrest it.

As he had before addressed his arguments to the reason and consciences of the rulers and people, he now appealed to their feelings of humanity by a small work entitled, "The continued cry of the oppressed for justice, being a further account of the late unjust and cruel proceedings of unreasonable men against the persons and estates of the people called Quakers; only for their peaceable meetings to worship God; presented to the serious consideration of the King and both houses of Parliament."

This little work relates many cases of great suffering among Friends on account of religion; their meetings being broken up, the members, both men and women, being haled out by the hair of their heads, and committed to prison, their houses rifled of furniture, their stock driven off and sold, and their estates ruined.

His sympathy was also enlisted for the Friends in Germany who were subjected to much persecution, and he wrote a letter in Latin to the Senate of Embden, containing some noble sentiments.

At this time Penn still continued to reside at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire, where his labors in the Gospel ministry, and the influence of his consistent example, were instrumental in bringing many to unite with him in religious profession. The celebrated Richard Baxter, in passing through that neighborhood, found it filled with Friends, and regarding them as "little better than lost people," he expressed a desire to preach to them, in order, as he said, that "they might once hear what could be said for their recovery."* Penn, on hearing of this, wrote to him, and several letters passed between them, which eventuated in a meeting for a public discussion at Rickmansworth. The particulars of this meeting are not known, except that it continued from ten in the morning to five in the afternoon, and two rooms were filled with the audience, among whom were one lord, two knights, and four clergymen of the established church.

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* **Clarkson's Life of Penn.**

As in most other religious controversies: neither party was convinced, and each was satisfied with his own effort. A correspondence between them followed. The letters of Baxter are not known to be extant, but from Penn's replies we may infer that his antagonist indulged in some harsh expressions. The conclusion of Penn's last letter shows his Christian spirit. He says,

"Do not so harshly represent, nor cruelly characterize a poor people that are given up to follow the leadings of that Jesus, abundance of you have long told us, has stood even all night at the door of our hearts, knocking that he might come in; whose pure spirit and fear we desire to be subject to, and wait upon God when together in true silence from all fleshly thoughts, that we may find our hearts replenished with his Divine love and life, in which to forgive our opposers and those that spitefully use us. In which dear love of God, Richard Baxter, I do forgive thee, and desire thy good and felicity; and when I read thy letter, the many severities therein could not divert me from saying, that I could freely give thee an apartment in my house and thy liberty therein, that I could visit and yet discourse thee in much tender love, notwithstanding this hard entertainment from thee."*

CHAPTER VIII.

Wm. Penn arbitrates between Byllinge and Fenwick; His letter to Fenwick; Becomes a Trustee for Byllinge in the sale and settlement of West New Jersey; Civil and religious liberty established there; Land purchased of the Indians; Efforts to prevent the sale of rum to the Indians; Speech of an Indian King; Progress of the Colony.

1675–1677.

The time was now drawing nigh when William Penn was to take an active and conspicuous part in the affairs of the American continent, and the steps by which he was led to it, are worthy of note, as an instance in which Divine Providence seemed to open for him a field of labors to which he was eminently adapted.

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* See Letters to Baxter, in Penn's Works.

In the year 1664 the Duke of York, Proprietary of the Province of New York, assigned to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, the tract of country to the east of the Delaware river, and extending to the Hudson and the Atlantic. In honor of Carteret, who was Governor of the island of Jersey, this territory received the name of New Jersey.

Lord Berkeley, in the year 1675, for the sum of one thousand pounds, sold his half of the Province of New Jersey to John Fenwick, in trust for Edward Byllinge and his assigns.

Fenwick and Byllinge, both members of the Society of Friends, became involved in a dispute about the property, and having confidence in the judgment of Penn, they agreed to refer the matter to him for arbitration.*

After carefully examining the case, he gave his award, which, not being satisfactory to Fenwick, he refused to comply with it.

The arbitrator was deeply grieved at his obstinacy, and much concerned lest the dispute should give rise to a law-suit between the parties, and thus bring discredit upon the society, which prohibits litigation between its members. In order to induce Fenwick to come forward and settle the difference, the following letter was written:

"John Fenwick:—The present difference betwixt thee and Edward Byllinge fills the hearts of Friends with grief, and with a resolution to take it in two days into their consideration to make a public denial of the person that offers violence to the award made, or that will not end it without bringing it upon the public stage. God, the righteous judge, will visit him that stands off. Edward Byllinge will refer the matter to me again, if thou wilt do the like. Send me word: and, as opprest as I am with business, I will find an afternoon to-morrow or next day to determine, and so prevent the mischief that will certainly follow divulging it in Westminster Hall. Let me know by the bearer thy mind. O John! let Truth, and the honor of it in this day, prevail! Woe to him that causeth offences! I am an impartial man.

"WILLIAM PENN."

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* Smith's New Jersey, 79; and Clarkson's Life of Penn.

This letter not having the desired effect, Penn wrote him two others, the last of which is subjoined, on account of the good feeling and true wisdom it exhibits:

"JOHN FENWICK:—I have, upon serious consideration of the present difference, (to end it with benefit to you both, and as much quiet as may be,) thought my counsel's opinion very reasonable: indeed, thy own desire to have the eight parts added, was not so pleasant to the other party, that it should now be shrunk from by thee as injurious; and when thou hast once thought a proposal reasonable, and given power to another to fix it, 'tis not in thy power, nor indeed a discreet or civil thing, to alter or warp from it, and call it a being forced. O John! I am sorry that a toy, a trifle, should thus rob men of their time, quiet, and a more profitable employ. I have had a good conscience in what I have done in this affair; and if thou reposest confidence in me, and believest me to be a good and just man, as thou hast said, thou shouldst not be upon such nicety and uncertainty. Away with vain fancies, I beseech thee, and fall closely to thy business. Thy days spend on, and make the best of what thou hast. Thy grandchildren may be in the other world before the land thou hast allotted will be employed. My counsel, I will answer for it, shall do thee all right and service in the affair that becomes him, who, I told thee at first, should draw it up as for myself. If this cannot scatter thy fears, thou art unhappy, and I am sorry. Thy friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

This dispute being at length adjusted by the kind offices of Penn, Fenwick embarked with his family in the ship Griffith, accompanied by several other Friends, to take possession of the land assigned him.* They landed at a "pleasant rich spot" on the river Delaware, where they commenced a settlement, to which he gave the name of Salem.†

This was the first English ship that came to the western part of New Jersey, and none followed for nearly two years. In the meantime Edward Byllinge becoming embarrassed in his circumstances, was desirous to transfer to his creditors his interest in the territory, being the only means he had to satisfy their claims.

At his earnest entreaty Penn consented to be associated as joint trustee, with two of the creditors, Gawen Laurie, of London, and Nicholas Lucas, of Hertford, to carry out his intentions and render the property available. Penn thus became one of the chief instruments in the settlement of New Jersey, and establishment of its colonial government, which prepared him for the still greater work of founding a colony of his own.

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* Clarkson.

† Smith's N. J., p. 79; Proud's Pa., i. 137.

In order to promote the settlement and proper government of the colony, a constitution was drawn up in the spring of the year 1676, under the title of "Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Province of West New Jersey," which was subscribed by one hundred and fifty-one names; and in the summer of the same year, a deed of *partition* was signed between Sir George Carteret on the one part, and Edward Byllinge, William Penn, Gawen Laurie and Nicholas Lucas on the other part.

This deed assigned to Carteret that part of the Province next to New York, under the title of "New East Jersey," and to Byllinge, Penn and others, the part bordering on the Delaware, called "New West Jersey;" the line being drawn "from the east side of Little Egg Harbor, straight north through the country, to the utmost branch of Delaware river."*

This arrangement gave to Carteret the settled part of the Province on the Passaic and Raritan, and to Penn and his friends the uncultivated portion on the Delaware, then mostly in possession of the Indians.

The trustees, of whom Penn appears to have been the prime mover, now wrote to Richard Hartshorne, a Friend of high standing already settled in the Province, requesting his consent to be joined in commission with two others, James Wasse and Richard Guy: whom they authorized and instructed to act for them in the public affairs of the colony.

In their letter to Hartshorne, after stating the agreement with Carteret, they speak of the constitution they had adopted in the following terms:

"We have made concessions by ourselves, being such as Friends here, and there, (we question not,) will approve of, having sent a copy of them to James Wasse; there we lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and

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* Smith's Hist., 80.

Christians, that they may not be brought in bondage, but by their own consent; for we put the *power in the people*, that is to say, they to meet and choose one honest man for each propriety who hath subscribed the concessions; all these men to meet as an assembly, there to make and repeal laws, to choose a governor, or a commissioner, and twelve assistants to execute the laws during their pleasure; so every man is capable to choose or be chosen. No man to be arrested, condemned, imprisoned or molested in his estate or liberty but by twelve men of the neighborhood; no man to lie in prison for debt, but that his estate satisfy as far as it will go, and be set at liberty to work; no person to be called in question or molested for his conscience, or for worshiping according to his conscience; with many more things mentioned in the said concessions."*

The territory was to be divided into one hundred parts, of which ten were assigned to Fenwick for his trouble and money advanced to Lord Berkeley, and the remaining ninety reserved for sale on account of the creditors of Byllinge.

West New Jersey being now opened for sale, the trustees published and circulated through the kingdom a description of it, with an invitation to Friends and others to purchase lands and promote emigration.

In publishing these proposals for colonization, they were careful to advise, that "whosoever had a desire to be concerned in this intended plantation, should weigh the thing well before the Lord, and not headily and rashly conclude on any such remove, and that they do not offer violence to the tender love of their near kindred, but soberly and conscientiously endeavor to obtain their good will and the unity of Friends where they live."

In the years 1677 and 1678 five vessels sailed for the Province of West New Jersey with 800 emigrants, most of them members of the Society of Friends. Among the first purchasers were two companies of Friends—the one from Yorkshire, the other from London, who each contracted for a large tract of land. In 1677 commissioners, some of whom were chosen from the London, and others from the Yorkshire company, were sent out by the proprietors, with power to buy land of the natives, to inspect the rights of such as claimed property, to order the lands laid out, and to administer the government.

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* Smith, 81.

They came with other passengers, numbering in all 230, in the ship Kent, which arrived at New Castle the 16th of the 6th month, O. S., and proceeding up the Delaware, landed at Rackoon Creek, where the Swedes had some "scattering habitations, but too few in number to accommodate them all, so that many had to take up their abode in stables, or erect huts in the Indian fashion."

The Commissioners proceeded up the river to the place where Burlington now stands, which was then called Chygoes Island, from the name of an Indian Sachem who lived there. Having obtained interpreters from among the Swedes settled about New Castle, by their aid they made several purchases of land, but not having goods enough to pay for the whole, they agreed not to settle on it until the full amount was paid.

At Chygoes Island they laid out a town. "After locating the main street, they divided the land on each side into lots,—the easternmost among the Yorkshire proprietors, the other among the Londoners. The town was first called Beverley, then Bridlington, and finally Burlington."*

As the price of lands at that day, and the manner of dealing with the Indians, may be a matter of interest, the following list of the articles given in exchange for the tract of country, extending twenty miles on the Delaware River, and lying between Oldman's Creek and Timber Creek, is taken from Smith's History of New Jersey. It was purchased in the year 1677, when the natives received for it, 30 match-coats, 20 guns, 30 kettles, 1 great kettle, 30 pair of hose, 20 fathoms of duffels, 30 petticoats, 30 narrow hoes, 30 bars of lead, 15 small barrels of powder, 70 knives, 30 Indian axes, 70 combs, 60 pair of tobacco tongs, 60 pair of scissors, 60 tinshaw looking glasses, 120 awl-blades, 120 fish-hooks, 2 grasps of red paint, 120 needles, 60 tobacco boxes, 120 pipes, 200 bells, 100 Jews-harps and 6 anchors of rum.

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* Smith's Hist. N. J., p. 95 to 99.

In the same history it is stated, that about the year 1703, two purchases, amounting to about one hundred and fifty thousand acres, were made from the Indians for seven thousand pounds.

Among the articles delivered to the natives, it is observable that rum was one, from which it appears that the colonists had not at that time seen the necessity of withholding, entirely, from their red brethren, this destructive beverage, the cause of so many quarrels among them, and which has so often led to their degradation and ruin. Indeed, it could scarcely be expected, that persons who still continued to use it moderately themselves, should foresee the consequences of its introduction among the Indians, or forego the advantage of offering them an article they so eagerly desired. A few years subsequent to this purchase, the Friends became sensible that the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians, was a traffic that must be arrested. It is stated in a pamphlet of Thomas Budd, written nine or ten years after the transaction just mentioned, that they had a meeting with the natives in order to prevent the sale to the natives of rum, brandy, and other strong liquors.

There were eight kings present, one of whom stood up and made the following speech.

"The strong liquor was first sold us by the Dutch, and they are blind, they had no eyes, they did not see that it was for our hurt. The next people that came among us, were the Swedes, who continued the sale of the strong liquors to us; they were also blind, they had no eyes, they did not see it to be hurtful to us to drink it, although we knew it to be hurtful to us; but if people will sell it to us, we are so in love with it, that we cannot forbear it. When we drink it, it makes us mad; we do not know what we do; we then abuse one another, we throw each other into the fire; seven score of our people have been killed by reason of drinking it, since the time it was first sold us. These people that sell it have no eyes. But now there is a people come to live amongst us that have eyes, they see it to be for our hurt, they are willing to deny themselves the profit of it for our good. These people have eyes; we are glad such a people are come among us; we must put it down by mutual consent, the cask must be sealed up, it must be made fast, it must not leak by day or by night, in light or in the dark, and we give you these four belts of wampum, which we would have you lay up safe and keep by you, to be witnesses of this agreement; and we would have you tell your children, that these four belts of wampum are given you to be witnesses, betwixt us and you, of this agreement."*

The Colony of West New Jersey continued to prosper under the management of Penn and his associates. Colonists arrived in considerable numbers, good order and harmony prevailed, the country proved to be productive, the air was salubrious, and the Indians, being treated kindly and dealt with justly, were found to be excellent neighbors. The Friends, who had been persecuted with relentless severity in their native land, found a peaceful and happy asylum in the forests of the new world, among a people who had hitherto been reputed as ruthless savages.

In the same province, ten years before, the "concessions" of Carteret and Berkeley, required each colonist to provide himself with a good musket, powder and balls;† but now, the Friends came among their red brethren, armed only with the weapons of the Christian's warfare, integrity, benevolence and truth; they met them without fear or suspicion; trusting in that universal principle of light and life which visits all minds, and would, if not resisted, bind the whole human family in one harmonious fraternity.

The colonists made it their first care, on landing, to establish meetings for Divine worship and Christian discipline. At the place where Burlington now stands, their first meetings were held, under a tent covered with sail-cloth. Here they were kept up regularly at stated times, until John Woolston built his house, which was the first frame house erected in Burlington.

At this house, and that of Thomas Gardner, soon after erected, they continued to hold their meetings until a suitable meeting house was built.

Among the first objects that claimed the attention of their "Meetings for Discipline," were the care and support of the poor, the orderly conduct of their members, and the solemnization of marriages.

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* Smith's N. Jersey, p. 100.

† Smith's Hist. appendix, No. 1.

In these several respects, as well as in the efforts for putting an end to the traffic in ardent spirits with the natives, they faithfully followed their convictions of duty, and the colony was blessed with an unusual degree of prosperity and happiness.

CHAPTER IX.

Journey to Holland and Germany; Visits Rotterdam, Haerlem, Amsterdam; Letter to King of Poland; Visits Princess Elizabeth of the Rhine, Crisheim, Frankfort, Duysburgh; Attempts to visit the Countess of Flachensteyn, and Burch; Rudely treated by the Graef; Returns to Amsterdam; Visits the Somerdykes; Goes to Embden, Herwerden, Wesel, Amsterdam, Rotterdam; Passage to England; Letter from the Princess Elizabeth.

1677.

Although William Penn performed many journeys to different parts of the British kingdom, and three to Germany, in the service of the Gospel; it does not appear that he kept a regular journal except in one instance, which was during his travels in Holland and Germany, in the year 1677. This journal, he says, was written for his own satisfaction, and that of some relatives and particular friends. Many years after its date, a copy of it was found among the papers of the Countess of Conway, then lately deceased, and a person who was intimate in that family, requested permission to publish it, "for the common good," to which the Author consented. Being too long for insertion here, such passages only will be selected, as may be deemed most interesting and instructive.

On the 25th of the 5th month, (July, O. S.) 1677, he took passage on board the packet, in company with "George Fox, Robert Barclay, George Keith, G. Watts, J. Furley, W. Tallcoat, J. Yeamans, E. K. and two servants." In two days they came within half a league of the Brill. "During the passage," he says, "we had good service in the ship with several passengers, French and Dutch; and though they seemed at first to be shy of us and to slight us, yet at last their hearts were much opened in kindness towards us, and the universal principle had place." At the Brill, they were met by Friends from Rotterdam, who accompanied them in a boat to that city, and on the morrow, being the first day of the week, they had two meetings at B. Furley's house, whither resorted a great company of people, "some of them being of the most considerable of that city," among whom the Gospel was preached with efficiency and success.

The following day they "spent in visiting Friends, from house to house," all their visits being "precious meetings;" and the third day, in company with George Fox and two others, William Penn took passage in a boat for Leyden and Haerlem.

At the latter place they had a satisfactory meeting, and then proceeded to Amsterdam, where was held a general meeting for the Friends of that country. In this meeting they had good service; George Fox, especially, being instrumental in handing forth salutary advices concerning the establishment of church discipline, for the preservation of good order, and promoting purity of life.

Finding letters here from the Friends of Dantzick, complaining of their grievous sufferings on account of religion, William Penn deemed it his duty to address, in their name, a letter to the King of Poland, stating the religious principles of Friends, representing the severity of their treatment, and showing the impolicy as well as injustice of persecution.

In this letter, he reminds the king of a noble saying of one of his ancestors, Stephen, King of Poland, "I am king of men, not of consciences, king of bodies, not of souls."

Taking leave of George Fox, he left Amsterdam, and accompanied by Robert Barclay and B. Furley, proceeded to Herwerden, where the Princess Elizabeth Palatine held her court.

As this Princess was a correspondent of Penn, and through his ministry and that of other Friends, was brought to acknowledge the truth of their doctrines, a brief sketch of her life and character, may not be inappropriate. She was a daughter of Frederick V., the Elector Palatine, and of Elizabeth, daughter of James I. of England, who held their court at the Castle of Heidelburg. It was situated on an eminence near a town of the same name, on the south side of the Necker, ten leagues above its confluence with the Rhine. The town was celebrated for its flourishing University, and the Castle for its strength and picturesque beauty.

The Elector Palatine had a numerous family, among whom were, Charles Louis, who succeeded to his father's dignity; Prince Rupert, well known in the history of England, and the Princess Sophia, who married Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover, from which union sprang the present royal family of England. The Princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Frederick and Elizabeth, was born in 1618. When she was about a year old her father was elected King of Bohemia, and with his wife removed to Prague, the capital of that kingdom, where they were crowned with great pomp and enthusiasm. He became the leader of the Protestant league, called "the Evangelical Union," but his reign was of short duration, being opposed by Ferdinand II. the Catholic Emperor of Germany, and the Duke of Bavaria, whose forces gained a great victory over the Bohemians, in the immediate vicinity of their capital.

Within one year from his accession to the throne, Frederick and his Queen were compelled to flee for their lives, and not only was Bohemia wrested from him, but his enemies conquered and devastated his hereditary dominions. Being compelled to seek an asylum in Holland, they were kindly received by the Prince of Orange, and provided with a residence at the Hague.

It was here that the young Princess Elizabeth pursued her studies, and laid the foundation of those literary attainments for which she became so distinguished. She was endowed with great natural abilities, and being in early life subjected to the discipline of affliction, her attention was turned to the cultivation of her mind and the fulfilment of her religious duties.

When she attained her sixteenth year, her uncle, Charles II. of England, endeavored to negotiate a marriage between her and Ladislaus, the young King of Poland, but there was one insuperable difficulty in the way. Poland was a Catholic kingdom, and the King would not be permitted to marry any but a Catholic princess. As Charles was at heart a Papist, he would willingly have seen his niece embrace the same faith, but his efforts were in vain, for although the negotiations were protracted for two years, Elizabeth continued firm in rejecting a crown which could only be obtained by the renunciation of her Protestant principles.

In her twenty-third year, she was introduced to the celebrated philosopher René Descartes, then residing in Holland, of whom she became a zealous disciple. She went to his residence at Eyndegeest, near Leyden, to receive instructions from him, and so great was her proficiency in metaphysical studies, that he dedicated to her his Principia Philosophiæ, declaring that, "she was the miracle of northern Europe."

By the treaty of Westphalia, in 1655, Charles Louis, the son of Frederick V., Prince Palatine was restored to a part of his father's dominions. When the Princess Elizabeth of the Rhine was first visited by Penn, in 1671, she was the ruler of a small territory in Westphalia, her residence being at Herwerden or Herforden, in the county of Ravensberg. Here she governed with great wisdom and clemency, devoting herself to the welfare of her subjects, and "choosing a single life as the freest from care, and best suited to study and meditation." "Though she kept no sumptuous table in her own court, she spread the tables of the poor in their solitary cells, breaking bread to virtuous pilgrims, according to their want and her ability. Abstemious in herself, and in apparel void of all vain ornaments."*

On the arrival of Penn and Barclay, in 1677, they apprised the Princess of their intention to visit her, to which she replied, "she was glad they were come, and should be ready to receive them the next morning about the seventh hour." They went accordingly, and were received "with a more than ordinary expression of kindness." She was attended by her friend, the Countess de Hornes, and the interview, though cordial, was serious and impressive, partaking of the character of a religious meeting. She requested them to stay and dine with her, but they respectfully declined, asking the privilege of another interview, which she appointed to take place at two in the afternoon.

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* Penn's "No Cross no Crown," *second edition*, published in 1682; Life of Descartes, and "The Friend."

At the time appointed they returned to the palace, where the Princess and Countess, with several others, were assembled to meet them. "It was at this meeting," says, the journal, "that the Lord in a more eminent manner began to appear. The eternal word showed itself a hammer at that day; yea, 'sharper than a two-edged sword, dividing asunder between the soul and the spirit—the joints and the marrow.' Thus continued the meeting, till about the seventh hour; which done, with hearts and souls filled with holy thanksgivings to the Lord for his abundant mercy and goodness to us, we departed to our lodging."

The next morning, at the suggestion of the Countess, a meeting was held at the palace, "for the more inferior servants of the house, who would have been bashful to have presented themselves before the Princess." "At this meeting," continues the journal, "the same blessed power that had appeared to visit them of high, appeared also to visit them of low degree. 'Virtue went forth of Jesus that day,' and the life of our God was shed abroad amongst us, as a sweet savor, for which their souls bowed before the Lord and confessed to our testimony."

At twelve they withdrew to their inn, and in the afternoon returned, when the Princess and Countess reminded William Penn of a promise made in one of his letters, to give them an account of his first convincement, and of the troubles and consolations he had experienced in his religious course. After some pause he began his narrative, but before he had half done, supper was announced, which the Princess insisted they must eat with her. After supper they returned to the Princess' chamber, when he resumed his narrative, which continued till ten at night, and was listened to "with earnest attention." The following day, being the first of the week, they had a morning meeting in their chamber at the inn, and at two in the afternoon they had another meeting at the palace, which was attended by several citizens of the town, as well as the family of the Princess. In this meeting the power of Divine grace was eminently manifested, and at its close, the Princess, taking William Penn by the hand, endeavored to express "the sense she had of the power and presence of God," but she could not proceed, and turning aside, she sobbed aloud, saying, "I cannot speak to you my heart is full." She pressed them to visit her again on their return out of Germany, and they took their leave of her and the Countess, "praying that they might be kept from the evil of this world."

On leaving Herwerden, Robert Barclay returned to Amsterdam, and William Penn, George Keith and B. Furley, continued their journey towards Frankfort, where they had several meetings with religious people, both Calvanists and Lutherans, who received them gladly, and acknowledged "the truth of their testimony." They next proceeded to Crisheim, where they found, to their great joy, "a meeting of tender, faithful people, but the Inspector of the Calvanists had enjoined the Vaught or chief officer, not to suffer any preaching to be among them." This order being disregarded by the Friends, they had "a good meeting, from the 10th to the 3d hour," and the "Vaught himself stood at the door behind the barn, where he could hear and not be seen, who went to the priest and told him, that it was his work, if they were heretics, to discover them to be such; but for his part, he had heard nothing but what was good, and he would not meddle with them."

Leaving the "little handful" of Friends at Crisheim, they went on their way, conversing with serious people whom they met, and distributing religious books, printed in the Dutch and German languages. Having come again to Frankfort, they held another meeting with the same persons who had so kindly received them before; to whom they "recommended a *silent meeting*, that they might grow *into an holy silence* unto themselves; that the mouth that calls God father, *that is not of his own birth*, may be stopped, and all images confounded, that they might hear the soft voice of Jesus to instruct them, and receive his sweet life to feed them, and build them up."

Passing through Mentz, which he describes as a dark, superstitious place, Penn and his companions came to Duysburgh, in the dominions of the Elector of Brandenburg, "in and near which, they had been informed there were a retired, seeking people." Here he delivered a letter of introduction to Doctor Mastricht, a civilian, of whom he made inquiry concerning the Countess of Falchensteyn and Bruch, a young person of extraordinary piety. The doctor informed them that they would probably find her that day (being the first of the week) at the minister's house, in Mulheim, which is opposite her father's castle, but they must be careful, for her sake as well as their own, not to make themselves public, as she was severely treated by her father, on account of her religious inclinations.

They hastened towards Mulheim, but being on foot, and the distance six miles, they found it could not be reached till the meeting would be over, when she would return to the castle. On the road they met with Henry Smith, a schoolmaster, by whom they sent her a message, with a letter of introduction from Doctor Mastricht, and in the course of an hour, received for answer, that "she would be glad to meet them, but she knew not where, unless they would go to the minister's house, at Mulheim, whither, if she could, she would come to them; but that a strict hand was held over her by her father."

As they advanced towards the town, being obliged to pass near her father's castle, it so happened that he came out to walk, and observing that they were strangers, he sent one of his attendants to inquire, "who and from whence they were, and whither they went?" He then called them to him, and asked the same questions, to which they answered, "that they were Englishmen, come from Holland, and going no further in those parts, than his own town of Mulheim."

One of his gentlemen in attendance said, "why don't you pull off your hats? Is it respectful to stand covered in the presence of the sovereign of the country?" The Friends replied, "it is our practice in the presence of our Prince, who is a great King, and we uncover not our heads to any, but in our duty to Almighty God." Upon which the Graef called them Quakers, saying "we have no need of Quakers here, get out of my dominions; you shall not go to my town." They answered, "that they were an innocent people, who feared God and had good will towards men; that they had true respect in their hearts towards him, and would be glad to do him any service, and that the Lord had made it matter of conscience to them, not to conform to the vain and fruitless customs of the world." He then sent some of his soldiers to conduct them out of his territories.

As they passed through the village where the schoolmaster dwelt, they called on him, and after explaining their religious principles, gave him another message for the Countess, desiring her "not to be dismayed at the displeasure of her father, but to eye the Lord, who had visited her with his holy light, by which she had seen the vanity of the world, and the emptiness of the religions that are in it." Between nine and ten o'clock at night, they reached the gates of Duysburgh, but finding them shut, and there being no houses without the walls, they laid down together in the field. "Here," says the journal, "we received both natural and spiritual refreshment, blessed be the Lord. About three in the morning we rose, sanctifying God in our hearts, that had kept us that night; and we walked till five, often speaking, one to another, of the great and notable day of the Lord, dawning upon Germany."

At Duysburgh, Penn wrote an affectionate and instructive letter to the young Countess, from whom he received soon after, a kind message, expressive of her regard for them, and her regret at the treatment they had received.

He also wrote to the Graef, or Earl, expostulating with him for his rude and unchristian behaviour.

On rejoining their friend, Doctor Mastricht, he seemed to be alarmed at the result of their adventure; expressing great apprehensions for the young Countess, whose father had already called her Quaker, and would now, perhaps, treat her more severely. Penn reproved his timidity, observing that "they minded the incensings and wrath of man too much already, that true religion would never spring or grow under such fears, and that it was time for all who felt anything of the work of God in their hearts, to cast away the slavish fear of man, and come forth in the boldness of the true Christian life; yea that *sufferings break and make way for greater liberty*, and that God is wiser and stronger than man."

On the 8th of 7th month, (September, O. S.) they returned to Amsterdam, where they found the meeting of Friends greatly enlarged, and heard there was much inquiry among the people concerning their principles. After being present at a monthly meeting for church discipline, and a meeting for worship, which was largely attended "by Baptists, Collegians, and others," they proceeded on their journey and came to Wiewart, the mansion-house of the Somerdykes.

These were three daughters of a wealthy nobleman of the Hague. They had been much affected with the preaching of John De Labadie, and through his influence had retired from the world, in order to lead a life of piety and self-denial. De Labadie was a Frenchman, at one time a Jesuit, afterwards a Protestant, who becoming dissatisfied with the professors of the reformed religion in Geneva, left them and came to Holland, where he declaimed so vehemently against the apostasy of the priests and people, that the clergy were enraged, and incited the magistrates against him. Elizabeth, the Princess Palatine, granted protection to him and his followers, but becoming dissatisfied with them she withdrew her favor, and they removed to another place. During their residence at Herforden, in the year 1671, William Penn, being there, thought it his duty to visit them. He conversed with De Labadie and two of his chief disciples, but was not permitted to see the people under their care. He then discovered, that although they had some experience in spiritual religion, they were deficient in depth and stability.

This company now resided with the Somerdykes, De Labadie was deceased; their pastors were Ivon and Du Lignon, and one of the most distinguished of their society, was Anna Maria Schurman, an ancient maiden lady, extensively known for her acquirements in languages and philosophy. They were a serious, plain people, and approached nearer to Friends than any other, holding some of their meetings in silence, and allowing women to preach.

Penn, being kindly received, proposed a religious meeting with them, to be held the next day, which, being readily agreed to, he withdrew. At the appointed time he returned, taking with him J. Claus, a Dutchman, for his companion. Their interview was long and interesting. Ivon, the chief pastor, gave a history of J. De Labadie's life and religious labors. He was followed by A. M. Schurman, who gave an account of her early life, her pleasure in learning, and her love for the religion in which she was educated, concluding with an acknowledgment that, "although from a child God had visited her at times, yet she never felt such a powerful stroke as by the ministry of J. De Labadie. She then saw her learning to be vanity, and her religion like a body of death. She resolved to despise the shame, desert her former way of living and acquaintance, and to join herself with this little family, that was retired out of the world, among whom she desired to be found a living sacrifice, offered up entirely to the Lord." After she had done, one of the Somerdykes related, in a feeling manner, her experience; she was followed by Du Lignon, and then by a physician, who was one of the family.

William Penn listened with much interest, and his heart being warmed with love and good will towards them, he related a portion of his own experience, concluding with a fervent exhortation that, "they should wait in the light and the spirit of judgment that had visited them, that all might be wrought out that was not born of God, and so would they come to be born of the incorruptible seed, of the word of God that liveth and abideth forever."

Proceeding on his journey, he came to Embden, where there had been a small congregation of Friends gathered through his own ministerial labors six years before. This little flock was much scattered by the most barbarous persecution; some of them had been banished thirty or forty times, others imprisoned in dungeons, and cruelly beaten.

Penn called upon Doct. Andrews, President of the Council of State, in order to plead the cause of his suffering Friends. That officer, he writes, "was much astonished to see what manner of men we were; but after a little time he comported himself with more kindness than we expected at his hand. I asked him if he and the Senate had not received a letter in Latin, from an Englishman, about two years since, concerning their severity towards the people called Quakers? He told me he had. I replied, I was the man, and I was constrained in conscience to visit him on their behalf, and I could not see how he, being a commonwealth's man and a Protestant, could persecute."

After some further discourse, in which the Doctor's objections were answered, he began to relent, and promised Penn, that if he would write a remonstrance to the Senate, it should be presented, and he would make it appear that he was not so much their enemy as they supposed.

Being now on his return homeward, Penn called at Herwerden to see the Princess Elizabeth of the Rhine, and her companion the Countess de Hornes; with whom he had several interesting and impressive meetings, in which the power of Divine grace was felt to prevail.

Among the persons he met with at the court of the Princess, was the Graef of Donaw, with whom he had a conversation in French, concerning the nature and end of true Christianity, and the way that leads to eternal rest. They "both agreed that self-denial, mortification, and victory, was the duty, and ought to be the endeavor of every sincere Christian." Penn's parting interview with the Princess and her family, was deeply affecting to them all. After an earnest exhortation, he knelt in prayer, "beseeching the Lord's presence with them, and recommending them to His protection."

From Herwerden they went to Wesel, a distance of 200 miles. During three days and nights they travelled, without rest, in a wagon crowded with passengers, and covered only with a ragged sheet. Among the company were some who exceedingly annoyed the Friends, not only by their vain and profane conversation, but by singing Luther's hymns, while evidently unprepared and destitute of devotional feelings. At Wesel they had a religious meeting with nine or ten persons, "which lasted about four hours;" next they came to Cleves and held another small meeting, and from thence to Amsterdam, where they had a great meeting, "many people of note" resorting to it, among whom the Gospel was preached freely. In this city Penn met with George Fox, and they had a controversy with Galenus Abrahams, the leader of the Socinian Menists, who affirmed, in opposition to the Friends, "that there was no Christian church ministry, or commission apostolical now in the world." The discussion was conducted in two meetings, each of which lasted five hours, and "ended," says Penn, "comfortably to us, because to a general satisfaction."

Accompanied by George Fox and B. Furley, he now proceeded to Leyden, and thence to Rotterdam, where he spent some days in visiting Friends, holding religious meetings, and writing or revising tracts and letters on religious subjects.

After taking a solemn leave of their friends, they came to the Brill, where they took passage in the packet-boat for England. The voyage was tempestuous; they were three days and two nights at sea, the vessel so leaky that two pumps were kept constantly going to prevent her from sinking.

Having safely landed at Harwich, he went on horseback to London,—attended some meetings, and then hastened to Worminghurst, where he found his wife, child, and family well, and had "that evening a sweet meeting amongst them, in which they were truly glad together."

During this journey, which occupied three months and ten days, he travelled nearly three thousand miles, attended a great number of meetings and private conferences, distributed many religious books, and wrote or revised epistles and tracts, which, together with his journal, fill eighty folio pages of his printed works.

Soon after his arrival in England, he received the following letter from the Princess Palatine:

"Herford, the 29th of Oct., 1677.

"Dear Friend—Your tender care of my eternal well-being doth oblige me much, and I will weigh every article of your counsel to follow as much as lies in me; but God's grace must be assistant; as you say yourself, 'He accepts nothing that does not come from him.' If I had made me bare of all worldly goods, and left undone what he requires most—I mean, to do all in and by his Son—I shall be in no better condition than at this present. Let me feel him first governing in my heart, then do what he requires of me; but I am not able to teach others, being not 'taught of God myself.'

"Remember my love to G. F., B. F., G. K., and dear Gertruyd. If you write no worse than your postscript, I can make a shift to read it. Do not think I go from what I spoke to you the last evening; I only stay to do it in a way that is answerable before God and man. I can say no more now, but recommend to your prayers,

"Your true friend, ELIZABETH.

"I almost forgot to tell you, that my sister writes me word, she had been glad you had taken your journey by Osenberg to return to Amsterdam. There is also a Drossard, of Limburgh, near this place, (to whom I gave an Exempler of R. B's Apology), very desirous to speak with some of the Friends."

CHAPTER X.

Persecution of Dissenters; William Penn petitions Parliament; His speeches before a Committee of the House of Commons; The Popish plot; Consternation of the people; Penn's Epistle to Friends; His address to Protestants.

1678–79.

The magistrates and people of England, being thoroughly dissatisfied with the profligacy and misgovernment of King Charles the Second, and suspecting him of a design to introduce the Catholic religion, began to enforce with still greater rigor, the laws against non-conformity. These acts, originally aimed against the Papists, fell with peculiar severity upon Friends, many of whom were now harassed with prosecutions in the Exchequer on penalties of twenty pounds a month, or two-thirds of their estates, for absence from the established churches. Other dissenters, also suffering under the same laws, though not to the same extent, the Parliament took the subject into consideration, and were about to insert such a distinguishing clause in the bill against Popery, as that they who would take the oath and subscribe the declaration therein expressed, should not suffer by those laws. At this juncture, William Penn, on behalf of the society of Friends, presented petitions to both houses of Parliament, stating that they were conscientiously scrupulous against taking oaths, and praying that provision should be made for their relief by allowing their word to be taken instead of an oath, and if found guilty of falsehood, to be subjected to the same penalties as were inflicted on others for perjury. On the 22d of the third month, (March,) 1678, he was admitted to a hearing before a committee of Parliament, when he delivered the following speech.

"If we ought to believe that it is our duty, according to the doctrine of the Apostle, to be always ready to give an account of the hope that is in us, and this to every sober and private inquirer, certainly much more ought we to hold ourselves obliged to declare with all readiness, when called to it by so great an authority, what is not our hope; especially when our very safety is eminently concerned in so doing, and when we cannot decline this discrimination of ourselves from Papists without being conscious to ourselves of the guilt of our own sufferings, for so must every man needs be who suffers mutely under another character than that which truly belongeth to him and his belief. That which giveth me a more than ordinary right to speak at this time, and in this place, is the great abuse which I have received above any other of my profession; for of a long time I have not only been supposed a Papist, but a Seminary, a Jesuit, an emissary of Rome, and in pay from the Pope—a man dedicating my endeavors to the interest and advancement of that party. Nor hath this been the report of the rabble, but the jealousy and insinuation of persons otherwise sober and discreet. Nay, some zealots for the Protestant religion have been so far gone in this mistake, as not only to think ill of us, and decline our conversation, but to take courage to themselves to prosecute us for a sort of concealed Papists; and the truth is, that, what with one thing and what with another, we have been as the woolsacks and common whipping-stock of the kingdom: all laws have been let loose upon us, as if the design were not to reform, but to destroy us; and this, not for what we are, but for what we are not. It is hard that we must thus bear the stripes of another interest, and be their proxy in punishment; but it is worse, that some men can please themselves in such a sort of administration. But mark: I would not be mistaken. I am far from thinking it fit, because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers for Papists, that Papists should be whipt for their consciences. No: for though the hand, pretended to be lifted up against them, hath, I know not by what discretion, lighted heavily upon us, and we complain, yet we do not mean that any should take a fresh aim at them, or that they should come in our room, for we must give the liberty we ask, and cannot be false to our principles, though it were to relieve ourselves; for we have good will to all men, and would have none suffer for a truly sober and conscientious dissent on any hand. And I humbly beg leave to add, that those methods against persons so qualified, do not seem to me to be convincing, or, indeed, adequate to the reason of mankind; but this I submit to your consideration. To conclude; I hope we shall be held excused of the men of that (the Roman Catholic) profession, in giving this distinguishing declaration, since it is not with design to expose them, but, first, to pay that regard we owe to the inquiry of this Committee, and, in the next place, to relieve ourselves from the daily spoil and ruin, which now attend and threaten many hundreds of families, by the execution of laws which, we humbly conceive, were never made against us."

This address was received with marked attention.

Notwithstanding his candid avowal, that he was opposed to all persecution, even against the Papists, whose doctrines and practices he totally condemned, they could not but respect his noble independence and tolerant spirit. Such sentiments, though cherished, perhaps, in the breasts of the wise and good, were seldom heard, in that day, except from the mouths of the Friends; for so great was the excitement, and so bitter the hostility in England against the Roman Catholics, that few persons had the courage openly to advocate the doctrine of universal toleration.

Being admitted to a second hearing before the committee, William Penn addressed them in the following language.

"The candid hearing our sufferings have received from you, and the fair and easy entertainment you have given us, oblige me to add whatever can increase your satisfaction about us. I hope you do not believe I would tell you a lie. I am sure I should choose an ill time and place to tell it in; but, I thank God, it is too late in the day for that. There are some here who have known me formerly. I believe they will say I was never that man; and it would be hard if, after a voluntary neglect of the advantages of this world, I should sit down in my retirement short of common truth.

"Excuse the length of my introduction; it is for this I make it. I was bred a Protestant, and that strictly, too. I lost nothing by time or study. For years, reading, travel, and observations, made the religion of my education the religion of my judgment. My alteration hath brought none to that belief; and though the posture I am in may seem strange to you, yet I am conscientious; and, till you know me better, I hope your charity will call it rather my unhappiness than my crime. I do tell you again, and here solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, and before you all, that the profession I now make, and the society I now adhere to, have been so far from altering that Protestant judgment I had, that I am not conscious to myself of having receded from an iota of any one principle maintained by those first Protestants and Reformers of Germany, and our own martyrs at home, against the See of Rome. On the contrary, I do, with great truth, assure you, that we are of the same negative faith with the ancient Protestant church; and, upon occasion, shall be ready, by God's assistance, to make it appear that we are of the same belief, as to the most fundamental, positive articles of her creed, too; and, therefore, it is we think it hard, that though we deny in common with her those doctrines of Rome, so zealously protested against (from whence the name Protestants), yet that we should be so unhappy as to suffer, and that with extreme severity, by those very laws on purpose made against the maintainers of those doctrines which we do so deny. We choose no suffering; for God knows what we have already suffered, and how many sufficient and trading families are reduced to great poverty by it. We think ourselves an useful people; we are sure we are a peaceable people: yet, if we must still suffer, let us not suffer as Popish Recusants, but as Protestant Dissenters.

"But I would obviate another objection, and that none of the least that hath been made against us, namely, that we are enemies to government in general, and particularly disaffected to that which we live under. I think it not amiss, but very seasonable, yea, my duty, now to declare to you, and this I do with good conscience, in the sight of Almighty God, first, that we believe government to be God's ordinance; and, next, that this present government is established by the providence of God and the law of the land, and that it is our Christian duty readily to obey it in all its just laws, and wherein we cannot comply through tenderness of conscience, in all such cases not to revile or conspire against the government, but with Christian humility and patience tire out all mistakes about us, and wait the better information of those, who, we believe, do as undeservedly as severely treat us; and I know not what greater security can be given by any people, or how any government can be easier from the subjects of it.

"I shall conclude with this, that we are so far from esteeming it hard or ill, that this house hath put us upon this discrimination, that on the contrary, we value it, as we ought to do, an high favor, and cannot choose but see and humbly acknowledge God's providence therein, that you should give us this fair occasion to discharge ourselves of a burden we have, not with more patience than injustice, suffered but too many years under. And I hope our conversation shall always manifest the grateful resentment of our minds for the justice and civility of this opportunity; and so I pray God direct you."

The House of Commons being convinced that the unwillingness of Friends to take the oath arose from religious scruples, and satisfied that they were well affected towards the government, agreed to insert a clause in the bill for their relief, but after it had passed the Commons and gone to the House of Lords, it was lost by a sudden prorogation of Parliament. In the summer of this year, (1678) the nation was thrown into a ferment, by the disclosure of a pretended Popish plot, invented by a wretched imposter, named Titus Oates.

This abandoned creature testified, to the council of state, that he had been connected with the Jesuits, and had fallen under their suspicion for revealing their conspiracy, which was nothing less than a plan to murder the king, and bring the whole nation under subjection to the Roman see. He said, the great fire of London, another at St. Margaret's Hill, and a third at Southwark, had all been the work of the Jesuits, who intended to burn all the chief cities in England.

This improbable fiction, being adapted to the popular prejudices, and encouraged by interested partisans, produced an unexampled degree of excitement and alarm. Even the Parliament was so far deluded or carried away by the popular feeling, as to ordain a solemn fast, and appoint a form of prayer to be used, relating to the plot. They heard the evidence of Oates, which, though contradictory and absurd in itself, was so well supported by their own prejudices and passions, that they expressed, by a vote, their full belief in the conspiracy, and recommended the informer to the favor of the king. Many Catholics were charged with being parties or accessories to the plot, and though doubtless innocent of the crime, they were condemned, almost without evidence, and suffered an ignominious death. The king, although incredulous as to the plot, found he could not resist the whirlwind of passion that was sweeping over the nation, and durst not oppose the popular will by the exercise of his pardoning power.

The Friends had long been exposed to grievous sufferings by means of the penal laws intended for the papists; but now those laws, being enforced with unusual rigor, fell with increased severity upon those non-conformists who could not take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. William Penn, having often been charged with being a Jesuit, was peculiarly exposed to popular prejudice and suspicion: but at this period of general alarm, his mind was stayed by an unwavering confidence in the arm of Divine Power, and he wrote an excellent epistle of advice to his brethren in religious profession.

He warns them of the trouble that is coming on the nation, and the danger that will attend all those who partake of a worldly spirit, and rely upon the arm of flesh. He says to them, "Be ye disincumbered of the world, and discharged from its cares. Fly, as for your lives, from the snares therein, and get you into your watch-tower, the name of the Lord, which is not a mere literal name, but a living spiritual power, a strong tower indeed, an invincible fortress, where dwell ye with Him who speaketh peace to his children and ordains quietness to them that trust in him."

In the following year (1679), the troubles of the nation still continuing, he wrote an "Address to Protestants of all Persuasions," more especially the magistracy and clergy, for the promotion of virtue and charity.

This is an able work, and was thought so well adapted to promote the public good, that a second edition was published a few years afterwards, when the nation became more quiet and composed. The first part of the book treats of various offences against the laws of morality, which were then alarmingly prevalent in England; for the licentiousness of the court had corrupted many in the higher ranks, and the infection of vice and impiety appeared to be spreading among the people.

On this account the author expostulates with them, and asks them to turn their attention to the state of their own hearts, and by repentance and reformation turn away the judgments of God, which have in all ages been directed against wicked and profligate nations.

He cites examples from history to show that national crimes have always been followed by national calamities, which are their necessary fruits by a law of divine appointment.

The second part of the work treats of certain evils that relate to "The Ecclesiastical state of the Kingdom."

"The first of these, is making opinions articles of faith, at least giving them the reputation of faith, and making them the bond of Christian Society." By opinions, our author means all those conclusions or propositions made by men articles of faith, which are not expressly laid down in the Scripture, or so plainly deducible from it, as to leave no room for doubt. He shows that nearly all the schisms, and much of the animosity and bloodshed which have taken place in Christendom, arose from this cause; and in order to avoid dissension and strife, he proposes that the *very language of Holy Writ* should alone be used in expressing the belief of religious societies, a practice which was always carefully adhered to by the primitive Friends. The second of these evils, is the misunderstanding of the nature of faith, which, he says, is not a belief only of men's opinions about the sacred text, nor even a mere belief that the things contained in the Scriptures are true, "for this the devils and hypocrites do, and yet are very bad believers."

He defines true faith to be "entirely believing and trusting in God, confiding in his goodness, resigning up to his will, obeying his commands, and relying upon his conduct and mercies respecting this life, and that which is to come." This is "the faith that works by love to the purifying of the heart."

"It is not a mere historical belief, but a faith that influences the whole man into a suitable conformity to the nature, example and doctrine of Christ, the object of that faith."

A third evil he treats of, is that of "debasing the true value of morality under pretence of higher things, and mistaking, in great measure, the very end of Christ's coming." By morality he means virtuous living, purity of manners, justice, temperance, truth, charity, and blamelessness in conversation, out of conscience and duty to God and man. "This," he says, "is my moral man, and it is notorious, how small an estimate two sorts of people have put upon him,—the profane and the professors, the Publicans and the Pharisees.

"The first despise him as too squeamish, nice and formal; they deride his regularity, and make a jest of his preciseness. And thinking no man can be good because they are naught, and that all must needs fall by those temptations they will not resist, they construe sobriety to be a trick to decoy mankind, and put a cheat upon the world."

"But that virtue should be undervalued by professors of religion is still more to be regretted.

"By this class morality is denied to be Christianity. Virtue, they say, has no claim to grace, and as for a mere just man, they "send him packing among the heathen for damnation."

"Let us not deceive ourselves; God will not be mocked; such as we sow, we shall certainly reap. The tree is known by its fruits, and will be judged according to its fruits." "The wages of sin is death; men will find it so, and every man shall receive his reward suitable to his work."

"For people to talk of *special grace*, and yet be carried away by common temptation; to let pride, vanity, covetousness, revenge, &c., predominate, is provoking to God. But to conceit that the righteous God will indulge his people in that latitude which he condemns in other men, is abominable."

"It is sanctification that makes the saint, and self-denial that constitutes the Christian, and not filling our heads and elevating our fancies by applying those promises to ourselves, which, as yet, we have no interest in, though we may think they belong to nobody else; this *spiritual flattery* of ourselves is most pernicious." "To conclude, nothing can be more apparent than that freedom from *actual sinning* and giving *newness of life* to the *souls* of men, was the great reason of Christ's coming, and the end for which he has given us, out of his fulness, "grace for grace."

"The fourth great ecclesiastical evil is, preferring human authority above reason and truth."

Among several proofs of this, he dwells particularly upon the great power and sway of the clergy, and the people's reliance upon them, for the knowledge of religion and the way of life and salvation.

"Is not prophecy," he says, "once the church's, now engrossed by them, and wholly in their hands? Who dare publicly preach or pray that is not of their order? Have not they only the keys in keeping? May anybody else pretend to the power of absolution or excommunication? much less to constitute ministers? Are not all church rites and privileges in their custody? Do not they make it their proper inheritance? Nay, so much larger is their empire than Cæsar's, that only they begin with births and end with burials: men must pay them for coming in and going out of the world." To pay for *dying is hard!*

"Thus their profits run from the womb to the grave, and that which is the loss of others, is their gain and part of their revenue."

"But what shall I say of the implicit reverence the people have for the clergy, and dependence upon them about religion and salvation, as if they were the only trustees of truth and high treasures of Divine knowledge to the laity."

"The minister is chooser and taster, and everything for them." "They seem to have delivered up their spiritual selves, and made over the business of religion,—the rights of their souls,—to their pastor, and that scarcely with any limitation of truth too. And as if he were, or could be, their guarantee in the other world, they become very unsolicitous of any further search here. So that if we would examine the respective parishes of Protestant, as well as Papish countries, we shall find it is come to that sad pass, that very few have any other religion than the tradition of their priests. They have given up their judgment to him, and seem greatly at their ease, that they have discharged themselves of the trouble of "working out their own salvation, and proving all things, that they might hold fast that which is good," and in the room of that care bequeathed the charge of those affairs to a standing pensioner for that purpose."

The last point under this head, is the propagation of faith by force, in which he says, I shall, with the Ecclesiastic, consider the civil magistrate's share herein: "For though the churchmen are principally guilty, who being professed ministers of a religion which renounces and condemns force, excite the civil magistrate to use it, both to impose their own belief and suppress that of other men, yet the civil magistrate, in running upon their errands, and turning executioner of their cruelty upon such as dissent from them, involves himself in their guilt."

Of this he says there are many instances, not only in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and Charles the First, "but our own age abounds with proofs: thousands have been excommunicated and imprisoned, whole families undone; not a bed left in the house, not a cow left in the field, nor any corn in the barn: widows and orphans stripped without pity, no regard being had to age or sex. And what for? Only because of their meeting to worship God after another manner, than according to the form of the Church of England; but yet in a very peaceable way." "Nor have they only suffered thus by laws intended against them, but after an excessive rate by laws known to have been never designed against them, and only intended against the Papists."

"We can prove sixty pounds taken for thirteen, and not one penny returned, as we made appear before a committee of the late parliament, which is the penalty of four offences for one, to say nothing of the gross abuses that have been committed against our names and persons." "And though we are yet unredressed, not a session of parliament has passed these *seventeen years*, in which we have not humbly remonstrated our suffering condition." "We have done our part, which has been patiently to suffer, and modestly to complain. It is your's now to hear our groans, and, if ever you expect mercy from God, to deliver us." He then proceeds to consider this branch of the subject, under two heads, first, "Cæsar's power," that is the power of the civil magistrate; secondly, "the Church's power" in things that relate to faith and conscience."

Under the first. he shows conclusively, that the civil magistrate has no rightful authority over .conscience, for no human power can compel the mind to worship God aright, and they who attempt it invade the Divine prerogative."

Under the second head he shows that the power of the church extends no further than to reject from its communion those who have "fallen from the principles or practices enjoined by its discipline; but it is not authorized to compel uniformity by any corporeal or pecuniary punishment."

To this work was appended a statement of the causes that lead to persecution; among which are, "First, The authors of it have little or no religion at heart. "Secondly. A gross and general mistake about the nature of Christ's church and kingdom, which is not an outward or worldly kingdom that can be set up by man and sustained by coercive laws, but it consists of the reign of God in the souls of men; it is a spiritual kingdom, and none but spiritual weapons are to be used to reclaim those who are ignorant or disobedient." "A third great cause of persecution is this, that men make *too many* things necessary to be believed to salvation and communion." "Persecution entered with creed making."

If men can be brought to believe that salvation depends upon a certain form of belief or profession, it is but a short step further to conclude that they must use every means in their power to save the souls of their fellow men by bringing them into this form; and even to coerce or compel them to come in, if other means fail.

Our author remarks, near the close of this work, that "there is a zeal without knowledge, that is superstition; there is a zeal against knowledge, that is interest or faction; the *true heresy;* there is a zeal with knowledge, that is *religion;* and if you will view the countries of cruelty, you will find them *superstitious* rather than religious." "Religion is *gentle,* it makes men better, more friendly, loving, and patient than before. And the success which followed Christianity, while the professors of it betook themselves to no other defence, plainly proves, both the force of those passive arguments, above all corporal punishments, and that we must never hope for the same prosperity till we fall into the same methods."

These extracts, from one of Penn's most important religious works, may seem tedious to some readers, for in this age of more liberal ideas, and especially in this country, where toleration is enjoyed as the inalienable right of every citizen; we can scarcely appreciate the value of such works, and the debt of gratitude we owe to their authors. We must remember, however, that the change which has taken place in England and in this country, by which religious liberty has been promoted or secured, is, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to be attributed to those patient sufferers for conscience sake, and those able writers and ministers of the Gospel, who valiantly stood forth as the champions of truth, when priests and rulers were leagued against them, and gross darkness covered the people.

The following petition, addressed to William, Prince of Orange, and dated London the 26th of the 12th month, alias Feb'y, 1679, is interesting, on account of the excellent sentiments it contains; and we may reasonably conclude that it was not without its influence on the mind of that Prince, when subsequently he became King of England, and promoted the act of toleration:

"Great Prince:—Give me leave to address myself in a matter of no small moment. 'Tis true it may be objected, I am a stranger, and because no Prince, this liberty in me may look indecent: but when I consider that I am an Englishman, and that no such can be a stranger to a

Prince so much English, and that beside the urgency of the case, what I want of quality to justify this freedom, shall be supplied with that distance and humility which become my inferior rank to a Prince of so much eminence in the world, I cannot but overcome myself to believe that neither my country nor condition can give any difficulty to the reception of this epistle, indeed, petition; and so much the rather because the goodness and mildness of the King and Duke here, have allowed me this freedom with some success.

"But my more powerful encouragement is the steady practice of thy famous ancestors, the Princes of Orange, whose actions have outdone their quality; their great prudence in the conduct of human affairs, having placed their names among the first of Kings, and which was very remarkable, their singular and admirable care they had to hear, pity, and help the distressed, especially when their miseries were the effects of men's cruelty for the tenderness of their conscience, which is the subject matter of this humble address.

"There are several inhabitants of Crevelt, (a town upon the Rhine, near Cologne, a member of thy ancient patrimony,) that have been banished, without regard to age or sex, not for any offence by them committed against the civil government or ministers of justice, and consequently free from the charge of disloyalty or immorality; but which is worse, I cannot hear there was any reason rendered for the punishment, so that the judgment preceded the trial, and the sentence was executed before the cause was heard.

"Though I presume that which is to be alleged by the Drost or Chief Governor under thy command, is their dissent from the reformed religion: but with submission, we must never reproach the Papists with persecuting Protestants, if Protestants themselves will persecute Protestants, because of some different apprehensions about religion, since that were to deny an infallible jurisdiction over conscience in the Pope, and assuming it to themselves, which in England we call Hating the Traitor, but loving the Treason. And indeed it is scandalous, that they whose ancestors labored under so much difficulty for a reformation, should not allow others liberty to reform themselves. For if the principles of the first reformers be denied, the cause must be given up against all the Protestants in the world: for this they went upon the tradition of the Scripture before the tradition of the church, and conviction before authority. It was not enough then to say you must believe so, or you must not do thus, there was conviction in the case or no compliance given, so that Popery (concisely speaking) is obedience without conviction, and Protestancy is obedience upon conviction, but in this case it seems authority superceded conviction, and people were banished for not altering their belief or acting against their consciences, when no man can believe against this belief, nor yet practice contrary to it unless he will be an hypocrite.

If it is impossible for any one to give another faith, it must be unreasonable in him to punish him for want of faith; it is the gift of God, who alone can enlighten us about Divine things. Nor did our meek Saviour leave such an example to his disciples, who strictly forbad them to exercise dominion over one another, at least as Christians, as men of religion, which comes to the point in hand. He also told us that his Kingdom was not of this world, and gave that as a reason why he could not use such an unsuitable means as worldly power to sit it up. This unworldly way of speaking is so little understood by his pretended followers, that they will easily leave him to pursue their passions and gratify their interest.

"This gross apprehension of the nature of Christ's kingdom may well be an occasion of their mistake about the means of promoting it, else it were not credible that men should think clubs, prisons, and banishment the proper mediums of enlightening the understanding.

"To be short, great Prince, God and Cæsar divide the man; faith and worship belong to God, civil obedience and tribute to Cæsar. In the first, with Prince William of Orange, (thy great ancestor,) indulge these poor inoffensive people, it is Christian, it is Protestant, it is human, for religion improves and not ruins nature; Christ came to save, to implant meekness, love and forbearance in the natures of men, and remember that the heathens themselves had that notion of goodness, they always gave it precedency to power; first Optimus, then Maximus, and Antonius, and other of their Emperors, forbad that Christians should be persecuted for the cause of their religion, if they maintained a civil obedience to the laws. Nor does variety of opinion hinder arts or ruin traffic, of which the countries under thy government are a demonstration against the clamors of superstition. Thus Cæsar giving God his due, if the people shall refuse to Cæsar that which belongs to Cæsar, to wit, tribute and civil obedience, let the law be executed with so much the more severity, by how much their pretences to goodness exceed those of other men.

"I shall conclude, great Prince, with this humble request, that it would please thee to command the Drost of those parts to suffer these dissenting inhabitants of Crevelt now exiled, to return quietly to their habitations, and that if nothing appear against them but what relates to faith and worship, so liberally allowed in the seven provinces under thy command, they may enjoy the liberty of that their native country and the protection of its civil goverment, that the great God who is King of kings and Lord of lords, may bless and prosper thy affairs as he did those of thy predecessors, who took the same course I have here recommended to thee."

CHAPTER XI.

William Penn becomes interested in political affairs; Contests between Whigs and Tories; He sides with the Whigs; His Tract on the election of Parliament; Accompanies Algernon Sidney to the Hustings; Letters to Sidney; Dissolution of Parliament and new election; "One project for the good of England;" Motives which influenced Penn; His independence and patriotism.

1679–80.

In the year 1679, William Penn became so deeply interested in the political affairs of the kingdom, as to employ his pen and his personal influence in an election for members of Parliament.

It had not been usual for members of the Society of Friends to take an active part in the choice of their rulers; some of them did not even exercise the elective franchise,* and they were precluded by their religious principles from holding any office under the government which required the administration of an oath, or gave the least countenance to the practice of war.

The king having issued writs for the election of a new Parliament in the early part of this year, a contest ensued between the court and country parties, which, for the deep interest it excited, was then almost without a parallel in British history.

There was in the minds of a great part of the nation a profound disgust with the measures pursued by the king and his ministers; they saw that he had sacrificed the interest and honor of the kingdom, by his alliance with France; and although it was not then generally known that he received an annual pension from Louis XIV., as the reward of his perfidy, yet there was a settled conviction that he intended to betray the Protestant cause. The pretended Popish plot contributed to augment the prejudice againt him, and the blood that had already been shed on that account, seemed rather to inflame than allay the popular fury.

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* Clarkson, ch. xv.

At this time originated those party names of Whig and Tory, which have ever since been adhered to, and are now familiar to every reader.

"The court party reproached their antagonists with their affinity to the fanatical conventiclers who in Scotland were known by the name of Whigs; the country party fancied a resemblance between the courtiers and the popish banditti in Ireland, who had received the appellation of Tories."* The Whigs in England were then the stanch asserters of constitutional freedom; the Tories professed to be a conservative party, who supported the king's prerogative, and at that time all the influence of the court was exerted in favor of their election.

William Penn, although he could not approve of all the measures of either party, was by his principles drawn into sympathy and co-operation with the Whigs; among whom the distinguished Algernon Sidney was his intimate friend, whose virtues, talents, and liberal views, he greatly admired.

Just before the election, Penn issued a pamphlet entitled "England's great interest in the choice of this Parliament." In this work he alludes to the very peculiar circumstances in which the nation was then placed on account of the sudden and surprising dissolution of the last Parliament, "the strong jealousies of the people," and the "universal agitation that prevailed. He considers it a most important crisis in the affairs of the nation, and states the work of the new Parliament to be, 1st, the discovery and punishment of the plot; 2dly. To remove and bring to justice the evil counsellors of the king and arbitrary ministers of state; 3dly. To detect and punish the pensioners of the former Parliament who had sold their influence to the court; 4thly. To secure frequent Parliaments as the only true check upon arbitrary ministers, and therefore, feared, hated and opposed by them; 5thly. Security against popery and slavery, and relief for Protestant dissenters; 6thly. That in case this be done, the king be released from his burdensome debts to the nation, and eased in the business of his revenue.

He states the great importance of choosing "wise men, fearing God and hating covetousness." "We must," he says, "not make our public choice the recompense of private favors from our neighbors; they must excuse us that; the weight of the matter will very well bear it; this is our inheritance, all depends upon it, and, therefore, none must take it ill that we use our freedom about that which in its constitution is the great bulwark of all our ancient English liberties." We, the commons of England, are a great part of the fundamental government of it, and *three rights* are so peculiar and inherent to us, that if we will not throw them away for fear or favor, for meat and drink, or those other little present profits that ill men offer to tempt us with, they cannot be altered or abrogated." "The first of these fundamentals is right and title to your lives, liberties and estates. In this every man is a sort of little sovereign in himself; no man has power over his person to imprison or hurt it, or over his estate to invade or usurp it. Only your own transgression of the laws (and those of your own making too) lays you open to loss, which is but the punishment due to offences, and should be in proportion to the fault committed. So that the power of England is a legal power which truly merits the name of government. That which is not legal is tyranny and not properly a government. The second fundamental that is your birthright, is *legislation*. "No law can be made or abrogated without you." Your third great right and privilege is executive; that is, you share in the execution and application of those laws that you agree to be made." No man, according to the ancient laws of the realm, can be adjudged in matters of life, liberty and estate, but it must be by the judgment of his *peers*, that is, twelve men of the neighborhood, commonly called a jury; though this has been infringed by two acts made in the late long Parliament: one against the Quakers in particular, and the other against dissenters in general, called, "an act against seditious conventicles." He then proceeds to declare the kind of men fitted for the high trust of a seat in Parliament; they should be honest and capable; men of industry and improvement; possessed of liberal principles, and sincerely attached to the Protestant religion, for implicit faith and blind obedience in religion will also introduce implicit faith and blind obedience in government." "So that it is no more the law in the one than in the other, but the will and power of the *superior* that shall be the rule and bond of our subjection. This is that fatal mischief popery brings with it to civil society, and for which such societies ought to beware of it, and all those that are friends to it."*

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* Hume's History of England.

William Penn would probably have confined his exertions in favor of civil liberty to the issuing of this address, had not his feelings been deeply interested for the success of his friend Algernon Sidney, then a candidate for Parliament.†

He believed that the success of this enlightened patriot would greatly promote the cause of civil and religious liberty, and he not only used his influence among his friends to obtain votes for him, but he accompanied him to the hustings at Guilford, where Sidney was then a candidate against Dalmahoy, who was then one of the court party.

While Penn was in the act of encouraging his friends, he was stopped by the Recorder, who, in order to make him odious, branded him with the name of Jesuit, and would have tendered him the oaths, but this having been shown to be illegal, he then proceeded to use force, and "turned him out of court."‡

Though Sidney had the majority of votes, Dalmahoy was returned, under the plea that the former was not a freeman of Guilford.

On Penn's return to Worminghurst, he wrote to Algernon Sidney the following letter:

"DEAR FRIEND—I hope you got all well home, as I by God's goodness have done. I reflected, upon the way, of things passed at Guilford, and that which occurs to me as reasonable is this, that so soon as the articles or exceptions are digested, show them to Serjeant Maynard, and get his opinion of the matter. Sir Francis Winnington and Wallope have been used on these occasions too. Thou must have counsel before the committee; and to advise first upon the reason of an address or petition with them, in my opinion, is not imprudent, but very fitting. If they say that (the conjuncture considered, thy qualifications and alliance, and his ungratefulness to the house,) they believe all may amount to an unfair election, then I offer to wait presently upon the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Shaftsbury, Lord Essex, Lord Halifax, Lord Hollis, Lord Gray, and others, to use their utmost interest in reversing this business. This may be done in five days, and I was not willing to stay till I come, which will be with the first. Remember the non-residents on their side, as Legg and others. I left order with all our interest to bestir themselves, and watch, and transmit an account to thee daily. I bless God, I found all well at home. I hope the disappointment so strange (a hundred and forty poll-men as we thought last night considered) does not move thee. Thou, as thy friends, had a conscientious regard for England; and to be put aside by such base ways is really a suffering for righteousness. Thou hast embarked thyself with them that seek, and love, and choose the best things; and number is not weight with thee. I hope it is retrievable, for to me it looks not a fair and clear election. Forget not that soldiers were made free three weeks ago in prospect of the choice (and by the way they went, as we may guess, for Dalmahoy's sake), and thyself so often put by, a thing not refused to one of thy condition. Of the Lower House, the Lord Cavendish, and especially Lord Russell, Sir Jo. Coventry, Powell, Saychevrill, Williams, Lee, Clergis, Boskowen, Titus, men, some able, some hot (ardent), and fit to be nearly engaged in the knowledge of these things. 'Tis late, I am weary, and hope to see thee quickly. Farewell.

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* Penn's Select Works.

† Clarkson.

‡ Ibid. ch. xv.

"Thy faithful friend, WILLIAM PENN."

Although the court party by unfair means succeeded at Guilford, it was not so throughout the kingdom, for all the influence and patronage of the government could not prevent the return of a Parliament still more disaffected towards the court than the last. About two months after the assembling of Parliament, the king, finding he could not carry his measures, nor protect his prime minister from impeachment, suddenly dissolved it, and issued writs for a new election.

This gave another opportunity for bringing forward Algernon Sidney, and William Penn again became one of his supporters.

He proposed to him to become a candidate for Bamber, which was in his own county, and he interested himself in paving the way for him in that borough. The following is one of his letters to Sidney.*

"Dear Friend—I am now at Sir John Fagg's, where I and my relations dined. I have pressed the point with what diligence and force I could; and to say true, Sir John Fagg has been a most zealous, and, he believes, a successful friend to thee. But, upon a serious consideration of the matter, it is agreed that thou comest down with all speed, but that thou takest Hall-Land in thy way, and bringest Sir John Pelham with thee, which he ought less to scruple, because his having no interest can be no objection to his appearing with thee; the commonest civility that can be is all [that is] desired. The borough has kindled at thy name, and takes it well. If Sir John Temple may be credited, he assures me it is very likely. He is at work daily. Another, one Parsons, treats to-day, but for thee as well as himself, and mostly makes his men for thee, and perhaps will be persuaded, if you two carry it not, to bequeath his interest to thee, and then Captain Goreing is thy colleague; and this I wish, both to make the thing easier and to prevent offence. Sir John Pelham sent me word, he heard that thy brother Henry Sidney would be proposed to that borough, or already was, and till he was sure of the contrary, it would not be decent for him to appear. Of that thou canst best inform him. That day you come to Bramber Sir John Fagg will meet you both; and that night you may lie at Wiston, and then, when thou pleasest, with us at Worminghurst. Sir John Temple has that opinion of thy good reasons to persuade, as well as quality to influence the electors, that, with what is and will be done, the business will prosper; which, with my true good wishes that it may be so, is all at present from thy true Friend,

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* Clarkson, ch. xv.

"WILLIAM PENN.

"Sir John Fagg salutes thee."

From this letter it appears that the interest of Sir John Pelham was expected to be exerted in favor of Algernon Sidney, but he was engaged by the ministry to sustain Algernon's younger brother Henry, who belonged to the court party. The polls closed with a double return. Algernon thought himself elected, and claimed his seat, but on the meeting of Parliament his election was declared void.*

Soon after the election of this Parliament, Penn issued another publication, intended to allay persecution, and promote the prosperity of the kingdom; it bears the title of "One project for the good of England; that is, our civil union is our civil safety."

This work was dedicated to the Parliament, and ably maintains the position that the *civil* interests of all *Protestants*, whether Dissenters or members of the Established Church, are the same. They can unite in denying the supremacy of the Pope, and of all other foreign potentates. "The civil interests of English Protestants being thus the same, and their religious interest too, so far as concerns a negative to the usurpation and error of Rome, I do humbly ask," he says, "if it be the interest of the government to expose those to misery that have no other interest than the government? Or if it be just or equal that the weaker should be prosecuted by the more powerful Protestants?"

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* **Life of A. Sidney, by G. Van Santvoord.**

He proceeds to show that nothing can be better calculated to build up the church of Rome, and enable her to regain her ascendancy in England, than for Protestants of different persuasions to weaken and destroy one another.

The commercial and manufacturing interests of the kingdom were also impaired by persecution, for it wasted the estates, and deranged the business of industrious citizens. Having shown the many evils resulting from the penal laws enacted to secure uniformity in religion, and the ill success that must always attend them, he then brings forward his "Project for the good of England," which is a new test in the form of a declaration to be subscribed without an oath. This declaration contains an acknowledgment of King Charles the Second, as lawful king of the realm, and denies the authority of the Pope or See of Rome to depose him or absolve his subjects from their allegiance.

It denies the claim of the Pope to be Christ's vicar, disclaims the doctrines of purgatory and transubstantiation, and declares the worship of the Catholic Church to be superstitious and idolatrous. This tract, as well as that which immediately preceded it, was issued without the author's name, and with the signature of Philanglus.

In estimating the character and principles of Penn, these political tracts, and the part he took in favor of the election of Algernon Sidney, are worthy of especial attention. They show most conclusively that he was not only opposed to the papal predilections of the king, but deeply interested in promoting the success of the Whigs, and especially of the patriotic Sidney, a republican in principle, who was more feared and hated by the court, than almost any other man in the kingdom. Yet in the face of all this evidence, his enemies of that day, in order to subject him to public odium, persisted in calling him a Jesuit; and even in this age, when we are enjoying the benefits of his tolerant and liberal principles, he has been held up to public reprobation as a courtier whose sympathies were all on the side of arbitrary power.

It is true that he enjoyed ready access to the king, and that he often made use of this privilege to plead the cause of suffering humanity, not only in procuring the release of his imprisoned brethren, but in securing pardon and protection to those of other religious persuasions.

How, then, shall we account for the favor he enjoyed at court? There is only one way, and that is so singular as to be considered incredible by men of the world. He was an honest, sincere-hearted man, one of the very few of that class who ever appeared at the court of Charles II., and that monarch, profligate as he was, had the discernment to discover, and the good sense to appreciate, those sterling qualities which stood out in bold relief, when contrasted with the fawning sycophants by whom he was surrounded. The favor he showed to Penn, was a memorable instance, of the homage that vice pays to virtue.

As to Penn himself, we cannot doubt that his pure spirit was disgusted with the licentiousness of the court, for we find in many of his writings, that he attacked with boldness and energy the profligate manners of the age, and his domestic life was so exemplary, as to be above the reach of calumny.

His motives, then, in appearing at court, were of the noblest character; he felt it his duty to use his influence for the promotion of individual happiness, and national prosperity. But in doing this, it must be conceded, that his example was not without danger, if followed by others of less independence and firmness of character. It was said, by the Divine teacher, "they that wear soft clothing are in king's houses," and it is generally found that the pliancy of their principles corresponds with the softness of their apparel.

Public honors and sumptuous living, have a wonderful influence in subduing that sternness of purpose with which the young disciple sets out in pursuit of spiritual good. If he permit himself to be seduced, in the least degree, from this purpose, by the disguised flattery of the world, he incurs the risk of gradually losing his hold upon better things, the desires that appeared to be subdued, spring up afresh, and he must either retrace his steps by a timely retreat, or go forward and make shipwreck of the faith.

Among the few who have maintained their integrity while mingling with the incumbents of high political station, William Penn affords a most remarkable instance, and yet the professors of religion should hesitate to expose themselves to the temptations incident to such an intercourse, without an imperative necessity.

His circumstances were peculiar: born to the possession of wealth and rank, introduced in early life to the society of the most distinguished men, possessed of great learning and talents, he had the power to render effectual relief to thousands who were suffering under the iron rod of persecution; and he could not exert the influence he possessed, without appearing at court and exchanging civilities with men whose principles were as opposite to his own, as darkness to light. Nor can it be supposed that the king considered him as a partisan of the court, for his political writings, as well as the course he pursued at the hustings in Guilford, had identified him with the Whigs.

There is another point in which the professors of religion, and especially ministers of the Gospel, should closely examine themselves, before they venture to follow the example of Penn. The share he took in obtaining votes, and speaking at the hustings to promote the election of Algernon Sidney. It cannot be denied that the political arena, both in England and America, is a most unfavorable field for the growth of religous principles. Men of all parties who mingle in the strife generally attendant on elections, are too much in the habit of using means to promote the success of their candidates, which are not consistent with Christian principles. And, moreover, the very excitement which prevails at such times, is unfavorable to that quiet contemplative spirit, which peculiarly becomes the station of those "who minister about holy things."

In considering the course that Penn pursued in the election at Guilford. justice to his memory requires that we should bear in mind the motives that prompted him, and the very important objects he had in view. He says, in one of his letters to Sidney, "thou, as thy friends, had a conscientious regard for England, and to be put aside for such base way's, is really a suffering for righteousness.

"Thou hast embarked thyself with them that seek, and love and choose the best things, and number is not weight with thee." It was, therefore, with a view to promote the highest interests of his country, and the progress of religious liberty, that he departed from the line of conduct generally adopted by his brethren in religious profession.

William Penn had for some years, previous to this time, been concerned as a trustee in the management of West New Jersey, which continued to prosper, and to attract towards its shores a constant stream of emigration, but in the year 1680, much dissatisfaction was excited among the colonists by the exaction of a duty on imports and exports, imposed by the Governor of New York, and collected at the Hoarkills, a town at the capes of the Delaware, since called Lewistown.

This duty being considered an onerous and illegal exaction, the trustees complained to the Duke of York, then proprietary of the Province of New York, who referred the consideration of it to commissioners to examine the subject, and report to him. The argument submitted by the trustees, on behalf of the colony, is remarkable for its ability, and some of the views it exhibits, as well as the diction in which they are conveyed, bear evident marks of William Penn's style of thought and expression.

After showing that the Duke had granted to Berkley, and that he had transferred to the trustees of Byllinge, his title, not only to the soil, but to the government of West New Jersey, for which they had paid a valuable consideration, and, that in the conveyance, the *powers of government were expressly granted*, he proceeds to prove that the power of taxation, claimed by the Duke's agents, was a flagrant violation of English liberty. "To give up this," he says, (the power of making laws,) "is to change the government, to sell, or rather resign, ourselves to the will of another: and that for nothing. For under favor we buy nothing of the Duke, if not the right of an undisturbed colonizing, and that as Englishmen, with no diminution but expectation of some increase, of those freedoms and privileges enjoyed in our own country; for the *soil is none of his*, 'tis the natives', by the *jus gentium*, by the laws of nations, and it would be an ill argument to convert to Christianity, to expel instead of purchasing them out of those countries.

"If then the country be theirs, it is not the Duke's, he cannot sell it; then what have we bought? we are yet unanswered on this point, and desire you to do it with all due regard to the great honor and justice of the Duke. If it be not the right of colonizing, then which way have we our bargain, that pay an arbitrary custom, neither known to the laws of England nor the settled constitution of New York, and those other plantations?

"This very tax, of five per cent., is a thing not to be found in the Duke's conveyances; but an after business, a very surprise to the planter! and such an one as, could they have foreseen, they would have sooner taken up in any other plantation in America. Customs, in all governments in the world, are laid upon trade, but this upon planting is unprecedented. Had we brought commodities to these parts to sell, made profit out of them, and returned to the advantage of traders, there had been some color or pretence for this exaction; but to require and force a custom from persons for coming to their property, their own terra-firma, their habitations, in short for coming home, is without a parallel; this is paying custom, not for trading, but landing; not for merchandizing, but planting; in very deed, for hazarding; for there we go, carry over our families and estates, and adventure both for the improvement of a wilderness, and we are not only told we must pay hereafter out of our gains and improvements, but must pay out of our poor stock and principal, (put into goods), five pounds in the hundred, and not as they are there worth, but as they here cost, and this for coming to plant; so that the plain English of the tragedy is this; we twice buy this moiety of New Jersey, first of Lord Berkley, and next of the natives, and what for? the better to mortgage ourselves and posterity to the Duke's governors, and give them a title to our persons and estates, that never had any before. But pray consider, can there be a house without a bottom, or a plantation before a people? if not, can there be a custom before a trade? Besides, there is no end of this power, for since we are, by this precedent, assessed without any law, and thereby excluded our English right of common assent to taxes, what security have we of any thing we possess? we can call nothing our own, but are tenants at will, not only for the soil, but for all our personal estates; we endure penury and the sweat of our brows to improve them, at our own hazard only. This is to transplant not from good to better, but from good to bad; this sort of conduct has destroyed governments, but never raised one to true greatness, nor ever will in the Duke's territories, whilst there are so many countries equally as good, in soil and air, surrounded with greater freedom and security."

This remonstrance was so effectual, that the commissioners reported favorably, and the duty was remitted.

In the following year, Penn became interested in the property and government of East New Jersey, of which, Elizabethtown was the capital.

Sir George Cartaret, the former proprietary of this Province, having died, it was sold under his will to pay his debts, and Penn became the purchaser, on behalf of himself and eleven other persons.

The twelve proprietaries soon after admitted twelve others into co-partnership with them, and to these twenty-four proprietaries the Duke of York made a fresh grant of East New Jersey, bearing date the 14th of March, 1682;* they instituted a government, called the Council of Proprietors, whose meetings were held twice in the year, at Perth Amboy. All the proprietaries, except two, were members of the society of Friends, and in the year 1683, Robert Barclay, of Urie in Scotland, a noted member and writer of the society, was made Governor of East Jersey, for life, and Thomas Rudyard, of the same society, residing in the colony, was Deputy Governor. West New Jersey, having become quite populous, Edward Byllinge was chosen Governor by the proprietaries in England, and he commissioned Samuel Jennings, a minister in the society of Friends, to act as deputy Governor. These two Provinces, East and West New Jersey, continued in a prosperous state for many years, but much inconvenience having arisen, from the large number of proprietaries, they agreed to surrender the government to the British crown, which was done in the reign of Queen Anne, by an instrument dated the 15th of April, 1702.

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* Smith's History of New Jersey, p. 117 to 156.

CHAPTER XII.

William Penn applies to Charles II. for lands in America; Obtains a grant of Pennsylvania; Letter to R. Turner; Terms of the Royal Charter; Letter to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania; Sends out Markham as Deputy; Arrival of Markham; Boundaries; Penn issues description of the Colony and proposals for settlement; Letter to R. Turner and others.

1680–81.

William Penn, having been for many years actively and successfully engaged in the colonization of New Jersey, became well informed concerning the extent and resources of the adjoining territories; and thus his thoughts were turned towards that great enterprise of founding a colony on the western bank of the Delaware, which has proved to be the crowning achievement of his useful and eventful life. He inherited from his father a claim on the British government for money advanced and services rendered to the amount of sixteen thousand pounds, and in the year 1680 petitioned Charles II. to grant him, in lieu of this sum, a tract of country in America, lying north of Maryland, "bounded on the east by the Delaware river, on the west limited as Maryland, and northward to extend as far as plantable."*

The object of this enterprise was not only to provide a peaceful home for the persecuted members of his own society, but to afford an asylum for the good and oppressed of every nation, and to found an empire where the pure and peaceable principles of Christianity might be carried out in practice.

The petition being referred to the "Committee of the Privy Council for the affairs of trade and plantations," they notified the agent of Lord Baltimore, and Sir John Werden, agent of the Duke of York, in order that they might report whether the proposed grant would be consistent with the boundaries of Maryland and New York.* At a subsequent meeting of the committee, a letter was produced from Sir John Werden, objecting to Penn's request, on the ground that "the territory west of the Delaware, was an appendage to the government of New York, being known by the name of Delaware colony, or more particularly, New Castle colony, and planted promiscuously by Swedes, Finlanders, Dutch, and English." At the same time a letter from the agent of Lord Baltimore was read, desiring, if the grant should be made to Penn, that "it might be expressed to be lands north of the *Susquehannah Fort*, which is the boundary of Maryland northward."

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* Hazard's An , 475.

When the opposition on the part of the Duke of York's agent became known to Penn, he had an interview with the Duke, and succeeded in removing his objections, after which a second letter was addressed by Sir J. Werden to the Secretary, in which he says, "his royal highness commands me to let you know, in order to your informing their lordships of it, that he is very willing Mr. Penn's request may meet with success."† The petition being referred, by the Lords of Trade, to the attorney general Sir Wm. Jones, he reported that "it did not appear to entrench upon the boundaries of Lord Baltimore's province nor those of New York, so that the tract of land desired by Mr. Penn seems to be undisposed of by his majesty; except the imaginary lines of New England patents, which are bounded westwardly by the main ocean, should give them a real, though impracticable right, to all those vast territories." At a meeting of the committee, January 25, 1681, the boundaries of the proposed patent to Penn, settled by Lord Chief Justice North, with the alterations of Sir John Werden, were read and approved. From these proceedings it appears that great care was taken to adjust the boundaries of the proposed province, so as not to entrench upon former patents; nevertheless, we shall find that the line between the territories of Penn and Lord Baltimore was, for a long period, a subject of controversy, attended with much annoyance and heavy expense.

At one of the meetings of the committee a paper was read from the Bishop of London, desiring that Penn "be obliged, by his patent, to admit a chaplain of his lordship's appointment, upon the request of any number of planters, which was referred to the Lord Chief Justice North." At a subsequent meeting of the committee, a draft of the patent was read, and there being a blank left for the name, it was agreed to leave the nomination of it to the King.

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* Hazard's An., 475.

† Ibid, 480.

At length, after many delays and much solicitude, Penn had the gratification to learn that his patent was prepared for the King's signature, which was affixed to it under date 4th of March, A. D. 1681. "This venerable document, which is still preserved, and now hung up in the office of the Secretary of State at Harrisburg, is written on strong parchment in the old English handwriting, each line underscored with red ink, and the borders gorgeously decorated with heraldic devices."*

The satisfaction of Penn on this occasion, and the delicacy of his feelings with regard to the name bestowed on the province, may be seen in the following letter to his friend Robert Turner:

"5th, of 1st mo., 1681.

"Dear Friend:—My true love in the Lord salutes thee and dear friends that love the Lord's precious truth in those parts. Thine I have, and for my business here, know that after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in council, this day my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of Pennsylvania; *a name the King would give it in* honor of my father. I chose New Wales, being, as this, a pretty hilly country, but Penn being Welsh for *a head*, as Penmanmoire in Wales, and Penrith in Cumberland, and Penn in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England, called this Pennsylvania, which is the *high or head woodlands;* for I proposed, when the Secretary, a Welshman, refused to have it called New Wales, *Sylvania*, and they added *Penn* to it; and though I much opposed it, and went to the King to have it struck out and altered, he said it was past, and would take it upon him; nor could twenty guineas move the under secretary to vary the name; for I feared lest it should be looked on as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the King, as it truly was, to my father, whom he often mentions with praise. Thou mayest communicate my grant to Friends, and expect shortly my proposals.

"It is a clear and just thing, and my God that has given it me through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care to the government, that it be well laid at first. No more now, but dear love in the truth. Thy true friend,

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* Hazard's An., 500.

"WM. PENN."*

The royal patent or charter of Pennsylvania, consists of twenty-three articles, and is too long for insertion here, but some of its leading provisions may be interesting to the reader.

The preamble declares, that William Penn's application for the territory arose out of " a commendable desire to enlarge the British empire, and promote such useful commodities as may be a benefit to the King and his dominions; and also, to reduce the savage nations, by just and gentle manners, to the love of civil society and the Christian religion."

The charter states that the King, favoring his petition and good purpose, and having also a regard to the memory and merits of his late father, Sir William Penn, "doth grant unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, all that tract or part of land in America, bounded on the east by the Delaware river, from twelve miles distance northward of New Castle town, unto the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude. The said land to extend westward, five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the said eastern bounds, and the said lands to be bounded on the north by the *beginning of the three and fortieth degree* of northern latitude, and on the south by a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from New Castle, northward and westward, unto the *beginning of the fortieth* degree of northern latitude, and then by a straight line westward to the limits of longitude above mentioned." William Penn is made absolute proprietary, saving to the King and his successors the sovereignty of the country, and the allegiance of Penn, as well as of all who shall be tenants under him. The grant was " not *in capite*," but in "free and common socage, by fealty only," yielding and paying to the King *two beaver skins annually*, to be delivered at the castle of Windsor, and also the fifth part of all the gold and silver ore which shall be found within the limits aforesaid. The proprietary, with the assent and approbation of the freemen of the colony, was empowered to make all necessary laws, not inconsistent with the laws of England. He was authorized to appoint magistrates and judges, to grant pardons, except for the crimes of wilful murder and treason, and in these cases to grant reprieves until the King's pleasure should be known therein. The laws of the province were to be transmitted to the privy council for approbation.

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* Hazard's An., 500.

Appeals from the judgment of the colonial courts might, in certain cases, be taken to the King. The fruits and commodities of the province might be imported into any of the ports of "*England, and not into any other port whatsoever*," but within a year after the landing of the same in England, they might be reshipped to any other country, paying such duties as British subjects are bound to pay. Penn and his heirs, were to enjoy such customs on imports and exports, in the province, as he or they, and the people there, when assembled, may reasonably assess, "saving to the King, and his successors such impositions and customs, as are, or by act of *Parliament shall be, appointed.*" But the King was to levy no taxes upon the inhabitants of the province, without the consent of the proprietary or assembly, or by *act of Parliament.*

Penn was invested with all the powers of a "captain-general," "to levy, muster, and train all sorts of men," to make war by sea and land, against barbarous nations, pirates and robbers. It was provided, that on the application of the inhabitants of said province, to the number of twenty, to the Bishop of London, for a preacher to be sent to them, *he should be permitted to reside in the province;* and lastly, that if any difference should arise, concerning the meaning of the charter, it should be construed in a manner most favorable to the proprietary.*

It has been thought by some, that "the spirit of freedom which breathes through this charter, is at variance with the character of its grantor, and with his policy towards the colony of Massachusetts, particularly in the independence of legal control permitted to the legislative power."† It is said to have been "drafted by Penn himself, from the charter of Maryland; originally drafted by Sir Geo. Calvert, Secretary of State to James the First, and was revised by Chief Justice North, and the Attorney General, Sir Wm. Jones, who added two important clauses." It is obvious that the article investing the proprietary with the powers of a captain-general, and the clause allowing ministers of the church of England to reside in the province, did not emanate from Penn, but were inserted at the suggestion of others, the former being contrary to his principles, and the latter wholly unnecessary.

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* Hazard's Annals of Pennsylvania.

† Gordon's Hist. of Pennsylvania.

The restriction upon the commerce of the province, requiring it all to pass through English ports, was in accordance with the policy long pursued by the British government, which sought to secure to the mother country all the benefits of colonial trade.

The right of the British Parliament to tax the colony, which is implied in this charter, must have been repugnant to the feelings of the proprietary, as well as opposed to his interest, but at that period the momentous consequences involved in it were, probably, not foreseen.

Within a month from the date of the charter, the King issued a declaration, stating the grant that had been made to Penn, and requiring all persons settled in the province to yield obedience to him as absolute proprietor and governor. About the same time, Penn addressed the following letter to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania:

"My Friends:—I wish you all happiness, here and hereafter. These are to let you know that it hath pleased God, in his providence, to cast you within my lot and care. It is a business that, though I never undertook before, yet God hath given me an understanding of my duty, and an honest mind to do it uprightly. I hope you will not be troubled at your change, and the King's choice, for you are now fixed at the mercy of no governor that comes to make his fortune great; you shall be governed by *laws of your own making, and live a free*, and if you will, *a sober and industrious* people. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution, and has given me his grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire, for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with, and in five months resolve, if it please God, to see you. In the meantime, pray submit to the commands of my deputy, so far as they are consistent with the law, and pay him those dues [that formerly you paid to the order of the Governor of New York] for my use and benefit; and so I wish God to direct you in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you.

"I am your true friend, WM. PENN.*

"London, 8th of the month called April, 1681."

This letter, together with the King's declaration, was taken out to the province by William Markham, a cousin of the proprietary, who was commissioned to act as his deputy.

The commission to Markham, dated 10th of April 1681, contains the following directions:†

1st. "To call a council, and that to consist of nine, he presiding." 2d. "That he does there read my letter to the inhabitants, and the King's declaration of subjection; then (or there) take the inhabitants' acknowledgment of my authority and propriety." 3d. "To settle bounds between me and my neighbors, to survey, set out, rent or sell lands, according to [my] instructions, bearing date the 8th of the month called April, 1681." 4th. "To erect courts, appoint sheriffs, justices of the peace," &c. 5th. "To call to his aid any of the inhabitants of those Provinces, for the legal suppression of tumults," &c.

Capt. Markham arrived at New York on the 21st of June, O. S. (then 4th month), where he obtained an order from the Lieutenant Governor of that Province, for the surrender of the territory embraced in the charter of Pennsylvania, which had hitherto been under his jurisdiction. Markham was, also, the bearer of a letter from the King to Lord Baltimore, apprising him of the grant of Pennsylvania to William Penn, and requiring both parties to adjust boundaries. "Lord Baltimore being in the province, had an interview with Markham at Upland, (now called Chester) which resulted in discovering, from actual observation, that Upland itself was at least twelve miles south of 40 degrees, and that boundaries [claimed by Baltimore] would extend to Schuylkill." This discovery ended the conference, and gave fresh incentives to Penn to obtain from the Duke of York a grant of the Delaware settlements, as without such grant, he had now reason to fear the loss of the whole peninsula.‡

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* Hazard's An., 502.

† See the com. in full;—Hazard's An. 504.

‡ Hazard's An., quoted from Chalmers.

Having taken these measures to secure his title to the province, Penn next drew up a description of it, from the best information he then possessed, and issued proposals for its colonization.

This document is introduced, by an argument in defence of colonies, intended to remove the prejudices of some, who thought they weakened the mother country, by drawing off her population and resources. He enters into an elaborate investigation of the subject, showing that the wisest and best men of ancient times were concerned in this great work of planting the seeds of nations, which, as they grow up to maturity, furnish the materials of commerce, promote the comforts of life, contribute to the increase of knowledge, and extend the boundaries of civilization.

"Let it be considered," he says, "that the plantations employ many hundreds of shipping, and many thousands of seamen, which must be, in divers respects, an advantage to England, being an island, and by nature fitted for navigation above any country in Europe. This is followed by other depending trades, as ship-wrights, carpenters, sawyers, hewers, trunnel-makers, joiners, slop-sellers, dry-satlers, iron-workers, the Eastland merchants, timber-sellers and victuallers; with many more trades which hang upon navigation; so that we may easily see the objection (that colonies or plantations hurt England,) is at least of no strength, especially if we consider how many thousand blacks and Indians are also accommodated with clothes, and many sorts of tools and utensils from England, and that their labor is mostly brought hither, which adds wealth and people to the English dominions."*

After alluding to the conveniences for navigation, the variety of timber, and the abundant means of subsistence, he thus speaks of the government. "According to the patent, the people and governor have a legislative power, so that no law can be made, nor money raised, without the people's consent. The rights and freedoms of England to be in force there; 'may enact what laws we please except against allegiance, which would be void.' So soon as any are engaged with me, we shall begin a scheme or draft together, such as shall give ample testimony of my sincere inclinations to encourage planters, and settle a free, just, and industrious colony there."

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* Hazard's Annals, 507.

The conditions on which land might be taken up, were as follows. Those who wish to buy shares in the province, can have 5000 acres for £100, and to pay annually one *shilling quit-rent for each hundred acres;* the quit-rent not to begin till 1684. Those who only rent, are to pay one penny per acre, not to exceed 200 acres. Persons who take over servants, [*i. e.* laborers,] are to be allowed 50 acres per head, and 50 acres to every servant when his time is expired.

Lest any should engage in this enterprise, inconsiderately, he adds this caution: "Because I know how much people are apt to fancy things beyond what they are, and that imaginations are great flatterers of the minds of men, to the end that none may delude themselves with an expectation of an immediate amendment of their conditions, so soon as it shall please God that they arrive there, I would have them understand, they must look for a winter before a summer comes; they must be willing to be two or three years without some of the conveniences they enjoy at home, and yet I must needs say, that America is another thing than it was at the first planting of Virginia and New England, for there is better accommodation, and English provisions are to be had at easier rates. The passage will come, for masters and mistresses, at most, at £6 a head; for servants, £5 a head, and for children, under seven years of age, 50 shillings. * * * To conclude, I desire all my dear country folks, who may be inclined to go into those parts, to consider seriously the premises, as well the present inconveniences, as future ease and plenty, that so none may move rashly, or from a fickle, but solid mind; having, above all things, an eye to the providence of God, in the disposal of themselves. And I would further advise all such, at least to have the permission, if not the good liking of their near relatives, for that is both natural and a duty incumbent upon all, and by this means will natural affection be preserved, and a friendly and profitable correspondence maintained between them. In all which, I beseech Almighty God to direct us, that his blessing may attend our honest endeavor, and then the consequence of all our undertakings will turn to the glory of his great name, and the true happiness of us and our posterity."

Soon after these proposals were issued, they were forwarded to some of his friends with the following interesting letter:*

"Westminster, 12th of 2d mo., [April] '81.

"FRS. R. TURNER, ANTY. SHARP & ROGER ROBERTS:—My love salutes you in the abiding truth of our God, that is precious in all lands; the Lord God of righteousness keep us in it, and then shall we be daily witnesses of the comforts and refreshments that come from it, to his praise that is the foundation of all good.

"Having published a paper with relation to my province in America (at least what I thought advisible to publish), I here enclose one that you may know and inform others of it. I have been, these 13 years, the servant of truth and Friends, and for my testimony sake lost much, not only by the greatness and preferments of this world, but £16,000 of my estate, that had I not been what I am, I had long ago obtained. But I murmur not, the Lord is good to me, and the interest [of] his truth with his people, may more than repair it. For many are drawn forth to be concerned with me, and perhaps this way of satisfaction has more of the hand of God in it, than a downright payment; this I can say, that I had an opening of joy as to these parts, in the year 1661, at Oxford, twenty years since; and as my understanding and inclination have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in government, so it is now put into my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege, I propose that which is extraordinary, and to leave *myself and successors no power of doing mischief*, that *the will of one man may not hinder the good of an whole country.* But to publish these things now, and here, as matters stand, would not be wise; and I am advised to reserve that till I come there.

"Your ancient love to me, makes me believe you will have a brotherly eye to my honest concern, and what truth makes you free to do, you will; and more I expect not. 'Tis a clear, unintangled and, I may say, honorable bottom. No more, but let Friends know it, as you are free.

"With my friendship, in that which no water can quench, nor time make wax old, nor distance wear out,

"Your friend and brother,
"WILLIAM PENN."

"The enclosed was first read to traders, planters and shipmasters, that know those parts, and finally to the most eminent Friends, hereaway, and so comes forth. I have forborne pains and allurement, and with truth.
"W P."

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* Copied from MS. in the Archives of American Philosophical Soc., Phila.

CHAPTER XIII.

William Penn's position and views: Conditions of settlement in his Province; Letter to J. Harrison; To R. Turner; From J. Claypole; William Penn refuses to sell monopoly of Indian trade; Three Commissioners sent to Pa.; Their Instructions; arrival of two ships with colonists; William Penn's religious labors; Tract called "Examination of Liberty Spiritual;" Letter to Friends of Bristol; To R. Vickers; Death of his Mother.

1681–82.

By the patent of King Charles II., William Penn had acquired the royal grant of a vast and fertile territory; he was the absolute proprietary and feudal sovereign of a province, which, for extent of surface and natural resources, had few equals among the North American Colonies. It was now to be proved by his conduct whether the love of civil and religious liberty, so earnestly advocated in his writings, was a sincere and permanent sentiment of the heart. Would he carry out in practice those Christian principles he had promulgated to the world? Or would he, like the great mass of legislators and statesmen, in the intoxication of power, forget the rights of humanity? His position was well adapted to test the vitality of his religious principles; but his previous life had given assurance that his power would be used for the benefit of mankind, and nobly did his subsequent conduct redeem the pledge.

We have seen by his excellent letter to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, that it was his intention "they should be governed by laws of their own making, in order that they might be a *free people*," and the conditions or concessions agreed upon, between the proprietary and those purchasers who were to be engaged with him in the enterprise, evince an earnest desire that justice should be done to the Indians, who were then the principal owners of the soil. But it may be asked, what did Penn purchase of the king by the relinquishment of his father's claim, if it was not a title to the soil and government of the privince?

This may be answered by reference to his remonstrance against the duty imposed by the agents of the Duke of York on the commerce of New Jersey. In that able document he says, "we buy nothing of the Duke, if not the right of an undisturbed colonizing, for the *soil is none of his*, *'tis the natives* by the *jus gentium*, by the laws of nations, and it would be an ill argument to convert to Christianity, to expel, instead of purchasing them out of those countries."*

The conditions or concessions are dated the 11th of July, 1681, and consist of twenty articles. The first ten relate to the survey of a city, "In the most convenient place upon the river for health and navigation, the apportionment of city lots to country purchasers, the laying out of roads, and the working of mines. In the remaining articles, regulations are established for dealing with the natives. Goods sold to them or exchanged for furs, were to be exhibited in open market, in order that imposition might be prevented, or frauds detected; no colonist allowed to affront or wrong an Indian, without incurring the same penalty, as if committed against his fellow-planter; all differences between Indians and colonists to be settled by a jury of twelve men, six of whom should be Indians; and the natives were to have all the privileges of planting their grounds and providing for their families, enjoyed by the colonists.

The following letter from the proprietary dated 25th of 6th month (then August), 1681, gives an interesting view of his prospects and state of mind at this time.

"DEAR JAMES HARRISON:—In the fellowship of the gospel of love and peace, with God our Father who hath brought Jesus Christ from the dead, do I tenderly salute thee; owning thy love and kindness to me, of which thine of the 5th month last, gave me a sense and fresh remembrance; which met me at London on my return from the west, where the Lord prospered me beyond words, blessed be his honored name.

"As to my voyage, it is not like to be so quick as I hoped; for the people upon whose going, both my resolutions and service in going depended, though they buy, and mostly send servants to clear and sow a piece of land against they come, not one of them can now get rid of their concerns here till spring. When they go, I go. My going with servants, will not settle a government, the great end of my going; besides, many flock in to be concerned with me. I am like to have many from France, some from Holland, and, I hear, some Scotch will go. For my country, I eyed the Lord in the obtaining of it, and more was I drawn inward to look to him and to owe it to his hand and power, than to any other way. I have so obtained it, and desire that I may not be unworthy of his love, but do that which may answer his kind providence, and serve his truth and people; that an example may be set up to the nations; there may be room there, though not here, *for such an holy experiment.*

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* Smith's N. Jersey.

"Now dear James, for the fifty acres a servant to the master, and fifty to the servant. This is done for their sakes that can't buy; for I must either be paid by purchase or rent, that is, those that can't buy may take up, if a master of a family, 200 acres at a penny an acre [rent], afterwards 50 acres a head, for every man and maid servant, but still at same rent; else none would buy or rent, and so I should make nothing of my country: however, to encourage poor servants to go and be laborious, I have abated the 1*d* to ½*d* per acre, when they are out of their time. Now, if any about thee will engage and buy, there may be ten, yea twenty, to one share, which will be but five pounds a piece, for which each will have 250 acres.

"For those that can't pay their passage, let me know their names, number and ages; they must pay double rent to them that help them over. But this know, that this rent is never to be raised, and they are to enjoy it forever. For the acre, it is the common statute acre by our law allowed.

"So, dear James, thou mayst let me hear of thee, and how things incline. I shall persuade none, 'tis a good country, with a good conscience it will do well. I am satisfied in it, and leave it with the Lord, and in the love and fellowship of the truth I end, in love to thy family and honest friends, thy friend and brother, WM. PENN.

"P. S. I here sign thee an authority to sell to any about thee that will buy. A ship goes with commissioners suddenly, in five weeks, to lay out the first and best land to the first adventurers. If any deal, let me know. I clear the King's and Indian's title, the purchasers pay the scrivener and surveyor, I sign the deeds at Thos. Rudyard's, when I know who and what. W. P."[*]

Another letter of William Penn, dated September 4th, '81, to Robert Turner, then in Ireland, speaks of his refusing an advantageous offer for a monopoly of the Indian trade.[†] He says, "I have lately been in the West of England, and had a prosperous journey in the Lord's service. At my return found thine to me. The most material is about the quit-rent, &c. Philip (Ford) will be large to thee upon it. I am content to sell it to a beaver's skin, which is about a crown value at ten years purchase. I did refuse a great temptation last second-day, which was £6000, and pay the Indians for six shares, and make the purchasers a company, to have wholly to itself the Indian trade from South to North, between Susquehanna and Delaware rivers, paying me 2½ per cent. acknowledgment or rent; but as the Lord gave it me over all and great opposition, and that I never had my mind so exercised to the Lord about any outward substance, I would not abuse His love, *nor act unworthy of his providence, and so defile what came to me clean.* No; let the Lord guide me by his wisdom, and preserve me to honor his name and serve His truth and people, that an example and standard may be set up to the nations; there may be room there, though none here."

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[*] Copied from Pemberton's MSS.

[†] Mem. Penna. Hist. Soc. vol. i. part i. 104. Hazard's Annals, 521.

This statement is corroborated by a letter dated 10th of 7th month (Sept.) 1681, written by James Claypole, who became largely interested in the colony. He says, "Wm. Penn does not intend starting for Pennsylvania till next spring, and then it is likely there will be many people ready to go from England, Scotland, and Ireland. He is offered great things; £6000 for a monopoly in trade, which he refused, and for islands and particular places, great sums of money, but he designs to do things equally between all parties, and I believe truly does aim more at justice and righteousness, and spreading of truth, than at his own particular gain. I tried him about the proposals to take £100 for 5000 acres, and abate the quit-rent, which he refused, intending to do equal by all. If thou will be concerned in one half of the 5000 acres, I will have the other half, and make as good terms for thee as for myself."*

This noble conduct of Penn in refusing to sell the monopoly of the Indian trade, lest he should act unworthy of his trust, and "defile that which came to him clean," is in perfect accordance with his whole course through life; for he never permitted his own interest or aggrandizement to stand in the way of promoting the glory of God or the good of mankind.

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* **Hazard's An., 522, from Claypole's Letter Book.**

In the autumn of this year three commissioners were appointed by the proprietary to proceed to the colony, make arrangements for a settlement, lay out a town, and treat with the Indians.

Their names were Wm. Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen. His letter of instructions to them, dated 30th of Sept., 1681, contains many judicious directions, some of which are here subjoined.

1. He enjoins them to take especial care of the people that shall embark with them, that they may be accommodated with conveniences, as to food, lodging, and places for their goods, concerning which his deputy, Wm. Markham, then "*on the spot*," would be able to direct them.

2. Let the rivers and creeks be sounded on the Pennsylvania side of the river Delaware, "especially at Upland [Chester,] in order to settle a great town, and be sure to make your choice where it is most navigable, high, dry, and healthy; that is, where most ships may best ride, of deepest draught of water, if possible to load or unload at the bank or key-side, without boating or lighterage."

"It would be well if the river coming into that creek be navigable at least for boats up into the country." * * * * *

3. "Such a place being found out, lay out ten thousand acres contiguous to it, in the best manner you can, as the bounds and extent of the liberties of the said town."

4. "Every share of five thousand acres shall have one hundred acres of land out of that ten thousand." * * * *

5. "That no more land be surveyed till this be first fixed and the people upon it, which is best both for comfort, safety, and traffic." * * *

6. "If it shall happen that the most convenient place for a great town be already taken up, in greater quantity of land than is consistent with the town plot, and that land not already improved, you must use your utmost skill to persuade them to part with so much as will be necessary, that so good a design be not spoiled. That is, where they have ten acres by the water-side to abate five, and to take five more backward, and so proportionally." * * * * "Be impartially just, and courteous to all, that is both pleasing to the Lord and wise in itself."

7 and 8. "If you gain your point in this respect, (of which be very careful,) fall to dividing as before, according to shares, then subdivide," &c. * * *

9. "Be tender of offending the Indians, and hearken by honest spies, if you can hear that any body inveigles them not to sell, or to stand off, and raise the value upon you. You cannot want those that will inform you; but to soften them to me, and the people, let them know that you are come to sit down lovingly among them. Let my letter and conditions, with my

purchasers about just dealing with them, be read in their tongue, that they may see we have their good in our eye, equal with our own interest, and after reading my letter and the said conditions, then present their kings with what I send them, and make a friendship and league with them, according to those conditions, which carefully observe, and get them to comply with. Be grave; they love not to be smiled on."

10. "From time to time, in my name, and for my use, buy land of them, where any justly pretend, for they will sell one another's if you be not careful; that so, such as buy and come after these adventurers, may have land ready, but by no means sell any land till I come." * * *

11. "Let no islands be disposed of to any body, till I come."

12. "Be sure to settle the figure of the town, so as that the streets hereafter may be uniform down to the water from the country bounds; let the place of the storehouses be on the middle of the key, which will yet serve for market and statehouses too. This may be ordered when I come, only let the houses be built on a line, or upon a line as much as may be."

13. "Pitch upon the very middle of the plat, where the town or line of houses is to be laid or run, facing the harbor and great river, for the situation of my house, and let it be, not the tenth part of the town as the conditions say, viz., that out of every hundred thousand acres, shall be reserved to me ten, but I shall be contented with less than a thirtieth part, to wit, three hundred acres, whereas several will have two, by purchasing two shares, that is, ten thousand acres, and it may be fitting for me to exceed a little."

14. "The distance of each house from the creek or harbor should be, in my judgment, a measured quarter of a mile, at least two hundred paces, because of building hereafter streets downward to the harbor."

15. "Let every house be placed, if the person pleases, in the middle of its plat, as to the breadth-way of it, that so there may be ground on each side for gardens or orchards, or fields, that it *may be a green country town*, which will never be burnt and always wholesome." * * * *

Lastly. "Be sure to keep the conditions hereunto affixed, and see that no vice or evil conversation go uncomplained of or unpunished in any, that God be not provoked to wrath against the country." * * *

"WM. PENN.

" * * * 30th of September, 1681."

The wisdom evinced in these instructions, with regard to the location and plan of the "great town" intended to be built on the Delaware, is very remarkable. How much it is to be regretted that his design of "a green country town, that would never be burnt, and always be wholesome," was not more fully realized.

The letter to the Indians sent by the commissioners, and referred to in the instructions, was as follows:*

"London, 18th of 8th mo., 1681.

"My Friends:—There is one great God and power that hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you, and I, and all people owe their being and well-being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we have done in the world.

"This great God has written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love, and to help, and to do good to one another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world; and the King of the country where I live hath given me a great province therein; but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbors and friends; else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us (not to devour and destroy one another, but) to live soberly and kindly together in the world? Now, I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice which have been too much exercised toward you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of justice and goodness unto you. This I hear hath been a matter of trouble to you, and caused great grudging and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood, which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard toward you, and desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just and peaceable life; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly; and if in any thing any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

"I shall shortly come to see you myself, at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters. In the mean time I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and to the people, and receive the presents and tokens which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good will to you, and of my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you. I am, your loving friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

The commissioners took passage in one of the two ships which sailed for the colony in the autumn of this year.

One of these ships was called the John and Sarah of London,

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* Clarkson's Life of Penn, 166. Hazard's An. 532.

Capt. Henry Smith, which was the first that arrived with emigrants after the cession to Penn. The other was the Bristol Factor, Roger Drew master, which sailed from the city of Bristol, and arrived at Upland (now called Chester) on the 11th of December, when the passengers, seeing some houses, went ashore, and the river freezing over that night, they remained there all winter.*

It is stated by the historians Proud, Gordon, and Clarkson, that another ship with passengers, the Amity of London, Capt. Dimon, sailed near the same time, and being blown off the coast, did not arrive till spring; but it appears from the letters of James Claypole, quoted in Hazard's Annals, that "she did not leave England till April of the next year.†

Although the emigrants arrived at an inclement season, they probably experienced but little inconvenience, most of them being well provided with stores, and the colonists, already there, treating them with kindness and hospitality. The population of the province, exclusive of Indians, was, at this time, about two thousand souls, consisting mostly of Swedes and English, whose habitations were scattered along the western bank of the Delaware.

There were six houses erected for public worship; three of them by the Swedes; one at Christina, one at Wicacoa (now Southwark,) and one at Tenecum; and three by the Friends: one at Chester, another at Shackamaxon, (now Kensington,) and another at the Falls of the Delaware.‡

Notwithstanding the engagements of Penn, while disposing of his lands and making arrangements for the supply and government of his colony, must have been numerous and pressing; he nevertheless found time to attend to his religious duties, which with him were always paramount. By his letters we have seen that he had just performed a journey to the west of England on a religious mission; and there appears among his printed works a tract issued this year, called a "Brief Examination of Liberty Spiritual, both with respect to Persons in their private capacity and in their Church Society and Communion." This work was called forth by a difference of sentiment among Friends in England, in relation to the exercise of church discipline.

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* Hazard's An.

† Ibid, 537 and 557.

‡ Proud i. 205, note.

A small party, led by John Wilkinson and John Story, having separated from the body, endeavored to draw others after them, under the pretence of a higher spirituality and greater freedom from the proscriptions of men. They maintained that rules of discipline, by which the members were limited or controlled in their conduct and conversation, were an imposition upon conscience,—that every Christian having the light of Divine truth in his own mind for a guide, should be left to its dictates, and that the church should do no more than advise its members, but in no case proceed to disown them.

These objections to the discipline of Friends were answered by William Penn, in his usual clear and vigorous style.

About this time his sympathy was deeply moved by the sufferings of Friends in the city of Bristol, where the penal laws were put in force against them and executed with barbarous cruelty; breaking up their meetings, haling men, women, and even children, to prison, and imposing heavy fines upon them, to the ruin of their estates. Having used every means in his power, to arrest these unjust and cruel proceedings, but without success, he addressed them a letter of sympathy and encouragement, from which the following passages are quoted: "My beloved brethren and sisters! be not cast down at the rage of evil men, whose anger works not the righteousness of God, and whose cruelty the Lord will limit.

"Nothing strange or unusual is come to pass; it makes well for them that eye the Lord, in and through these sufferings. There is food in affliction, and though the instruments of it cannot see it, all shall work together for good to them that fear the Lord. Keep your ground in the truth, that was and is the saints' victory." * * * * * "The Lord God, by his power, keep your hearts living to Him, that it may be your delight to wait upon Him and receive the bounty of his love; that being fed with daily bread, and drinking of his cup of blessing, you may be raised above the fear or trouble of earthly things, and grow strong in Him who is your crown of rejoicing; that having answered his requirings and walked faithfully before

Him, you may receive in the end of your days the welcome sentence of gladness. Eternal riches are before you, an inheritance incorruptible. Press after the glorious mark, let your minds be set on things that are above, and when Christ, that is the glory of his poor people, shall appear, they shall appear with Him in glory, when all tears shall be wiped away, and there shall be no more sorrow or sighing, but they that overcome shall be as Mount Sion, that shall never be moved."*

Soon after the date of this letter he had a narrow escape from arrest and imprisonment. On going to the meeting at Grace Church street, he found the yard crowded with soldiers. He entered the house, and after sitting awhile, rose and began to preach; upon this a constable, with his staff, came forward and bade him desist and come down; he paid no attention to the order, but went on and finished his discourse. George Fox, who preached after him, was assailed in the same manner, but the constable, who was a feeling man, was so affected by their discourses, and by the solemnity which covered the meeting, that he was completely disarmed. He had been sent with a warrant, and accompanied by an informer named Hilton, but finding the informer gone, the constable excused himself from the performance of his ungrateful office.†

Among the letters of Penn written this year, was one to Robert Vickris, whose son had joined the society of Friends. It is here inserted on account of its pious sentiments, happily expressed:

"Dear Friend:—In my dear and heavenly farewell to the city of Bristol, thou wert often upon my spirit, and the wishes of my soul are, that the Lord would abundantly fill thee with the consolations of his Holy Spirit, and that the days thou hast to pass on this side of the grave thou mayest be fitting for his coming, that comes as a thief in the night, that at what watch of the night soever it be, thou mayest awake with his likeness, and enter the rest that is eternal. So the Lord more and more gather thee out of every visible, fading thing, and prepare thee for himself. Dear friend, be faithful to that appearance of God and manifestation of the love of the Lord to thy soul, that visits thee. The Lord is near thee, with thee, and in thee, to enlighten, melt, and refresh thee. 'Tis his presence, not seen or felt of the wicked, that gathers and revives the soul that seeks him. So the Lord be with thee, and remember into thy bosom the sincere love thou hast shown to thy son and his friends!

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* Life prefixed to works.

† Clarkson.

"I say no more, but in the Lord farewell.

"Thy truly affectionate friend, WM. PENN."*

In the early part of the year 1682, he was deeply afflicted by the death of his mother, to whom he was most tenderly attached. She was an excellent woman, and had been to him a kind and judicious parent, ever ready to sympathize with him, and to extend counsel and relief during the many trials he encountered for the sake of his religion.

CHAPTER XIV.

Penn's frame of Government; Compared with that of Locke; Preface to his Constitution; Code of Laws; Free Society of Traders; Slaves for a term of years; Letters to Emperor of Canada and to the Indians; Deeds from Duke of York; Letter of William Penn to his wife and children; Embarks for America; Letter to S. Crisp.

1682.

In the spring of this year William Penn was actively engaged in preparations for his voyage to America, and in drafting a frame of government for his infant colony.

It must not be supposed, however, that the admirable constitution and code of laws, which have shed so much lustre on his name, were the unaided result of his single genius. Although there was probably no man then living whose mind was so free from prejudice, and so fully enlightened on the subject of government; yet there were among his friends, concerned with him in the enterprise, several persons of enlarged minds and liberal ideas, who performed an important, though subordinate share, in that great work. They had frequent conferences together; the proprietary's views were "overruled in many particulars,"* and the code they adopted was the result of their united labors.

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* Clarkson.

It must also be considered that the doctrines and discipline of the society of Friends, which were first promulgated by George Fox, had a controlling influence on the mind of Penn, and furnished him with views and principles, which being engrafted into his constitution and laws, gave rise to their most salutary and remarkable features. In order to illustrate this position, let us compare the circumstances that conspired to the training of his mind, and the results developed in his frame of government, with those of Locke, his great cotemporary.

As fellow students at Oxford, they had both drunk deeply from the same fountains of classic literature; as members of the Royal Society and compeers of Newton, they had kept pace with the progress of modern philosophy; having both travelled on the continent, they had observed the merits and defects of foreign governments; and being on terms of familiar intercourse with British statesmen, they had all the lights that could be derived from their experience.

Yet when they came to lay the foundations of government for American colonies, how different were the principles on which they built!

Locke, in the constitution he drafted for Carolina, endeavored to perpetuate the distinctions of rank by creating an order of nobility. Penn, being desirous to promote general equality, abolished the laws of primogeniture. Locke, to protect the rights of property, provided a council of hereditary Palatines, and none but large proprietors were eligible to the legislature. Penn, to secure personal liberty, placed the legislative power in the hands of the people, and provided for annual elections by ballot. "To the charter which Locke invented for Carolina, the Palatines voted an immutable immortality; and it never gained more than a short partial existence. To the people of his Province, Penn left it free to subvert or alter the frame of government, and its essential principles remain to this day without change."†

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* Gordon's Hist. of Pa., 63.

† Bancroft, U. S. ii. 392.

How shall we account for this remarkable disparity? Both were possessed of talents and virtues of the highest order, combined with humane and tolerant feelings.

Is not the superiority of Penn's frame of government to be attributed to the peculiar influence of his religious associations? He was united in fellowship with a people whose principles and practice were essentially democratic; they acknowledged no distinction of clergy and laity; they placed a low estimate on hereditary rank, and they laid the foundation of their church discipline on the supremacy of that divine principle in man, which leads to equality of rights and universal fraternity.

The first constitution or frame of government agreed upon in England between the proprietary and others concerned in the first settlement, is dated the 25th of April, 1682. It was published in the following month, accompanied by a preface explanatory of the general principles of government. This admirable paper is here inserted entire.

"The Preface.—When the great and wise God had made the world, of all his creatures it pleased him to choose man his deputy to rule it; and to fit him for so great a charge and trust, he did not only qualify him with skill and power, but with integrity to use them justly. This native goodness was equally his honor and his happiness, and whilst he stood here, all went well; there was no need of coercive or compulsive means; the precept of divine love and truth in his bosom, was the guide and keeper of his innocency. But lust prevailing against duty, made a lamentable breach upon it; and the law, that had before no power over him took place upon him and his disobedient posterity, that such as would not live conformably to the holy law within, should fall under the reproof and correction of the just law without, in a judicial administration.

"This the Apostle teaches in divers of his epistles. 'The law,' says he, 'was added because of transgression.' In another place, 'knowing that the law was not made for the righteous man, but for the disobedient and ungodly, for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers,' * * * and others. But this is not all; he opens and carries the matter of government a little further: 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God; whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; for rulers are not a terror to good works but to evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same.—He is the minister of God to thee for good.—Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake.'

"This settles the divine right of government beyond exception, and that for two ends: first, to terrify evil doers; secondly, to cherish those that do well; which gives government a life beyond corruption, and makes it as durable in the world as good men shall be. So that government seems to me a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end; for, if it does not directly remove the cause, it crushes the effects of evil, and is, as such, though a lower, yet an emination of the same divine power that is both author and object of pure religion; the difference lying here, that the one is more free and mental, the other more corporal and compulsive in its operation; but that is only to evil doers, government itself being otherwise as capable of kindness, goodness, and charity, as a more private society. They weakly err who think there is no other use of government than correction, which is the coarsest part of it. Daily experience tells us, that the care and regulation of many other affairs, more soft and daily necessary, make up much the greatest part of government, and which must have followed the peopling of the world, had Adam never fallen, and will continue among men on earth under the highest attainments they may arrive at by the coming of the blessed second Adam, the Lord from heaven. Thus much of government in general, as to its rise and end.

"For particular frames and modes, it will become me to say little, and, comparatively, I will say nothing. My reasons are, first, that the age is too nice and difficult for it, there being nothing the wits of men are more busy and divided upon. 'Tis true they seem to agree in the end, to wit, happiness, but in the means they differ, as to divine, so to this human felicity; and the cause is much the same, not always want of light and knowledge, but want of using them rightly. Men side with their passions against their reason: and their sinister interests have so strong a bias upon their minds, that they lean to them against the good of the things they know.

"Secondly. I do not find a model in the world, that time, place, and some singular emergencies have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil government that shall serve all places alike.

"Thirdly. I know what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, which are the rule of one, of a few, and of many, and are the three common ideas of government when men discourse on that subject. But I choose to solve the controversy with this small distinction, and it belongs to all three: any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy or confusion.

"But, lastly, when all is said, there is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill designed by its first founders, that in good hands would not do well enough; and story tells us, that the best in ill ones can do nothing that is great and good; witness the Jewish and Roman states.

Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too. Wherefore governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad. If it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be ever so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their turn.

"I know some say, Let us have good laws, and no matter for the men that execute them. But let them consider, that though good laws do well, good men do better; for good laws may want good men, and be abolished or evaded by ill men; but good men will never want good laws, nor suffer ill ones. 'Tis true, good laws have some awe upon ill ministers, but that is where these have not power to escape or abolish them, and where the people are generally wise and good; but a loose and depraved people (which is to the question) love laws and an administration like themselves. That, therefore, which makes a good constitution must keep it, namely, men of wisdom and virtue, qualities that, because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth, for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders and the successive magistracy, than to their parents for their private patrimonies.

"These considerations of the weight of government, and the nice and various opinions about it, made it uneasy to me to think of publishing the ensuing Frame and Conditional Laws, foreseeing both the censures they will meet with from men of different humors and engagements, and the occasion they may give of discourse beyond my design.

"But next to the power of necessity, which is a solicitor that will take no denial, this induced me to a compliance, that we have, with reverence to God and good conscience to men, to the best of our skill contrived and composed the frame and laws of this government to the great end of all government, viz. to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honorable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery.

"To carry this evenness is partly owing to the constitution, and partly to the magistracy; where either of these fail, government will be subject to convulsions, but where both are wanting, it must be totally subverted: then where both meet, the government is like to endure, which I humbly pray and hope God will please to make the lot of this of Pennsylvania. Amen.

WILLIAM PENN."

The frame or constitution consisted of twenty-four articles, and the following are some of the most important provisions. The government to consist of the governor and freemen of the province, in form of a Provincial Council and

General Assembly, by whom all laws shall be made, courts erected, officers chosen and public affairs transacted. The freemen to choose by ballot, at the first election, seventy-two persons for a Provincial Council, one-third of them to serve three years, one-third two years, and one-third one year; and at every succeeding annual election, to choose twenty-four persons to serve three years, so that one-third should go out every year, and the body always remain seventy-two in number. Two-thirds of the council to constitute a quorum for the enactment of laws, establishment of courts, &c.; but in cases of less moment, twenty-four to constitute a quorum. In this council, the governor or his deputy to preside, and have a treble vote. All bills were to be prepared by the governor and council, and "published thirty days before the meeting of the Assembly in order to the passing of them into laws or rejecting them as the Assembly shall see meet." The governor and council to have the inspection and management of the public treasury, to see the laws faithfully executed, to act as a court of appeals, to erect and order all public schools, and encourage useful sciences and laudable inventions. The general assembly to consist of not exceeding two hundred persons, to be chosen annually by ballot, to meet at the capital of the Province, and during eight days they may confer with each other, and if any of them see meet, with a committee of the council to be appointed for that purpose, in order that they may propose any alterations or amendments to the promulgated bills, and on the ninth day of their meeting, the bills being read to them by the clerk of the council, and the occasion or motives of them explained by the governor or his deputy, the Assembly "shall give their affirmation or negative, which to them seemeth best." For the better establishment of the government, and to the end that there may be an universal satisfaction in laying the fundamentals thereof, the General Assembly shall or may for the *first year* consist of all the freemen of the province. In order that the government might be speedily settled, William Penn was to appoint the first judges, treasurers, sheriffs, &c., but their successors were to be chosen by the Governor and Council.

This frame of government was followed by a code of laws, forty in number, agreed upon in England, and intended to be altered and amended by an assembly in Pennsylvania, as was done the following year. These laws described the qualifications of freemen entitled to vote or to be elected, which included not only land-holders, but "every inhabitant, artificer, or other resident, that pays scot and lot to the government."

No taxes were to be collected but by law; in the courts, all persons might appear in their own way, and plead their own cause; all trials were to be by jury; no oaths to be required; all fines to be moderate; all prisons to be work-houses; all marriages to be published before solemnized, and to be solemnized by the parties taking one another as husband and wife, before witnesses, signing a certificate of the same and having it recorded. The estates of felons were liable to make satisfaction to the family wronged to twice the value, and in default of such payment being made, the felons to be bondsmen in the workhouse until the party injured be satisfied. All children of the age of twelve years, to be taught some useful trade. Slanderers to be punished as enemies of the public peace.

Members of the council and assembly, and all judges, to be such as profess faith in Jesus Christ, and are not convicted of "unsober or dishonest conversation." All persons who confess one Almighty God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and hold themselves obliged to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no ways be molested on account of their persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship, nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship or ministry whatever. According to the good example of the primitive Christians, and for the ease of the creation, every first day of the week, called the Lord's day, people shall abstain from their common daily labor, that they may the better dispose themselves to worship God, according to their understandings. All offences against God, such as swearing, cursing, lying, profane talking, drunkenness, &c.; all felonies, murders, duels, &c.; and all stage-play, cards, dice and gambling, to be severely punished, according to the appointment of the governor and freemen, in provincial council and general assembly. This code of laws was enacted and signed in England by the governor and freemen, the 6th of May, 1682.

This frame of government was afterwards modified, as to form, but its distinctive principles are still found in the constitution of Pennsylvania, and have exercised a salutary influence on the legislation of other States, as well as in the formation of the Federal Union. The great principle of religious liberty, had before been proclaimed in Rhode Island and in Maryland; it was reserved for Penn only to give it a clearer expression and wider field of action. The privilege allowed to every man, of worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience, is not placed on the ground of humane toleration, but established as an inherent right.

In his penal code, the founder of Pennsylvania, was also far in advance of his age. Although by the charter, his laws were subject to repeal, when not consistent with the laws of England, he ventured to abolish, almost entirely, her sanguinary code, reserving the penalty of death for wilful murder only. It must be admitted, that even in this case, capital punishment was contrary to the principles of Friends, but perhaps the change they effected was as great as their dependent condition would allow. Penn "looked upon reformation as the great end of retributive justice." "In pursuance of this idea, he exempted from the infliction of death, about 200 offences, which were capitally punished by the English law."* The sentiment expressed in his laws, that every prison should be a work-house, and the humane regulations established for jails, gave rise to a new mode of punitive justice, the Penitentiary system, in which Pennsylvania has taken the lead.

A mild code of laws vigorously executed, is the true policy of nations; for it is not the severity, but the certainty of punishment, that deters from the commission of crime. It is justly observed by Penn, that "they weakly err, who think there is no other use of government, than correction, which is the coarsest part of it." To provide the means of a good education for every child, and to see that all are taught some good trade or profession, would do more for the promotion of peace and happiness, than all the machinery of courts and prisons.

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* J. R. Tyson's address on the 200th anniversary of the birth of Penn.

There was one great defect in the constitution of Pennsylvania, which was beyond the power of Penn to avoid or remedy. He held the Province as a fief, from the crown; he was a feudal sovereign, acting as the executive of a democracy; and these two elements were found incompatible. His sweetness of temper and weight of character, enabled him while in the Province to maintain the balance of power, but in his absence no deputy could be found to supply his place; and to this cause may be attributed many of the dissensions that afterwards arose.

When we take into view, that his constitution was then unparalleled for its excellence, and that he ever showed a willingness to alter it in accordance with the wants and capacities of the people, we shall find few, if any other legislators in ancient or modern times, who so richly merit the gratitude of posterity. To use the language of a modern observer,* "In the early constitutions of Pennsylvania are to be found the distinct annunciation of every great principle; the germ, if not the development of every valuable improvement in government or legislation, which have been introduced into the political systems of more modern epochs."

While drafting the constitution and laws for his colony, Penn consulted not only those concerned with him in the enterprise, but other enlightened minds, as appears by the following letter:

TO ALGERNON SIDNEY.

"13th October, 1681.

"There are many things make a man's life uneasy in the world, which are great abates to the pleasure of living, but scarcely one equal to that of the unkindness or injustice of friends.

"I have been asked by several, since I came last to town, if Col. Sidney and I were fallen out, and when I denied it, and laughed at it, they told me I was mistaken, and to convince me, stated that he had used me very ill to several persons, if not companies, saying, I had a good country, but the basest laws in the world, not to be endured or lived under, and that the Turk was not more absolute than I. This made me remember the discourse we had together, at my house, about me drawing constitutions, not as proposals, but as if fixed to the hand. And that as my act, to which the rest were to comply if they would be concerned with me. But withal,

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* T. I. Wharton, see Watson's Annals, i. 314.

I could not but call to mind, that the objections were presently complied with, both by my *verbal denial of all such constructions as the words might bear, as if they were imposed and not yet free for debate.* And, also, that I took my pen, and *immediately altered the terms*, so as they corresponded (and truly, I thought more properly,) with thy objection and sense. Upon this thou didst draw a draft, as to the frame of government, gave it me to read, and we discourst it with a considerable argument; it was afterwards called for back by thee to finish and polish; and I suspended proceedings in the business ever since, (that being to be done after other matters,) instead of any further conference about it.

"I meet with this sort of language in the mouths of several; I shall not believe it; 'tware not well in me to an enemy, less so to a friend; but if it be true, I shall be sorry we ever were so well acquainted, or that I have given so much occasion to them that hate us, to laugh at me for more true friendship and steady kindness than I have been guilty of to any man I know living. It becomes not my pretensions to the things of another life, to be much in pain about the uncertainties of this; but be it as it will, I am yet worth a line; and I would pray one of the truth of the fact, for the injury it hath done me already, is nothing to the trouble it will give me if I have deserved it; and if I have not, of losing a friend upon a mistake; not that I meanly creep for a friendship that is denied me; I were unfit for it then. I can be but where I was before, not less in myself nor my own peace, which a steady virtue will make a sufficient comfort and sanctuary. Thy real friend, WM. PENN."*

* In Dixon's life of Penn, page 183, he says, "Penn resolved, at the *instance of Sidney*, to secure an essentially democratic basis for his scheme of government, and allow the minor details to be filled in as time, events, and the public good, should render them necessary." Again, on page 184, he says, the constitution "had been drawn up with great care by Penn and Sidney, together," * * "So intricate and continuous was this mutual aid, that it is quite impossible to separate the exact share of one legislator from that of the other." The only authority he cites for these sentiments, is the above letter of Penn to Sidney, (13th Oct. '81) which, I think, will scarcely warrant the inferences he draws from it. Penn did, undoubtedly, consult his friend, Algernon Sidney, as well as many others, and after making "*a verbal denial of all such constructions*" as Sidney had put upon his language, he took his pen and "altered the terms" of his draft. It appears that Sidney drew a draft which he took home to finish, but there is no evidence, in the letter, that Penn made any use of it.

Dixon seems anxious to give credit to Sidney, but he says nothing of those sagacious, but less eminent, men, who were concerned with Penn in the enterprise, and undoubtedly assisted in framing his constitution and laws.

In Professor Ebeling's History of Pennsylvania, translated by P. S. Duponceau, he says, "It is even *certain*, that some parts of this plan [of gov't.] were adopted by him, *at the urgent request of the Friends, who made it a condition* of their taking a part in the settlement of the Province." See Markham's letter, in Chalmers, p. 660.

A short time previous to the signing of the constitution and code of laws for Pennsylvania, the proprietary had granted a charter for a company, to be called "the Free Society of Traders." They purchased 20,000 acres of land, and he granted them extensive privileges and jurisdiction within their own territory, to be erected into a manor. They published, in the spring of this year, in London, their articles of settlement, with a description of the advantages they offered to subscribers, in which they say, "it is a very unusual society, for it is an absolute free one, and in a free country; a society without oppression, wherein all may be concerned that will, and yet have the same liberty of private traffic as though there were no society at all; so that this society is calculated to promote the public good, and to encourage the private." "This union of traffic prevents emulation, for every one is interested in every one's prosperity, and the profit must be greater and surer, and navigation, manufactures and arts better encouraged than by force of private and divided stocks." Two of the most remarkable provisions in their constitution, relate to black servants and Indians, viz. "Black servants to be free at fourteen years end, on giving to the society two-thirds of what they can produce on land allotted to them by the soceity, with stock and tools; if they agree not to this, to be servants till they do." "Society to assist Indians settling in towns, with advice and artificers." Penn was a member of this company, and "besides his subscription, which was considerable, he gave them the quit-rents on all their land."*

This society appears to have been founded on nearly the same principles with some modern associations, projected with the design of giving to individual efforts the advantage of concerted action, of excluding the rivalry of adverse interests, and causing benevolence and traffic to walk hand in hand. It does not appear to have answered the expectations of its founders, and it would be interesting to inquire into the causes of its failure, which probably arose from the difficulty of finding suitable agents to carry out its purposes, and from the keen competition of private enterprise, which is generally conducted with more economy and sagacity than the affairs of large corporations.

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* Claypole's letter, in Hazard's Annals, i. p. 580.

The provision in relation to black servants is remarkable, as one of the earliest instances in which the laudable purpose of manumission, after a term of servitude, was secured by law, for in that day, some of the most enlightened minds did not perceive the wrong done to the African race by holding them in bondage, nor the great evil inflicted on the colonists by introducing the system of slavery. James Claypole, in writing this year to a friend in Pennsylvania, says, "we calculate there will go thither from hence, above one thousand Friends, this year, then William Penn and his family goes." "I have a great drawing on my mind to remove with my family thither, so that I am given up, if the Lord clears my way, to be gone next spring. Advise me in thy next, what I might *have two negroes for*, that might be fit for cutting down trees, building, ploughing, or any sort of labor that is required in the first planting of a country."* In another letter, dated July 24th, 1682, he says, "I have 100 acres where our capital city is to be, upon the river *near Schuylkill* and Peter Cook, there I intend to plant and build my first house."† From this it would appear, that the commissioners sent out by Penn, had then fixed upon the present site of Philadelphia, and communicated the fact to the proprietary or his friends in England.

The Free Society of Traders being about to send a messenger to the Indian Sachem, called "the Emperor of Canada," in order to explain their purposes and invite him to trade with them, Penn furnished them with the following introductory letter to "the Emperor:"

> "The great God that made thee and me and all the world, incline our hearts to love peace and justice, that we may live friendly together as becomes the workmanship of the great God. The King of England, who is a great prince, hath, for divers reasons, granted me a large country in America, which, however, I am willing to enjoy upon friendly terms with thee; and this I will say, that the people who come with me, are a just, plain and honest people, that *neither make war upon others, nor fear war from others, because they will be just.*

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* Hazard's Annals, 557.

† Ibid, 579.

"I have set up a society of traders in my province, to traffic with thee and thy people for your commodities; that you may be furnished with that which is good at reasonable rates; and that society hath ordered their president to treat with thee about a fur trade, and have joined with me to send this messenger to thee, with certain presents from us to testify our willingness to have a fair correspondence with thee, and what this agent shall do in our names, we will agree unto. I hope thou wilt kindly receive him, and comply with his desires on our behalf, both with respect to land and trade.

"The great God be with thee. Amen.

"WILLIAM PENN."

"London, 21st day of the 4th month, called June, 1682."

Thomas Holmes, Surveyor General, who went out this year, was also furnished with a letter from Penn to the Indians, which he read to them not long after his arrival. The place where they were convened is not certainly known; some suppose it was at Shackamaxon. The letter was as follows:

"The great God who is the power and wisdom that made you and me, incline your hearts to righteousness, love and peace. This I send to assure you of my love, and to desire you to love my friends; and when the great God brings me among you, I intend to order all things in such a manner that we may all live in love and peace, one with another, which I hope the great God will incline both me and you to do. I seek nothing but the honor of his name, and that we who are his workmanship, may do that which is well pleasing to Him. The man who delivers this to you is my especial friend—sober, wise, and loving—you may believe him. I have already taken care that none of my people wrong you, by good laws I have provided for that purpose; nor will I ever allow any of my people to sell rum to make you drunk. If any thing should be out of order, expect, when I come, it shall be mended; and I will bring you some things of our country, that are useful and pleasing to you. So I rest in the love of God that made us.

"I am your loving friend, W. PENN."

"England, 21st of 2d month, 1682."

As the province of Pennsylvania had been for some time under the jurisdiction of the Governor of New York, Penn thought it prudent to obtain from the Duke of York a deed of conveyance for it, which was readily granted under date 21st of August, 1682. He also, after much negotiation, obtained from the Duke two deeds of feoffment, dated the 24th of the same month, by one of which he conveyed the town of New Castle and the country lying within a circle of twelve miles about it, and by the other he conveyed all the land on Delaware Bay, from twelve miles south of New Castle to Cape Henlopen. These territories, which now form the State of Delaware, were to be held "in free and common socage," and he was to pay to the Duke for the first, the yearly rent of five shillings, and for the second "*one rose* at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, yearly, if demanded," together with a moiety of all the rents and profits thereof.*

Having made his arrangements for a passage to Pennsylvania in the ship Welcome, of 300 tons burthen, Robt. Greenway master, Penn addressed a beautiful and instructive letter to his wife and children, which is here inserted. Of this letter it has been said by a celebrated critic,† that "there is something, we think, very touching and venerable in the affectionateness of its whole strain, and the patriarchal simplicity in which it is conceived, while the language appears to us to be one of the *most beautiful specimens* of that soft and mellow English, which, with all its cumbrous volume, has, to our ear, a far richer and more pathetic sweetness than the epigrams and apothegms of modern times."

"MY DEAR WIFE AND CHILDREN:—My love, which neither sea, nor land, nor death itself, can extinguish or lessen toward you, most endearedly visits you with eternal embraces, and will abide with you for ever; and may the God of my life watch over you and bless you, and do you good in this world and for ever!—Some things are upon my spirit to leave with you in your respective capacities, as I am to one a husband, and to the rest a father, if I should never see you more in this world.

"My dear wife! remember thou wast the love of my youth, and much the joy of my life; the most beloved, as well as the most worthy of all my earthly comforts: and the reason of that love was more thy inward than thy outward excellencies, which yet were many. God knows, and thou knowest it, I can say it was a match of Providence's making; and God's image in us both was the first thing, and the most amiable and engaging ornament in our eyes. Now I am to leave thee, and that without knowing whether I shall ever see thee more in this world, take my counsel into thy bosom, and let it dwell with thee in my stead while thou livest.

"First: Let the fear of the Lord and a zeal and love to his glory dwell richly in thy heart; and thou wilt watch for good over thyself and thy dear children and family, that no rude, light, or bad thing be committed:

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* Hazard's Annals, 558.

† Jeffrey's Review of Clarkson's Life of Penn, July, 1813.

else God will be offended, and he will repent himself of the good he intends thee and thine.

"Secondly: Be diligent in meetings for worship and business; stir up thyself and others herein; it is thy duty and place: and let meetings be kept once a day in the family to wait upon the Lord, who has given us much time for ourselves: and, my dearest, to make thy family matters easy to thee, divide thy time, and be regular: it is easy and sweet: thy retirement will afford thee to do it; as in the morning to view the business of the house, and fix it as thou desirest, seeing all be in order; that by thy counsel all may move, and to thee render an account every evening. The time for work, for walking, for meals, may be certain, at least as near as may be: and grieve not thyself with careless servants; they will disorder thee; rather pay them, and let them go, if they will not be better by admonition: this is best to avoid many words, which I know wound the soul, and offend the Lord.

"Thirdly: Cast up thy income, and see what it daily amounts to: by which thou mayest be sure to have it in thy sight and power to keep within compass: and I beseech thee to live low and sparingly, till my debts are paid; and then enlarge as thou seest it convenient. Remember thy mother's example, when thy father's public-spiritedness had worsted his estate (which is my case.) I know thou lovest plain things, and art averse to the pomps of the world—a nobility natural to thee. I write, not as doubtful, but to quicken thee, for my sake, to be more vigilant herein; knowing that God will bless thy care, and thy poor children and thee for it. My mind is wrapt up in a saying of thy father's, 'I desire not riches, but to owe nothing;' and, truly that is wealth, and more than enough to live is a snare attended with many sorrows. I need not bid thee be humble for thou art so; nor meek and patient, for it is much of thy natural disposition: but I pray thee be oft in retirement with the Lord, and guard against encroaching friendships. Keep them at arms'-end; for it is giving away our power—aye and self too, into the possession of another; and that which might seem engaging in the beginning may prove a yoke and burden too hard and heavy in the end. Wherefore keep dominion over thyself, and let thy children, good meetings, and Friends, be the pleasure of thy life.

"Fourthly: And now, my dearest, let me recommend to thy care my dear children; abundantly beloved of me, as the Lord's blessings, and the sweet pledges of our mutual and endeared affection. Above all things endeavor to breed them up in the love of virtue, and that holy, plain way of it which we have lived in, that the world in no part of it get into my family. I had rather they were homely than finely bred as to outward behavior; yet I love sweetness mixed with gravity, and cheerfulness tempered with sobriety. Religion in the heart leads into this true civility, teaching men and women to be mild and courteous in their behavior—an accomplishment worthy indeed of praise.

"Fifthly: Next breed them up in a love one of another: tell them it is the charge I left behind me; and that it is the way to have the love and blessing of God upon them; also what his portion is, who hates, or calls his brother fool. Sometimes separate them, but not long; and allow them to send and give each other small things to endear one another with. Once more I say, tell them it was my counsel they should be tender and affectionate one to another. For their learning be liberal. Spare no cost; for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved: but let it be useful knowledge, such as is consistent with truth and godliness, not cherishing a vain conversation or idle mind, but ingenuity mixed with industry is good for the body and mind too. I recommend the useful parts of mathematics, as building houses or ships, measuring, surveying, dialling, navigation; but agriculture is especially in my eye: let my children be husbandmen and housewives; it is industrious, healthy, honest and of good example: like Abraham and the holy ancients, who pleased God, and obtained a good report. This leads to consider the works of God and nature, of things that are good, and diverts the mind from being taken up with the vain arts and inventions of a luxurious world. It is commendable in the princes of Germany and the nobles of that empire that they have all their children instructed in some useful occupation. Rather keep an ingenious person in the house to teach them than send them to schools, too many evil impressions being commonly received there. Be sure to observe their genius, and do not cross it as to learning: let them not dwell too long on one thing: but let their change be agreeable, and all their diversions have some little bodily labor in them. When grown big, have most care for them; for then there are more snares both within and without. When marriageable, see that they have worthy persons in their eye, of good life, and good fame for piety and understanding. I need no wealth, but sufficiency; and be sure their love be dear, fervent, and mutual, that it may be happy for them. I choose not they should be married to earthly, covetous kindred; and of cities and towns of concourse beware; the world is apt to stick close to those who have lived and got wealth there: a country life and estate I like best for my children. I prefer a decent mansion, of an hundred pounds per annum, before ten thousand pounds in London, or such-like place, in a way of trade. In fine, my dear, endeavor to breed them dutiful to the Lord, and his blessed light, truth, and grace in their hearts, who is their Creator, and his fear will grow up with them. Teach a child (says the Wise Man) the way thou wilt have him to walk, and when he is old he will not forget it. Next, obedience to thee, their dear mother; and that not for wrath, but for conscience sake; liberal to the poor, pitiful to the miserable, humble and kind to all; and may my God make thee a blessing, and give thee comfort in our dear children; and, in age, gather thee to the joy and blessedness of the just (where no death shall separate us) for ever!

"And now, my dear children, that are the gifts and mercies of the God of your tender father, hear my counsel, and lay it up in your hearts; love it more than treasure, and follow it, and you shall be blessed here, and happy hereafter.

"In the first place, remember your Creator in the days of your youth. It was the glory of Israel, in the second of Jeremiah: and how did God bless Josiah, because he feared him in his youth! and so he did Jacob, Joseph and Moses. O my dear children, remember, and fear and serve Him who made you, and gave you to me and your dear mother; that you may live to him and glorify him in your generations!

"To do this, in your youthful days seek after the Lord, that you may find him; remembering his great love in creating you; that you are not beasts, plants, or stones, but that he has kept you, and given you his grace within, and substance without, and provided plentifully for you. This remember in your youth, that you may be kept from the evil of the world: for in age it will be harder to overcome the temptations of it.

"Wherefore, my dear children, eschew the appearance of evil, and love and cleave to that in your hearts which shows you evil from good, and tells you when you do amiss, and reproves you for it. It is the light of Christ that he has given you for your salvation. If you do this, and follow my counsel, God will bless you in this world, and give you an inheritance in that which shall never have an end. For the light of Jesus is of a purifying nature; it seasons those who love it and take heed to it; and never leaves such, till it has brought them to the city of God, that has foundations. O that ye may be seasoned with the gracious nature of it! hide it in your hearts, and flee, my dear children, from all youthful lusts; the vain sports, pastimes and pleasures of the world; redeeming the time, because the days are evil!—You are now beginning to live!—What would some give for your time. Oh! I could have lived better, were I, as you, in the flower of youth.—Therefore love and fear the Lord, keep close to meetings, and delight to wait on the Lord God of your father and mother, among his despised people, as we have done; and count it your honor to be members of that society, and heirs of that living fellowship which is enjoyed among them, for the experience of which your father's soul blesseth the Lord for ever.

"Next, be obedient to your dear mother, a woman whose virtue and good name is an honor to you; for she hath been exceeded by none in her time for her plainness, integrity, industry, humanity, virtue, and good understanding—qualities not usual among women of her worldly condition and quality. Therefore honor and obey her, my dear children, as your mother and your father's love and delight; nay, love her too, for she loved your father with a deep and upright love, choosing him before all her many suitors: and though she be of a delicate constitution and noble spirit, yet she descended to the utmost tenderness and care for you, performing the painfulest acts of service to you in your infancy, as a mother and a nurse too. I charge you, before the Lord, honor and obey, love and cherish your dear mother.

Next: betake yourselves to some honest, industrious course of life, and that not of sordid covetousness, but for example and to avoid idleness. And if you change your condition and marry, choose, with the knowledge and consent of your mother, if living, or of guardians, or those that have the charge of you. Mind neither beauty nor riches, but the fear of the Lord, and a sweet and amiable disposition, such as you can love above all this world, and that may make your habitations pleasant and desirable to you.

"And being married, be tender, affectionate, patient, and meek. Live in the fear of the Lord, and he will bless you and your offspring. Be sure to live within compass; borrow not, neither be beholden to any. Ruin not yourselves by kindness to others; for that exceeds the due bounds of friendship, neither will a true friend expect it. Small matters I heed not.

"Let your industry and parsimony go no further than for a sufficiency for life, and to make a provision for your children, and that in moderation, if the Lord gives you any. I charge you help the poor and needy; let the Lord have a voluntary share of your income for the good of the poor, both in our society and others; for we are all his creatures; remembering that 'he that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord.'

"Know well your in-comings, and your out-goings may be better regulated. Love not money nor the world; use them only, and they will serve you; but if you love them you serve them, which will debase your spirits as well as offend the Lord.

"Pity the distressed, and hold out a hand to help them: it may be your case; and as you mete to others God will mete to you again.

"Be humble and gentle in your conversation; of few words, I charge you; but always pertinent when you speak, hearing out before you attempt to answer, but then speaking as if you would persuade, not impose.

"Affront none, neither revenge the affronts that are done to you; but forgive, and you shall be forgiven of your heavenly father.

"In making friends, consider well first; and when you are fixed be true, not wavering by reports nor deserting in affliction, for that becomes not the good and virtuous.

"Watch against anger, neither speak nor act in it; for, like drunkenness, it makes a man a beast, and throws people into desperate inconveniences.

"Avoid flatterers, for they are thieves in disguise; their praise is costly, designing to get by those they bespeak; they are the worst of creatures; they lie to flatter, and flatter to cheat; and, which is worse, if you believe them you cheat yourselves most dangerously. But the virtuous, though poor, love, cherish and prefer. Remember David, who, asking the Lord, 'Who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell upon thy holy hill?' answers, 'He that walketh uprightly, worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart; in whose eye the vile person is contemned, but honoreth them who fear the Lord.'

"Next, my children, be temperate in all things; in your diet, for that is physic by prevention; it keeps, nay, it makes people healthy, and their generation sound. This is exclusive of the spiritual advantage it brings. Be also plain in your apparel; keep out that lust which reigns too much over some; let your virtues be your ornament, remembering life is more than food, and the body than raiment. Let your furniture be simple and cheap. Avoid pride, avarice and luxury. Read my 'No Cross no Crown.' There is instruction. Make your conversation with the most eminent for wisdom and piety, and shun all wicked men as you hope for the blessing of God and the comfort of your father's living and dying prayers. Be sure you speak no evil of any—no, not of the meanest; much less of your superiors, as magistrates, guardians, tutors, teachers, and elders in Christ.

"Be no busybodies; meddle not with other folk's matters, but when in conscience and duty prest; for it procures trouble, and is ill manners, and very unseemly to wise men.

"In your families, remember Abraham, Moses and Joshua, their integrity to the Lord; and do as you have them for your examples.

"Let the fear and service of the living God be encouraged in your houses, and that plainness, sobriety and moderation in all things as becometh God's chosen people; and as I advise you, my beloved children, do you counsel yours, if God should give you any. Yea, I counsel and command them as my posterity, that they love and serve the Lord God with an upright heart, that he may bless you and yours from generation to generation.

"And as for you, who are likely to be concerned in the government of Pennsylvania and my parts of East Jersey, especially the first, I do charge you before the Lord God and his holy angels, that you be lowly, diligent, and tender, fearing God, loving the people, and hating covetousness. Let justice have its impartial course, and the law free passage. Though to your loss, protect no man against it; for you are not above the law, but the law above you. Live, therefore, the lives yourselves you would have the people live, and then you have right and boldness to punish the transgressor. Keep upon the square, for God sees you: therefore do your duty, and be sure you see with your own eyes, and hear with your own ears. Entertain no lurchers, cherish no informers for gain or revenge; use no tricks; fly to no devices to support or cover injustice; but let your hearts be upright before the Lord, trusting in him above the contrivances of men, and none shall be able to hurt or supplant.

"Oh! the Lord is a strong God, and he can do whatsoever he pleases; and though men consider it not, it is the Lord that rules and over-rules in the kingdoms of men, and he builds up and pulls down. I, your father, am the man that can say, 'He that trusts in the Lord shall not be confounded. But God, in due time, will make his enemies be at peace with him.'

"If you thus behave yourselves, and so become a terror to evil doers and a praise to them that do well, God, my God, will be with you in wisdom and a sound mind, and make you blessed instruments in his hand for the settlements of some of those desolate parts of the world, which my soul desires above all worldly honors and riches, both for you that go and you that stay; you that govern and you that are governed; that in the end you may be gathered with me to the rest of God.

"Finally, my children, love one another with a true, endeared love, and your dear relations on both sides, and take care to preserve tender affection in your children to each other, often marrying within themselves, so as it be without the bounds forbidden in God's laws, that so they may not, like the forgetting, unnatural world, grow out of kindred and as cold as strangers; but, as becomes a truly natural and Christian stock, you, and yours after you, may live in the pure and fervent love of God towards one another, as becometh brethren in the spiritual and natural relation.

"So, my God, that hath blessed me with his abundant mercies, both of this and the other and better life, be with you all, guide you by his counsel, bless you and bring you to his eternal glory! that you may shine, my dear children, in the firmament of God's power with the blessed spirits of the just—that celestial family—praising and admiring him, the God and Father of it, for ever. For there is no God like unto him; the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob, the God of the Prophets, the Apostles, and Martyrs of Jesus, in whom I live forever.

"So farewell to my thrice dearly beloved wife and children!—Yours, as God pleaseth, in that which no waters can quench, no time forget, nor distance wear away, but remains forever,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"Worminghurst, fourth of sixth month, 1682."

He embarked at Deal, in company with about 100 passengers, mostly Friends from Sussex, where his house at Worminghurst was seated. On the 30th of August (then the 6th month), he addressed, from the Downs, "a salutation to all faithful Friends in England," and near the time of his departure, he wrote as follows to his friend Stephen Crisp, an eminent minister of the Gospel:

"DEAR STEPHEN CRISP—My dear and lasting love in the Lord's everlasting truth reaches to thee, with whom is my fellowship in the Gospel of Peace, that is more dear and precious to my soul than all the treasures and pleasures of this world; for, when a few years are passed, we shall all go the way whence we shall never return: and that we may unweariedly serve the Lord in our day and place, and, in the end, enjoy a portion with the blessed that are at rest, is the breathing of my soul!

"Stephen! we know one another, and I need not say much to thee; but this I will say, thy parting dwells with me, or rather thy love at my parting. How innocent, how tender, how like the little child that has no guile! The Lord will bless that ground (Pennsylvania). I have also a letter from thee, which comforted me; for many are my trials, yet not more than my supplies from my Heavenly Father, whose glory I seek, and the renown of his blessed name. And truly, Stephen, there is work enough, and here is room to work in. Surely God will come in for a share in this planting-work, and that leaven shall leaven the lump in time. I do not believe the Lord's providence had run this way towards me, but that he has an heavenly end and service in it; so with him I leave all, and myself and thee, and his dear people, and blessed name on earth.

"God Almighty, immortal and eternal, be with us, that in the body and out of the body we may be his forever!—I am, in the ancient dear fellowship, thy faithful friend and brother,

"WILLIAM PENN."

CHAPTER XV.

His arrival at New Castle; Reception and Speech; Landing at Chester; Goes to Philadelphia; Reception; Changes the names of the Streets; Lots on the Delaware; Boundaries of the City; Journey to New York: "Great Treaty" with the Indians.

1682.

After having been at sea about two months, which was then considered a "prosperous passage," William Penn and his friends in the ship Welcome arrived within the capes of the Delaware.

During the passage, the small-pox made its appearance with great virulence, and occasioned much distress. One of the passengers, in giving an account of the voyage, says, "the good conversation of William Penn was very advantageous to all the company."

"His singular care was manifested in contributing to the necessities of many who were sick of the small-pox then on board, of which about thirty died." During the passage, they had "many good meetings on board."*

From a letter of Penn to the Board of Trade in England, it has been generally supposed that he landed at New Castle on the 24th of October (then the 8th month), which has been celebrated as an anniversary, but he probably alluded to his arrival within the capes, for it appears by an official record in New Castle, that he arrived before that town on the 27th of October, 1682. On the following day he produced his deeds from the Duke of York and received possession of the town and county adjoining, which was signified by "the delivery of turf, and twig, and water, and soyle of the river Delaware."†

He was joyfully welcomed by the inhabitants, whom he called together at the court-house, when "he made a speech to the old magistrates, in which he explained to them the design of his coming, the nature and end of government, and of that more particularly which he came to establish.‡

He next renewed the magistrates' commissions, and received from them and some of the other inhabitants, written pledges of fidelity and obedience.

This act has been considered by some as a stretch of power, inasmuch as the deeds from the Duke of York did not, like the charter for the province of Pennsylvania, in express terms, endow him with political authority. But there can be no doubt it was understood he was to be the governor of the territory on behalf of the Duke to whom he was to pay, as stated in the deeds, a moiety of all the rents and profits.

The next day, being the 29th, he was at Upland (Chester), whence he addressed a summons to the justices and some of the inhabitants of the territory adjoining New Castle, to meet him in that town on the 2d of November, where he intended to hold a court.§

At the time appointed, his first court was held at New Castle, when the governor presided, there being "present Capt. Wm. Markham, Mayor Thos. Holme, Wm. Haigh, John Simcock,

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* Testimony of Richard Townsend; Proud's History of Pennsylvania, i. 228.

† Hazard's Annals, 596. ‡ Clarkson. § Hazard's Annals, 599.

Thos. Brazie, of the Council; John Moll, John De Haés, Wm. Simphill, Arnoldus de la Grange, John Cann, justices.* Governor Penn made a speech to the justices and inhabitants present, stating that he had called this court chiefly "to settle their lands and possessions, and he therefore desired them to bring in to the next court to be held at New Castle, all their patents, surveys, grants and claims, in order that he might confirm, not only those who had a sufficient title, but also those who yet wanted a title, so far forth as equity, justice, and reason could require." He requested the magistrates to look over their town-plots, and see what vacant room may be found therein, for the accommodation of new settlers. He desired if any had requests or petitions to present to him, that they might now do it for an answer at the next court day; and, finally, as for want of an assembly, there were not yet sufficient laws provided for the country, he directed them to follow the laws of his royal highness, provided for the province of New York, so far as they were consistent with the laws of England. He assured the inhabitants that they should enjoy the same privileges with those of the province of Pennsylvania, and that for the future they should be governed by such laws as they themselves, by their representatives should consent to, for which purpose he would call an assembly as soon as conveniently might be.

A few days after this, William Markham, on behalf of the governor, received possession of the lower counties on Delaware Bay, conveyed by the Duke of York's second deed of feoffment.

On Penn's arrival at Upland, he changed its name as thus related by Clarkson: "This was a memorable event, and to be distinguished by some marked circumstance. He determined, therefore, to change the name of the place. Turning round to his friend Pearson, one of his own society, who had accompanied him in the ship Welcome, he said, Providence has brought us here safe. Thou hast been the companion of my perils. What wilt thou that I should call this place?' Pearson said, 'Chester,' in remembrance of the city from whence he came. William Penn replied that it should be called Chester, and that when he divided the land into counties, one of them should be called by the same name."*

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* Hazard's Annals, 600.

Tradition relates that from Chester to Philadelphia he went with some of his friends in an open boat or barge, and we can readily imagine how delighted he must have been, while passing up the noble Delaware, beholding its banks shaded with majestic forests clad in all the variegated foliage of autumn, its surface covered with wild fowl, and everything around indicating a solitude and grandeur peculiar to the new world.

After passing four miles above the mouth of the Schuylkill, they came to a place called Coaquannock, where there was a high, bold shore, covered with lofty pines. Here the site of the infant city of Philadelphia had been established, and we may be assured his approach was hailed with joy by the whole population; the old inhabitants, Swedes and Dutch, eager to catch a glimpse of their future governor, and the Friends who had gone before him anxiously waiting his arrival.

How intensely interesting must have been the scene, especially if enlivened, as it probably was, by the Indians in their canoes advancing to meet him. He had heard and read descriptions of their persons and manners; he had written kind letters to them, and had thought much upon the means of promoting their improvement; but now, for the first time, he looked upon their athletic forms and striking features; their robes of fur and waving plumes; and while emotions of love and good will arose in his heart, he felt that these too are the children of the Universal Parent.

The high bank of the Delaware was at this place penetrated by a small stream called Duck Creek, which being deep at its mouth, and having a low sandy beach, offered a convenient place for landing. Here the proprietary and his companions went on shore near a house then being erected, which was called "Guest's new house," and afterwards known as the "Blue anchor tavern." Penn was so pleased with the conveniencies of this spot, that he made it a public landing place in his original city charter; and the little haven at the creek's mouth so pleased him as a fit harbor for vessels in the winter and security from the driving ice, that he also appropriated so much of it as lay east of little Dock Creek to be a great dock forever, to be deepened by digging when needful.*

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* Clarkson's Life of Penn.

The time of his arrival is noted in the following minute of a Friends' meeting, held at Fairman's mansion, Shackamaxon, (Kensington):

"At a Monthly Meeting the 8th of 9th month (November), 1682. At this time Governor Penn and a multitude of Friends arrived here and erected a city called Philadelphia, about half a mile from Shackamaxon, where meetings were established, &c. Thomas Fairman, at the request of the governor, removed himself and family to Tacony, where there was also a meeting appointed to be kept, and the ancient meeting of Shackamaxon removed to Philadelphia."†

The date of his landing at Philadelphia must have been only a few days previous to this, for he was at New Castle, as we have seen, on the 2d of the same month.

There is a tradition connected with his arrival, which is thus related by Watson: "The Indians, as well as the whites, had severally prepared the best entertainment the place and circumstances could admit. William Penn made himself endeared to the Indians by his marked condescension and acquiescence in their wishes. He walked with them, sat with them on the ground, and ate with them of their roasted acorns and homony. At this they expressed their great delight, and soon began to show how they could hop and jump; at which exhibition, William Penn, to cap the climax, sprang up and beat them all! We are not prepared to credit such light gaiety in a sage governor and religious chief; but we have the positive assertion of a woman of truth who says she saw it. There may have been very wise policy in the measure as an act of conciliation, worth more than a regiment of sharp-shooters. He was then sufficiently young for any agility, and we remember that one of the old journalists among the Friends incidentally speaks of him as having naturally an excess of levity of spirit for a grave minister."*

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* Watson's Annals, i. 132.

† Ibid. 140. This date is old style, it being the 9th month from the 1st of March, then the beginning of the year.

The site of Philadelphia had been determined by the Commissioners, in conformity with the proprietary's instructions before his arrival, and it is probable some progress had been made in laying out the streets and building houses.

Several changes were made in the location and names of the streets after Governor Penn's arrival.

Broad Street, which is parallel with the Delaware, and lies nearly midway between that river and the Schuylkill, had not been located on the highest ground, and the Governor had it changed to the top of the ridge, though nearer the Schuylkill, so that the public buildings intended to be placed there should overlook the whole city.

Many of the streets had been named after prominent individuals among the Colonists; for instance, what is now Walnut, was first called Pool Street, Mulberry was Holme's Street, Chestnut was Union Street, &c.,† which not being satisfactory to the Proprietary he gave the name of High Street to the wide central avenue leading from river to river; and the other main streets parallel with it he called after the names of forest trees found there. The cross streets were named according to their numbers: as Front, Second, Third, &c., beginning at each river and counting to Broad Street. He reserved, in the middle of the city at the intersection of High and Broad Street, a large square for public buildings, and for health and recreation; and in each of the four divisions of the city, was a square for public walks.

It was his intention and original plan not to permit buildings to be erected on the river banks, but to have there a wide promenade the whole length of the city. This beautiful and salutary arrangement was in after years allowed to be infringed, and hence the crowded and irregular streets that deform the eastern front of the city.

The commissioners were instructed to lay off ten thousand acres "as the bounds and extent of the liberties of the said town," which would have included a large portion, if not all the suburbs now attached to it under different corporations, but this being thought too large he permitted the surveyor, at the instance of the colonists to restrict the corporate limits to about one mile front on the Delaware, and extending back to the Schuylkill, embracing an area of about twelve hundred acres.* Subsequent experience has shown the wisdom of his original design, and while we admire his foresight, we cannot but lament that his plans were not more fully adopted.

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* Watson's Annals, i. 55.

† Hazard's Annals, 594.

After viewing the site chosen for the city, giving such directions for its building as he thought expedient, and attending some of the meetings of Friends, Penn went to New York to "pay his duty to the Duke of York by visiting his province."† We have no particular account of this journey, but from one of his letters it appears that he was on Long Island, where there were some meetings of Friends, and in passing through East Jersey he visited others. He returned from this journey towards the end of November (then the 9th month), and there is reason to believe it was at this time he held the treaty of amity with the Indians, which has been so widely celebrated as the "*Great Treaty*," under the elm tree at Kensington, a transaction which has been illustrated by the pencil of an eminent artist, and has received the highest praise from historians.

It was of this treaty that Voltaire made the remark, now become trite by frequent repetitions, that it was "the only league between those nations and the Christians which was never sworn to and never broken."‡

It is to be regretted that no circumstantial account is found in any cotemporary record concerning this treaty. The description given of it by Clarkson was derived chiefly from tradition, and has been shown to be erroneous in several particulars. He was a writer of scrupulous fidelity, but in this, as in some other instances, he has erred for want of having access to documents only to be found in this country, which he never visited.

An able and elaborate memoir, by Peter S. Duponceau and J.

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* J. R. Tyson's Discourse, delivered at Philadelphia in 1844, pp. 17 and 18.

† Penn's letter to Board of Trade, Proud i. 268.

‡ Dictionnaire Philosophique, word Quaker.

Francis Fisher, presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and published in their third volume, part ii., gives by far the best account of this transaction that is now extant.

The time of the treaty is not precisely known, but for reasons stated at large in that paper, it must have been soon after Penn's return from New York, and before the meeting of the Assembly at Chester, which took place on the 4th of December, 1682. The purpose of the treaty is erroneously stated by Clarkson to have been to ratify a purchase of lands made of the Indians by the Commissioners, as well as to establish a league of friendship. The first of these objects could not have been intended, for such purchases were always secured by deeds, which were preserved and recorded, but no record exists of any such purchase. Penn made two purchases of land from the Indians the following spring, and Markham had purchased Pennsbury Manor before the Governor's arrival, which, having been paid for, needed no confirmation. Nor is it likely that the proprietary would so soon attempt to purchase their lands; it is altogether probable he would first seek their acquaintance, and establish a treaty of amity with them, which would facilitate their subsequent transactions.

The place of meeting has, with much unanimity among those who have examined the subject, been fixed at Shackamaxon, now called Kensington. It appears by ancient records, that the name of this place was then written Sachamexing, which signifies the Place of Kings, being derived from Sakima, which in the Delaware language means a king or chief.* The treaty for the purchase of Pennsbury Manor, previously held with the Indians by Captain Markham, was at this place, and we have reason to believe it had long been resorted to by the Indians when holding their councils. From the time of Penn down to the present day, tradition among the Indians as well as the inhabitants of Philadelphia, has been uniform in designating the elm tree at Kensington as the spot where the great treaty was held, and so confidently was this believed during the American Revolution, that the British General Simcoe, when his troops occupied the town, placed a guard around the venerated tree to protect it from injury.*

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* Mem. Hist. Soc. Pa., iii. p. ii. 113. My friend George M. Justice of Philadelphia has also in his possession ancient documents confirming this statement.

Having determined the time, the object, and the locality of the treaty, we come now to consider the persons concerned in it, and the attendant circumstances. From the best information that can now be gathered, it appears that at least three Indian tribes were present: the Lenni Lenapé, living near the banks of the Delaware; the Mingoes, a tribe sprung from the Iroquois and settled at Conestogo, and the Shawnees, a Southern tribe that had removed to the Susquehannah.

There is reason to suppose that Governor Penn would be accompanied, as usual, by some members of his council, as well as his secretary and surveyor. Tradition relates that a number of prominent Friends were present, among whom was an ancestor of Benjamin West, whose portrait is introduced by the artist into his celebrated painting of the treaty scene.

We must not take our idea of Penn's appearance from West's picture, in which he is represented as a corpulent old man, for at that time he was in the prime of life, being only thirty-eight years of age, athletic and active, graceful in person, and pleasing in manners.

"His favorite mode of travelling was by water;" he kept a barge furnished with a sail, and manned by a boatswain, a cockswain and six oarsmen."†

His mansion at Pennsbury Manor was then being built; it was near the Friends' settlement at the Falls, and opposite Bordentown. On his return from New York, he would take these settlements in his way, and from Pennsbury he would go to Shackamaxon in his usual manner by water. If on his return from New York he went first to Chester, then the seat of his government, he would nevertheless go in his barge to the place of treaty, for the roads at that time were few and difficult.

Let us now, from the facts ascertained, and the circumstances reported by historians, endeavor to picture the scene, when the founder of Pennsylvania met in council the Indian chiefs surrounded by their tribes.

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* Watson i. 136.

† J. F. Fisher, private Life of William Penn, in Mem. Hist. Soc. Pa, vol. iii. p. ii.

It is near the close of November,—the lofty forest trees on the banks of the Delaware have shed their summer attire, the ground is strewed with leaves, and the council fire burns brightly, fanned by the autumnal breeze. Under the wide-branching elm the Indian tribes are assembled, but all unarmed, for no warlike weapon is allowed to disturb the scene. In front are the chiefs with their counsellors and aged men on either hand. Behind them, in the form of a half moon, sit the young men, and some of the aged matrons; while beyond, and disposed in still widening circles, are seen the youth of both sexes.* Among the assembled chiefs there is one who holds a conspicuous rank: the Great Sachem Taminend, one of nature's noblemen, revered for his wisdom and beloved for his goodness.† But see! a barge is approaching, bearing at its mast-head the broad pennant of the governor, the oars are plied with measured strokes, and near the helm sits William Penn, attended by his council. Among them are Markham, his secretary, Holmes, surveyor-general, Simcox, Haigue, Taylor and Pearson. On the river bank, waiting with others to join them, is Lacy Cock, the hospitable Swede, whose dwelling is near the treaty ground. They are plainly dressed, and the proprietary is only distinguished from the rest by a sky-blue sash of silk net work that encircles his waist.‡ They land and advance towards the council fire, the governor, having his cousin Markham on the right, and his friend Pearson on the left, is preceded by some of his attendants, bearing presents, which they spread upon the ground.§

They pause when they approach the council fire,—Taminend puts on his chaplet, surmounted by a small horn, the emblem of kingly power,‖ and then, through an interpreter, he announces to William Penn that the nations are ready to hear him.

Being thus called upon, he begins his speech: "The Great Spirit," he says, "who made me and you, who rules the heavens and the earth, and who knows the innermost thoughts of men, knows that I and my friends have a hearty desire to live in peace and friendship with you, and to serve you to the utmost of our power. It is not our custom to use hostile weapons against our fellow creatures, for which reason we have come unarmed. Our object is not to do injury, and thus provoke the Great Spirit, but to do good.

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* Penn's letter to Free Society of Traders.

† Duponceau's Oration and Heckawalder's History of Indians.

‡ Clarkson. § Ibid. ‖ W. P.'s letter to Free Society of Traders.

" We are met on the broad path-way of good faith and good will, so that no advantage is to be taken on either side, but all to be openness, brotherhood, and love." Here the governor unrolls a parchment containing stipulations for trade, and promises of friendship, which, by means of an interpreter, he explains to them, article by article, and placing it on the ground, he observes that the ground shall be common to both people. He then proceeds, "I will not do as the Marylanders did, that is, call you children or brothers only; for parents are apt to whip their children too severely, and brothers sometimes will differ; neither will I compare the friendship between us to a chain, for the rain may rust it, or a tree may fall and break it, but I will consider you as the same flesh and blood with the Christians, and the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts."*

This speech being listened to by the Indians in perfect silence, and with much gravity, they take some time to deliberate, and then the King orders one of his chiefs to speak to William Penn.

The Indian orator advances, and in the King's name salutes him; then, taking him by the hand, he makes a speech, pledging kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun and moon shall endure.†

There is evidence to show that the stipulations of this treaty or league of amity were committed to writing, but the record has been sought for without success. We have, however, the principal items, or links of the chain, as mentioned by governor Gordon, in a speech he made to the same tribes, the 26th of May, (then the 3d month, 1728.) He said:

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* Clarkson.

† Ibid, and W. P.'s letter to "Free Soc. of Traders."

"*My friends and brethren*,—You are sensible that the great William Penn, the father of this country, when he first brought the people with him over the broad sea, took all the Indians, the old inhabitants, by the hand, and because he found them to be a sincere, honest people, he took them to his heart, and loved them as his own. He then made a strong league and chain of friendship with them, by which it was agreed that the Indians and the English, with all the Christians, should be as one people. Your friend and father, William Penn, still retained a warm affection for all the Indians, and strictly commanded those whom he sent to govern this people, to treat the Indians as his children, and continued in this love for them until his death." * * *

"I am now to discourse with my brethren the Conestogoes, Delawares, Ganawese, and Shawnese Indians upon the Susquehannah, and to speak to them.

"My brethren,—You have been faithful to your leagues with us, your hearts have been clean, and you have preserved the chain from spots or rust, or if there were any, you have been careful to wipe them away; your leagues with your father William Penn, and with his governors, are in writing on record, that our children and our children's children may have them in everlasting remembrance. And we know that you preserve the memory of those things amongst you, by telling them to your children, and they again to the next generation, so that they remain stamped on your minds never to be forgot.

"The chief heads or strongest links of this chain, I find, are these nine, viz.:

"1st. That all Wm. Penn's people or Christians, and all the Indians, should be brethren, as the children of one Father, joined together as with one heart, one head, and one body.

"2d. That all paths should be open and free to both Christians and Indians.

"3rd. That the doors of the Christian's houses should be open to the Indians, and the houses of the Indians open to the Christians, and that they should make each other welcome as their friends.

"4th. That the Christians should not believe any false rumors or reports of the Indians, nor the Indians believe any such rumors or reports of Christians, but should first come as brethren to inquire of each other; and that both Christians and Indians, when they have any such false reports of their brethren, they should bury them as in a bottomless pit.

"5th. That if the Christians heard any ill news, that may be to the hurt of the Indians, or the Indians heard any such ill news, that may be to the injury of the Christians, they should acquaint each other with it speedily, as true friends and brethren.

"6th. That the Indians should do no manner of harm to the Christians, nor to their creatures, nor the Christians do any hurt to the Indians, but each treat the other as brethren.

"7th. But as there are wicked people in all nations, if either Indians or Christians should do any harm to each other, complaint should be made of it by the persons suffering, that right may be done; and when satisfaction is made, the injury or wrong should be forgot, and be buried as in a bottomless pit.

"8th. That the Indians should in all things assist the Christians and the Christians assist the Indians, against all wicked people that would disturb them.

"9th. And lastly, that both Christians and Indians should acquaint their children with this league and firm chain of friendship made between them, and that it should always be made stronger and stronger, and be kept bright and clean, without rust or spot, between our children and children's children, while the creeks and rivers run, and while the sun, moon and stars endure."

The elm tree, at Kensington, under which the treaty was ratified, called the treaty tree, was blown down in 1810. It was 24 feet in girth, and believed to be about 280 years old. A part of the trunk was sent to the Penn family in England, and of the remainder, many small articles of furniture were made, which are preserved as precious relics. On the site of the treaty, a small monument has been erected by the Penn Society at Philadelphia, with appropriate inscriptions, and a scion of the great elm, is now vigorously growing there.

The legislature of Pennsylvania, at its session in 1849, appropriated $5000 for the purchase of the treaty ground, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has recently appointed a committee to aid in carrying this purpose into effect.

Having given all the particulars, now extant, concerning this celebrated transaction, the inquiry presents itself, why should this treaty have inspired so much interest as to make "its fame co-extensive with the civilized world?" In all the North American colonies treaties were made with the Indians, and, doubtless, some of them were observed in good faith. It was not unusual to purchase their lands; the Swedes had made such purchases on the banks of the Delaware, long before the arrival of Penn. The pre-eminent importance of the "great treaty," consists in this, it was the *first* time William Penn had met the Indian chiefs in council, to make with them the firm league of friendship, which was never violated; and gave rise to a kindly intercourse between the Friends and the aborigines, that continues to this day. It was like laying the corner-stone of a great edifice, whose enduring strength and beautiful proportions have called forth the admiration of succeeding ages.

The whole conduct of Penn towards the Indians, was founded in justice and love, he not only paid them for their lands, but he employed every means in his power to promote their happiness and moral improvement.

The Indians, on their part, treated the colonists in the most hospitable manner, supplying them frequently with venison, beans and maize, and refusing compensation. For William Penn they felt, and often expressed, the utmost confidence and esteem. So great was the reverence inspired by his virtues, that his name was embalmed in their affections, and handed down to successive generations.

Heckewalder, in his history of the Indian nations, speaks of the care they took, by means of strings or belts of wampum, to preserve the memory of their treaties, and especially those they made with William Penn. He says, "they frequently assembled together in the woods, in some shady spot, as nearly as possible similar to those where they used to meet their brother *Miquon*, and there lay all his words and speeches, with those of his descendents, on a blanket or clean piece of bark, and with great satisfaction go successively over the whole. This practice, which

I have repeatedly witnessed, continued until the year 1780, when the disturbances which took place put an end to it, probably forever."*

At a treaty held at Easton, in Pennsylvania, with the Indians, in 1756, in Governor Morris's administration, Teedyuscung, the Delaware chief, spoke as follows: "Brother Onas and the people of Pennsylvania, we rejoice to hear from you, that you are willing to renew the old good understanding, and that you call to mind the *first* treaties of friendship made by Onas, our great friend, deceased, with our forefathers, when himself and his people first came over here."†

The name of Onas was given to William Penn by the Iroquois, whom the proprietary, and generally the English colonial governments, supported in their claim of superiority over the other Indian tribes; it seems that the Delawares adopted the name, at least in their public speeches; among themselves they called him, in their own language, *Miquon.* Both these words signify a quill or pen.‡

It is certain that no other man ever attained so great an influence over their minds; and the affectionate intercourse between them and the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, which continued as long as the principles of the first colonists preserved their ascendency, is the most beautiful exemplification afforded by history, that the peaceable doctrines of Christ, are adapted to promote the happiness of man.

In the other colonies, the aborigines were considered as dangerous neighbors, inured to cruelty and delighting in blood. They had been rendered suspicious by the repeated injuries of the whites, and were undoubtedly brave and revengeful. Penn and his associates, relying on the purity of their motives and the protection of Divine providence, came among them unarmed, and professing the principle of non-resistance. The justice of his measures and the kindness of his deportment, won their confidence and esteem: the blood-stained tomahawk was buried, the tokens of peace were exchanged, and the ferocity of their nature was subdued by the tender, cementing influence of Christian love.

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* Memoirs Hist Soc. of Pa , vol. iii part ii. 148.

† Proud's Hist. Pa. i. 214.

‡ Mem. Hist. Soc. Pa. iii., part ii. 149.

But nations are slow to learn the lessons of Divine wisdom. The intercourse so happily begun in love, and continued for successive generations, was eventually disturbed and broken by the violence of human passions. The red man, unable to cope with the grasping, aspiring Anglo-Saxon, was driven from his old hunting-grounds, and taking his course to the far north-west, he bade adieu, with an aching heart, to the graves of his fathers. But still, he has not forgotten the "*great treaty*," and among the scattered remnants of those once powerful tribes, now seated by the clear lakes of Canada, or wandering on the banks of the turbid Missouri, the name of the great and good Onas continues to be held in grateful remembrance.

CHAPTER XVI.

Assembly meets at Chester; Constitution and Laws passed; Wm. Penn goes to Maryland to meet Lord Baltimore; Visits Friends Meetings; Letter to a friend; Letter to one who had censured him; Letter to Lord Culpepper; Letter to Lord Hyde; Assembly meets in Philadelphia; New Charter; Wm. Penn meets Lord Baltimore at New Castle; Treaty with Indians for land; Indian walk; Trial for coining false money; Trial for Witchcraft; Letter to Col. Henry Sidney.

1682–'3.

Within three weeks from the time of his landing at New Castle, William Penn issued writs for an election of representatives to a General Assembly to be held at Chester. Agreeably to the summons, the Assembly, consisting of members from the province of Pennsylvania and the three lower counties, called the territories, met at Chester the 4th of December, (then 10th month,) 1682, and chose Nicholas Moore for their speaker. They adopted rules for their government, among which was one requiring that "none speak but once before the question is put, nor after, but once, and that none fall from the matter to the person, and *superfluous and tedious speeches* may be stopped by the speaker." Under these salutary restrictions, we may readily suppose they proceeded rapidly with their business.

A petition was presented from the inhabitants of the three lower counties, then called New Castle, Jones, and New Deal, "humbly desiring that they may be favored with an act of union, by the governor and Assembly, for their incorporation with the province of Pennsylvania, in order to the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of that province." This petition was granted, and an act of union passed, which also provided for the naturalization of foreigners already settled in the province and territories.* This act being approved by the governor, the Swedes deputed Lacy Cock to acquaint him, that they would love, serve, and obey him with all they had, declaring, "it was the best day they ever saw."† An act of settlement was passed at the same time, which states that, owing to the "fewness of the inhabitants, their inability in estate, and unskilfulness in matters of government," three persons out of each of the six counties shall serve for the Provincial Council, and nine from each county for members of the Assembly, "instead of the number designated in the charter; and after the present, your six from each county shall compose the Assembly." In the same act some other changes in the constitution are provided for, but its main features and essential principles, as agreed upon in England, are preserved, and the humble acknowledgments of the Assembly are expressed for it, with a promise that it shall be universally observed.

At this session was passed the "Great Law," or code of laws, consisting of sixty nine sections, which long formed the basis of jurisprudence in Pennsylvania.‡ It embraces most of the laws agreed upon in England, and some others afterwards suggested. Among the latter is a clause, attributed to the proprietary, requiring the estates of intestates to go to the wife and children, which, by abrogating the English law of primogeniture, was instrumental in promoting that general equality of condition, and division of property, deemed so essential in a republican government.

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* Hazard's An., 615.

† Clarkson.

‡ Hazard's An. 634. Proud and Gordon, say 61 chapters.

The first section of this code has been so much admired for its liberality and eloquence, that it may be inserted entire:

> "Almighty God, being only Lord of conscience, Father of lights and spirits, and the author as well as object of all Divine knowledge, faith, and worship; who only can enlighten the mind, and persuade and convince the understanding of people, in due reverence to his sovereignty over the souls of mankind. It is enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person now or at any time hereafter living in this province, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God to be the Creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and that professeth him or herself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly under the civil government, shall in anywise be molested or prejudiced for his or her conscientious persuasion or practice; nor shall he or she at any time be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever, contrary to his or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his or her Christian liberty in that respect, without any interruption or reflection: and if any person shall abuse or deride any other for his or her different persuasion and practice in matter of religion, such shall be looked upon as a disturber of the peace, and be punished accordingly.
>
> "But to the end that looseness, irreligion, and atheism may not creep in under pretence of conscience, in this province: be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that according to the good example of the primitive Christians, and for the ease of the Creation, every first day of the week, called the Lord's Day, people shall abstain from their common toil and labor, that whether masters, parents, children, or servants, they may the better dispose themselves to read the Scriptures of truth at home, or to frequent such meetings of religious worship abroad as may best suit their respective persuasions."

After a session of four days, (from the 4th to the 7th inclusive,) the Assembly adjourned, affording an instance of unanimity and despatch almost unexampled. On the 11th of December, (10th month,) Penn set out for Maryland to meet Lord Baltimore, to whom he had previously sent a messenger to make arrangements for a negotiation in relation to boundaries. The time agreed on was the 19th, and the interview is thus related in a letter of Penn to "the Lords of the Committee of Plantations," in London.

"I came to West river, where I met the proprietor, attended suitable to his character, who took the occasion, by his civilities, to show me the greatness of his power. The next day we had conference about our business of the bounds, both at the same table, with our respective members of council.

"The first thing I did was to present the King's letter, which consisted of two parts: one, that the Lord Baltimore had but two degrees; and the other, that beginning at Watkins' Point, he should admeasure his said degrees, at 60 miles to a degree. This being read by him, first privately, then publicly, he told me the King was greatly mistaken, and that he would not leave his patent to follow the King's letter, nor could a letter void his patent; and by that he would stand.

"This was the substance of what he said from first to last, during the whole conference. To this I answered, the King might be misinformed rather than mistaken, and that I was afraid the mistake would fall on his side; for though his patent begins at Watkins' Point, and goes to the fortieth degree of north latitude, yet it presumed that to be in the thirty-eighth, else Virginia would be wronged, which should extend to that degree; however, this I assured him, that when I petitioned the King for five degrees north latitude, and that petition was referred to the Lords of the Committee of Plantations; at that time it was urged by some present, that the Lord *Baltimore* had but two degrees; upon which the Lord President, turning his head to me, at whose chair I stood, said, 'Mr. Penn, *will not three degrees serve your turn?*' I answered, 'I submit both the what, and how, to the honorable board.'

"To this his uncle, and chancellor, returned, that to convince me his father's grant was not by degrees, he had more of *Virginia* given him, but being planted, and the grant intending only land not planted, or possessed, but of savage natives, he left it out, that it might not forfeit the rest: of which the Lord *Baltimore* takes no notice, in his narrative, that I remember. But, by that answer, he can pretend nothing to *Delaware;* which was at, and before, the passing of that patent, bought and planted by the *Dutch;* and so could not be given. But, if it were, it was forfeited, for not reducing it, during twenty years, under the *English* sovereignty, of which he held it; but was at last reduced by the King, and therefore his, to give as he pleaseth.

"Perceiving that my pressing the King's letter was uneasy, and that I had determined myself to dispose him with utmost softness to a good compliance, I waived that of the two degrees, and pressed the admeasurement only, the next part of the letter. For though it were two degrees and a half from *Watkins'* Point to forty degrees, yet let it be measured at sixty miles to a degree, and I would begin at forty degrees, fall as it would. My design was, that every degree being seventy miles, I should get all that was over sixty, the proportion intended the Lord *Baltimore,* by the grant, and computation of a degree, at that time of the day.

"Thus he had enjoyed the full favor intended him, and I had gained a door of great importance to the peopling and improving of his majesty's province. But he this also rejected."*

Although this effort of Penn to obtain an adjustment of the boundaries was unsuccessful, he was entertained with much courtesy and hospitality by Lord Baltimore, and after the conference, he spent some days in visiting the meetings of Friends in Maryland. On the 29th of the same month he returned to Chester, where he wrote to a friend as follows:

"I bless the Lord I am very well, and much satisfied with my place and portion; yet busy enough, having much to do to please all, and yet to have an eye to those that are not here to please themselves.

"I have been at New York, Long Island, East Jersey, and Maryland, in which I have had good and eminent service for the Lord.

"I am now casting the country into townships for large lots of land. I have held an Assembly, in which many good laws are passed. We could not stay safely till the spring for a government. I have annexed the territories lately obtained to the province, and passed a general naturalization for strangers; which hath much pleased the people. As to outward things, we are satisfied; the land good, the air clear and sweet, the springs plentiful, and provision good and easy to come at; an innumerable quantity of wild fowl and fish: in fine, here is what an Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob would be well contented with; and service enough for God, for the fields are here white for harvest. O, how sweet is the quiet of these parts, freed from the anxious and troublesome solicitations, hurries, and perplexities of woeful Europe!" * * *

"Blessed be the Lord, that of 23 ships none miscarried, only two or three had the small-pox, else healthy and swift passages generally, such as have not been known; some but twenty-eight days, and few longer than six weeks. Blessed be God for it, who is good to us and follows us with his abundant kindness: my soul fervently breathes, that in his heavenly guiding wisdom we may be kept, that we may serve him in our day, and lay down our heads in peace."

It is probable that Penn remained in Chester, then the seat of his government, during the latter part of the winter of 1682–3. There are several of his letters extant, written at this time. One of them was addressed to a friend who had unduly reflected upon him, viz.:†

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* Proud's Hist., P. i. 268.

† Proud.

"My old Friend:—I could speak largely of God's dealings with me in getting this thing; what an inward exercise of faith and patience it cost me, in passing. The travail was mine, as well as the debt and cost; through the envy of many, both professors, false friends, and profane: my God hath given it me, in the face of the world; and it is to hold it in true judgment, as a reward of my sufferings: and that is seen here, whatever some despisers may say or think.

"The place God hath given me; and I never felt judgment for the power I kept, but trouble for what I parted with.

"It is more than a worldly title or patent, that hath cloathed me in this place. Keep thy place. I am in mine. I am not sitting down in a greatness which I have denied. I am day and night spending my life, my time, my money, and am not sixpence enriched by this greatness, (costs in getting, settling, transportation, and maintenance now, in a public manner, but at my own charge, duly considered,) to say nothing of my hazard, and the distance I am from a considerable estate, and, which is more, from my dear wife and poor children.

"Well! the Lord is a God of righteous judgment. Had I indeed sought greatness, I had stayed at home, where the difference between what I am here and what was offered, and I could have been there in power and wealth, is as wide as the places are.—No: I came for the Lord's sake; and, therefore, have I stood to this day, well, and diligent, and successful: blessed be his power! Nor shall I trouble myself to tell thee what I am to the people of this place, in travails, watchings, spendings, and to my servants every way freely, not like a selfish man. I have many witnesses. To conclude: It is now in Friends' hands. Through my travail, faith, and patience, it came. If Friends here keep to God in the justice, mercy, equity, and fear of the Lord, their enemies will be their footstool; if not, their heirs, and my heirs too, will lose all, and desolation will follow. But, blessed be the Lord, we are well, and live in the dear love of God, and the fellowship of his tender heavenly Spirit; and our faith is for ourselves and one another, that the Lord will be with us a King and Counsellor for ever. Thy ancient, though grieved friend,

"WILLIAM PENN.*

"Chester, 5th of 12th mo., 1682."

Another of his letters of same date is addressed to Lord Culpepper. This nobleman was one of the proprietors of Virginia, under a charter of Charles II., to him and Lord Arlington, and he had just arrived as the governor of that colony. In this letter Penn says:

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* The expression in this letter, "*had I sought greatness I had stayed at home*," probably alludes to the intention of King Charles II. to raise Sir William Penn to a peerage, under the title of Lord Weymouth, which was frustrated by his son and heir becoming a Friend. See Memorials of Sir W. Penn, by Grenville Penn, vol. ii. p 564.

> "I am mightily taken with this part of the world: here is a great deal of nature, which is to be preferred to base art, and methinks that simplicity with enough, is gold to lacker, compared with European cunning.
>
> "I like it so well, that a plentiful estate, and a great acquaintance on the other side, have no charms to remove; my family being once fixed with me, and if no other thing occur, I am like to be an adopted American.
>
> "Our province thrives with people, our next increase will be the fruit of their labor. Time, the maturer of things below, will give the best account of this country. Our heads are dull, what fineness transplantation will give, I know not; but our hearts are good and our hands strong.
>
> "I hear thou intendest a progress into Maryland this summer. If this place deserve a share of it, all that I can command, shall bid thee welcome.
>
> "I am, thou knowest, an unceremonious man, but I profess myself a man of Christian decency, and besides, a relation by my wife, whose great grand-mother was thy great aunt. With all sincerity, &c.
>
> "WILLIAM PENN."[*]

A third letter written at this time was addressed to "the Lord Hyde." This was Laurence Hyde, second son of the Earl of Clarendon, afterwards Earl of Rochester. He occupied high offices under Charles, James, and Queen Anne; was esteemed an adroit courtier, but a sincere and honorable man, and seems always to have been the friend of Penn.[†]

TO THE LORD HYDE.

> "My Noble Friend:—I humbly take this opportunity, by a gentleman of Virginia, Colonel Hill, (recommended in an interest he hath in this province, to my favor, by the Lord Culpepper,) to pay my sincere respects, beseeching God to remember and retaliate to thee and thine the many favors I am indebted to thee. I thank God, I am very well, and the province thrives. I hope the crown will sensibly receive honor and credit, and profit by it. But humanly speaking, it will much depend upon the benign influence of thy power and goodness; and there I humbly leave it, as thence, in a great measure, (I must say,) I originally fetcht it.
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> "In my last, per a Maryland conveyance, I sent a letter with one in it

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[*] Mem Penna. Hist So., iv. i. 173.

[†] Ibid.

to the Duke. I did therein inclose a natural boundary for the tract of land he so often pleased to promise a patent for, and which it is so much his own interest to quicken Sir J. Warden in, who I hear is too Spanish, and as he told me they call him in Spain, Don Juan del Ablo, for my agent can hardly make him understand the Duke's commands, without a more powerful interpreter. The draught of the bounds is in my agent's hands. I most humbly pray thy favor in its despatch. The planters must resort to those two counties. The quit-rent is a penny per acre, formerly little more than a farthing per acre. I have ordered two manors for the Duke, of ten thousand acres a-piece, and intend two more.

"Their value, besides the quit-rent, will be great in a few years.

"I shall add only, that my good wishes are most sincere and fervent for thy true prosperity, as becomes one that by all gratitude is bound to approve himself, &c. W. P.

"Pray let Pennsylvania furnish the King, the Duke, and thyself, with beavers and otters for hats and muffs. I have sent some of each accordingly,—

"'Tis the heart, not the gift that gives acceptance.—*Vale.*

"Chester, the 5th of the 12th mo., 1682."

On the 10th of the first month (March,) 1683, Penn met the Provincial Council at Philadelphia, and the Assembly two days afterwards. The Council consisted of three members from each of the six counties, and the Assembly of nine members from each county, agreeably to "the act of settlement," passed at the last session, but some doubts having arisen about the constitutionality of this mode of reducing the number of representatives, a member of the Assembly moved, "that the governor may be desired that this alteration may not hinder the people from the benefit of the charter." The governor answered that, "they might amend, alter, or add for the public good, and that he was ready to settle such foundations as might be for their happiness and the good of their posterity, according to the powers vested in him."

On the 20th, "the governor and council desired a conference about the charter, and then, the question being asked by the governor, whether they would have the old charter or a new one? they unanimously desired there might be a new one, with the amendment put into a law which is past."* The next day

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* Minutes of Council, i. 7. Proud, i. 239. Colonial Rec. i. 9.

Griffith Jones and Thomas Fitzwater, came with a written message from the House of Assembly, expressing "the thankful acknowledgments of the house to the governor, for his kind speech to them yesterday, and gratefully embracing his offers, proposing what they desired might be inserted in the charter."*

A joint committee of the two houses was appointed to draft a new charter, which being done, it was read in Council, the members of Assembly being present; and after some debate it was agreed to and signed by the governor, to whom the old charter was returned, with "the hearty thanks of the whole house."

The second charter, embraced the same principles as the first, and much of it was in the same language; the number of delegates from each county was reduced to three for the Council, and six for the Assembly, with the privilege of each house being enlarged with the increase of inhabitants.

The governor's treble vote was abolished, but the privilege of originating bills was still confined to the Governor and Council, who were required to publish the proposed bills before the meeting of the Assembly. This feature was well adapted to the circumstances of an infant colony, as it saved much time in legislation, but it was subsequently changed, with the consent of the proprietary, by giving to the Assembly, at their request, power to originate all legislative measures.

By one of the acts passed at this time provision was made for the appointment, at every county court, of three peace-makers, in the nature of common arbitrators, to hear and determine all differences between individuals.

In grateful acknowledgment of the governor's services, and in consideration of his expenses in establishing the colony, the Assembly granted him an impost upon certain imports and exports, but he, with a generosity which he had afterwards cause to repent, declined to avail himself of it for the present.

After a harmonious session of twenty-one days, the Assembly adjourned, having in this brief time, not only amended the charter, and enacted many new laws, but revised and confirmed the whole civil and criminal code.

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* Gordon's Hist. Pa. 81.

A few weeks after the adjournment of the Assembly, Penn was engaged in making a treaty with the Indians for the purchase of land, as stated in the following extract from his letter to "The Lords of the Committee of Plantations, in London:"

> "In the month called May, Lord Baltimore sent three gentlemen to let me know he would meet me at the head of the Bay of Chesapeake: I was then in treaty with the kings of the natives for land; but three days after we met ten miles from New Castle, which is thirty from the Bay.
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> "I invited him to the town, where, having entertained him as well as the town could afford on so little notice, and finding him only desirous of speaking with me privately, I pressed that we might, at our distinct lodgings, sit severally with our councils, and treat by way of written memorials, which would prevent the mistakes or abuses that may follow from ill designs or ill memory; but he avoided it, saying, 'He was not well, and the weather sultry, and would return with what speed he could, reserving any other treaty to another season.' Thus we parted at that time. I had been before told by divers, that the said Baltimore had issued forth a proclamation to invite people by lower prices and greater quantities of land, to plant in the lower counties; in which the Duke's goodness had interested me, as an inseparable benefit to this whole province. I was not willing to believe it; and being in haste I omitted to ask him. But I had not been long returned before two letters came from two judges of the county courts, that such a proclamation was abroad, that the people too hearken to it, but yet prayed my directions. I bade them keep their ground and not fear, for the King would be judge."*

On his return from New Castle, his negotiation with the Indians was, probably, renewed, there being two deeds on record for land purchased of them about this time. The first, dated June 23d, 1683, between William Penn and Kings *Tamanen* and *Metamequan*, conveys their land near Neshemanah [Neshaminy] creek and thence to Pennapecka [Pennypack].† The other, which bears date the 14th of July following, is for lands lying between the Schuylkill and Chester Rivers.‡

In one of the purchases of land made from the Indians, it was stipulated that it should extend "as far back as a man could walk in three days." Tradition relates that William Penn himself, with several of his friends and a number of Indian chiefs,

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* Proud, i. 271.

† Watson's An. i. 143.

‡ Mem. Pa. Hist. Soc. iii. II. 157.

"began to walk out this land at the mouth of the Neshaminy, and walked up the Delaware; that in one day and a half, they got to a spruce tree near the mouth of Baker's Creek, when William concluding this would include as much land as he would want at present, a line was run and marked from the spruce tree to Neshaminy, and the remainder left to be walked out when it should be wanted for settlement." "It is said they walked leisurely, after the Indian manner, sitting down sometimes to smoke their pipes, to eat biscuit and cheese, and drink a bottle of wine. It is certain they arrived at the spruce tree in a day and a half, the whole distance rather less than thirty miles." The remainder of the line was not run till the 20th of September, 1733, when the Governor of Pennsylvania employed three of the fastest walkers that could be found, one of whom, Edward Marshall, walked in a day and a half, the astonishing distance of eighty-six miles. The name of William Penn has, by some persons, been unjustly coupled with this disgraceful transaction, which did not take place till many years after his death. The Indians felt themselves much aggrieved by this unfair admeasurement of their lands; it was the cause of the first dissatisfaction between them and the people of Pennsylvania, and it is remarkable, that the first murder committed by them in the province, seventy-two years after the landing of Penn, was on this very ground, which had been taken from them by fraud.*

During the year 1683, the Provincial Council held its meetings in Philadelphia: it was convened very frequently and the minutes show that William Penn always presided.

Among its judicial proceedings, only two cases are of sufficient interest to be cited. One was the trial of Charles Pickering and others, for coining "Spanish bitts and Boston money," alloyed with too large a proportion of copper. They were found guilty, and Pickering, being the principal in the fraud, was sentenced by the court to make full satisfaction, in good and current money, to every person that should, within a month, bring in any of this base and counterfeit coin, which was to be called in by proclamation, and the money brought in, melted down and given to him. He was fined £40 towards building a court house, and required to find security for his "*good abearance*." His accomplices having confessed their guilt, one of them was fined £10, and the other, a servant, was sentenced to sit an hour in the stocks.

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* See, in Hazard's Reg. vi. 209, a communication from John Watson of Buckingham, to the Am. Phil. Soc. at Phil.

The other case, was a trial for *witchcraft*, the only one on the records. This appears to have originated among the Swedes, who probably brought with them from their native land, some of the Scandinavian superstitions. The persons accused were Margaret Mattson and Yeshro Hendrickson. Lacy Cock acted as interpreter between them and the governor. The following is a sample of the evidence: "Henry Drystreet, attested, saith he was told, *twenty years ago*, that the prisoner at the bar was a witch, and that several cows were bewitched by her." "Annaky Coolin, attested, saith that her husband took the heart of a calf that had died, as they thought, by witchcraft, and boiled it, whereupon the prisoner at the bar came in and asked them what they were doing; they said boiling of flesh; she said they had better they had boiled the bones, with several other *unseemly expressions*."

The governor gave the jury their charge concerning the case, of which, it is to be regretted, there is no record. "The jury went forth and upon their return, brought her in guilty of the *common fame of being a witch*, but *not* guilty* in manner and form as she stands indicted."

In the summer of 1683, Capt. Wm. Markham proceeded to England, probably on business for Penn, by whom he was furnished with the following letter to Col. Henry Sidney, who was the third son of the Earl of Leicester, and brother to the celebrated Algernon Sidney.

"My old worthy Friend:—The great parts of friendship are love, truth, and constancy, and from the time it pleased thee to receive mine, it hath not wandered in any one respect, but I still love and honor thee, and would be glad I could be of any service to thee; at this distance, to be sure, I cannot, but neither can distance wear out the impressions a long and kind acquaintance hath made upon my mind.

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* Colonial Rec. i. 41.

"'Tis with this familiar talk I begin to entertain thee, though a great man, now in government, and long deserving to have been so in thyself, nor shall I ask any excuse for this freedom with a person whose good nature will not be offended, and whose good sense loveth little ceremony in writing.

"I writ from sea a begging letter, for a few fruit trees of the Lord Sunderland's gardener's raising out of his rare collection, that by giving them a better climate, we may share with you the pleasure of excellent fruit, the success of which I hear nothing of.

"I have been here about nine months, and have had my health, I thank God, very well; I find the country wholesome, land, air, and water good; divers good sorts of wood and fruits that grow wild, of which plums, peaches, and grapes are three; also cedar, cyprus, chestnut, and black walnut and poplar, with five sorts of oak, black and white, Spanish red and swamp oak, the most durable of all, the leaf like the English willow.

"We have laid out a town a mile long and two miles deep. On each side of the town runs a navigable river, the least as broad as the Thames at Woolwich, the other about a mile over. I think we have near about eighty houses built, and about three hundred farms settled round the town. I fancy it already pleasanter than the Weald of Kent, our soil being clearer, and the country not much closer; a coach might be driven twenty miles end-ways.

"We have had fifty sail of ships and small vessels, since the last summer, in our river, which shows a good beginning. And though I hope God will prosper our honest care and industry, yet a friend at court is a good thing, and I flatter myself to believe I shall never want one while thou art there.

"Wherefore give me leave to recommend the bearer, my agent and kinsman, Captain William Markham, to thy favor and power. I hear the Lord Sunderland is Secretary of State again; I also remember his kind promises, and the mighty influences thou deservedly hast upon him; pray use it in my affair, that not only I and my family, but the province may owe a singular acknowledgment to thy kindness.

"That in which I so earnestly solicit thy assistance, he will better communicate than I can write it; and I would not make my letter troublesome.

"The business is just, and honorable, and prudent for the crown to hear me in, and that I hope will make it easy to my noble friends to favor me. I have written to the Lord Sunderland about it, for it belongs to his station, and since no man can better welcome it to him than thyself, let me throw myself upon thee, and beg both thy introduction of him and countenance of the business to the Lord. God will reward thee, and we here shall rest the debtors of thy goodness, with much thankfulness.

"I have only to ask pardon for a poor present I send, of the growth of our country. Remember that the offerings of old were valued by the hearts of them that made them; which gives me assurance it will be accepted.

"I hear little news, and am not very careful of it; but a line of thy health, and success of thy affairs, will be very pleasant; nobody interesting himself with more affection and sincerity in thy prosperity than,

"My worthy friend,
"Thy very faithful friend,
"WILLIAM PENN.*

"Philadelphia, the 24th of the 5th month, (July,) 1683.

"I know not if your brothers are on so good terms or alliance with me, that I may remember myself to them.—*Vale.*

"For Colonel Henry Sidney, in Leichesterfield."

CHAPTER XVII.

Early history of Pennsylvania; Rapid improvement; Charter of the Colonists; Their labors in building and planting; William Penn's interest in their progress; Meetings of Friends; Anecdotes of the early settlers; Richard Townsend's testimony; William Penn's journey to the interior of Pennsylvania: His account of the country and the Indians, in a letter to the Free Society of Traders.

1683.

In tracing the progress of nations, as well as individuals, who have attained to greatness and renown, we love to go back to their earliest history; and while we observe the development of character resulting from their trials and struggles, we can excuse the mistakes of inexperience, and rejoice in the triumphs of genius and perseverance.

The origin of European nations, as well as the most renowned empires of antiquity, is involved in obscurity, and blended with fable, but from the foundation of the American colonies, we have the advantage of cotemporary records; which, as time advances, become more and more precious, for every fact and incident, however trivial, of those primitive times, possesses an interest to the philosophic inquirer.

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* Mem. Hist. Soc, of Pa.

The early history of Pennsylvania has peculiar attractions for the moralist and the student of political economy. The entire absence of military defences, the long period of uninterrupted peace, the freedom and liberality of her institutions, the patriarchal simplicity of manners blended with moral refinement, and the unexampled rapidity of her growth, are features that cannot be found, so happily blended, in the history of any other people.

In the year of Penn's arrival, and during the two years next succeeding, ships with emigrants arrived from London, Bristol, Ireland, Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire, Holland, Germany, &c., to the number of fifty sail.*

The colonists, in their native land, had been mostly husbandmen, tradesmen and mechanics: among them were some good scholars, but generally their education was limited, and their manners were simple, hearty and unceremonious. Many of them had good estates, and were well provided with all the comforts that could be had in a new country. Some brought with them the frames of houses ready to be set up, others built cabins of logs, and covered them with clap-boards. Huts covered with bark and turf were constructed, to shelter them while building their houses; and excavations made in the bank of the Delaware at Philadelphia, called caves, served for temporary dwellings for the poorer classes.

Penn manifested great interest in the progress of the infant city; his personal attention and cordial manners, afforded encouragement to the builders, and it is said, he furnished a plan for the construction of their dwellings, which combined economy with comfort.

A large proportion of the colonists being members of the society of Friends, who had come with the view of enjoying religious liberty, their first care was to establish meetings for worship and discipline. In a letter from Friends in Pennsylvania to their brethren in Great Britain, dated 17th of 1st month

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* Proud's Hist. Pa. i. 219.

(March), 1683, they give the following account of their meetings:

"In Pennsylvania, there is one at Falls, one at the governor's house, [Pennsbury], one at Colchester river, all in the county of Bucks: one at Tawcony, one at Philadelphia, both in that county: one at Darby, at John Blunston's, one at Chester, one at Ridley, at J. Simcock's, and one at Wm. Ruse's at Chichester in Cheshire.[?] There be three monthly meetings of men and women, for truth's service: in the county of Chester one, in the county of Philadelphia another, and in the county of Bucks another. And [we] intend a yearly meeting in the third month next. Here our care is, as it was in our native land, that we may serve the Lord's truth and people. * * * * And for our outward condition as men, blessed be God, we are satisfied; the countries are good—the land, the water, the air—room enough for many thousands to live plentifully, and the back lands much the best; good increase of labor, all sorts of grain, promising sufficient, and by reason of many giving themselves to husbandry, there is like to be great fruitfulness in some time. But they that come upon a mere outward account, must work or be able to maintain [themselves]. Fowl, fish, and venison are plentiful, and of pork and beef is no want, considering that about two thousand people came into this river last year.

"Dear friends and brethren, we have no cause to murmur, our lot is fallen, every way, in a goodly place, and the love of God is, and growing, among us, and we are a family at peace within ourselves, and truly great is our joy therefor." * * * *

Signed by William Penn, S. Jannings, Christ. Taylor, Jas. Harrison, and others.*

In addition to the means of subsistence mentioned in the foregoing letter, "the wild pigeons came in such numbers, that the air was sometimes darkened by their flight; and flying low, those that had no other means to take them, sometimes supplied themselves by throwing at them as they flew, and salting up what they could not eat, they served them for bread and meat in one. They were thus supplied, at times, for the first two or three years, by which time they had raised sufficient out of the ground by their own labor; those settlers had, at this time, neither horses nor plough, but tilled the ground with hoes. The natives were remarkably kind to them, in supplying them with such provisions as they could spare, and were otherwise serviceable in many respects."

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* MSS. Am. Phil. Soc. at Philadelphia.

"John Chapman having settled in the woods, the farthest back of any English inhabitants, found the Indians very kind to his family, as well as to the other settlers that came after him, often supplying them with corn and other provisions, which here, as in other places, were many times very scarce, and hard to be procured. In one of those scarce times, Chapman's eldest daughter, Mara, supplied his family by an unexpected incident. Being near Nashamony Creek, she heard an uncommon noise, like the bleating of something in distress, and going forward to see the occasion, found a large buck on which a wolf had just before seized, and it having got from him, had fled for safety into the creek, just under a high bank, and being somewhat hurt, but in a greater fright, it stood still till she alighted, took the halter from the beast she rode, and with a stick put it over his horns, and secured him till more help came, on which the wolf retired; the buck being large and fat, was serviceable to the family. Abraham and Joseph Chapman, being then boys, about nine or ten years old, one evening going to hunt their cattle, came across an Indian in the woods, who told them to go back, or they would be lost; in a little time, taking his advice, they went back, but it was within night before they got home, where they found the Indian, who careful lest they should have lost themselves, had repaired thither in the night to see. And their parents, about that time, going to the yearly meeting, and leaving a young family at home, the Indians would come every day to see that nothing was amiss among them. Such in many instances, was the treatment of the natives of the country, in the original settlement of it."*

A further account of their mode of living and the progress of the colony, is given in a letter of Richard Townsend, who came from England in the same ship with William Penn.

"At our arrival," he says, "we found it a wilderness; the chief inhabitants were Indians, and some Swedes, who received us in a friendly manner; and although there was a great number of us, the good hand of Providence was seen in a particular manner, in that provisions were found for us by the Swedes and Indians at very reasonable rates, as well as brought from divers other parts, that were inhabited before.

"Our first concern was to keep up and maintain our religious worship, and in order thereto, we had several meetings in the houses of the inhabitants; and one boarded meeting house was set up, where the city was to be, (near the Delaware); and as we had nothing but love and good-will in our hearts, one to another, we had very comfortable meetings from time to time, and after our meeting was over, we assisted each other in building little houses for our shelter.

"After some time I set up a mill, on Chester Creek, which I brought, ready framed, with me from London, which served for grinding of corn and sawing of boards, and was of great use to us. Besides, I, with Joshua

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* Smith's Hist. Pa. in Hazard's Reg. Proud's Hist Pa.

Tittery, made a net, and caught great quantities of fish, which supplied ourselves and many others; so that notwithstanding it was thought near three thousand persons came in the first year, we were so providentially provided for, that we could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey for about one shilling, and Indian corn for about two shillings and six-pence per bushel. And as our worthy proprietor treated the Indians with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought in abundance of venison. As in other countries the Indians were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, the contrary treatment here hath produced their love and affection.

"About a year after our arrival, there came in about twenty families from High and Low Germany, of religious, good people, and settled about six miles from Philadelphia, and called the place Germantown. The country continually increasing, people began to spread themselves further back. And also a place called North Wales was settled by many of the ancient Britons, an honest inclined people, although they had not generally then made profession of the truth, as held by us; yet in a little time, a large convincement was among them, and divers meeting houses built.

"About the time Germantown was laid out, I settled upon my tract of land which I had purchased of the proprietor in England, about a mile from thence, where I set up a house and a corn-mill, which was very useful to the country for several miles round. But there not being plenty of horses, people generally brought their corn on their backs many miles. I remember one man had a bull so gentle, that he used to bring his corn on him instead of a horse.

"Being now settled about six or seven miles from Philadelphia, where, leaving the chief body of Friends, together with the chief place for provisions as before mentioned, flesh meat was very scarce with me for some time, of which I found the want. I remember I was once supplied by a particular instance of Providence, in the following manner: being in my meadow, mowing grass, a young deer came and looked on me: I went on mowing for some time, and he still continued to look upon me; upon which I laid down my scythe and went towards him; when I came pretty near, he ran off a small circuit; I went to my work again; he continued looking on me, so that at several times I left work to go towards him, but he still kept at a little distance; at last going towards him, and he, looking upon me, did not mind his steps, but ran forcibly against the body of a great tree and stunned himself, so that he fell; upon which I ran forward, and getting upon him, held him by the legs, and a great struggle we had, until I had tired him out; being then in a manner lifeless, I took him by the legs, threw him on my shoulders, and carried him about a quarter of a mile to my house; he grew more alive, and struggled hard before I got home; but with much ado I secured him, and got disengaged from my load by a neighbor, who, happening to be at my house, killed him for me. The carcase proved very serviceable to my family. I could relate several other acts of Providence of this kind, but omit them for brevity.

"As people began to spread and improve their lands, the country became more fruitful, so that those which came in after us were plentifully supplied, and with what we abounded began a small trade abroad; and as Philadelphia increased, vessels were built, and many employed. Both country and trade have been wonderfully increasing to this day; so that from a wilderness, the Lord, by his good hand of providence, hath made it a fruitful field; on which to look back and observe all the steps, would exceed my present purpose; yet being now in the eighty-fourth year of my age, and having been in this country near forty-six years, and my memory pretty clear concerning the rise and progress of the province, I can do no less than return praises to the Almighty, when I look back, and consider his bountiful hand, not only in temporals, but in the great increase of our meetings, wherein he hath many times manifested his great loving-kindness, in reaching to, and convincing many of the principles of Truth; and those that were already convinced, and continued faithful, were not only blessed with plenty of the fruits of the earth, but also with the dew of heaven. I am engaged in my spirit to supplicate the continuance thereof to the present rising generation; that as they increase, so Truth may increase in their hearts; that as God hath blessed their parents, the same blessing may remain on their offspring, to the end of time; that it may be so, is the hearty desire and prayer of

"Their ancient and loving friend,
"RICHARD TOWNSEND."*

In the spring or summer of 1683, William Penn made a journey to the interior of his province, during which, he made himself more fully acquainted with its surface, soil, and natural productions, and visited the Indians in their wigwams, with whom he learned to converse in their own language. The result of his observations, is communicated in the following interesting letter to the Free Society of Traders:

"My kind Friend:—The kindness of yours by the ship Thomas and Ann, doth much oblige me; for by it I perceive the interest you take in my health and reputation, and in the prosperous beginning of this province, which you are so kind as to think may much depend upon them. In return of which I have sent you a long letter, and yet containing as brief an account of myself and the affairs of this province as I have been able to make.

"In the first place, I take notice of the news you sent me, whereby I find some persons have had so little wit, and so much malice, as to report my death; and, to mend the matter, dead a *Jesuit* too. One might have reasonably hoped that this distance, like death, would have been a protection against spite and envy; and indeed absence, being a kind of death, ought alike to secure the name of the absent as of the dead, because they are equally unable as such to defend themselves: but they who intend mischief do not use to follow good rules to effect it. However, to the great sorrow and shame of the inventors, I am still alive and *no Jesuit;* and, I thank God, very well. And without injustice to the authors of this, I may venture to infer, that they who wilfully and falsely report, would have been glad had it been so. But I perceive many frivolous and idle stories have been invented since my departure from England, which perhaps at this time are no more alive than I am dead.

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* Smith's Hist. Pa. and Proud's Hist.

"But if I have been unkindly used by some I left behind me, I found love and respect enough where I came; an universal kind welcome, every sort in their way. For here are some of several nations, as well as divers judgments: nor were the natives wanting in this; for their Kings, Queens, and great men, both visited and presented me, to whom I made suitable returns.

"For the province, the general condition of it take as followeth:

"1. The country itself, its soil, air, water, seasons, and produce, both natural and artificial, are not to be despised. The land containeth divers sorts of earth, as sand, yellow and black, poor and rich; also gravel, both loamy and dusty; and in some places a fast fat earth, like that of our best vales in England, especially by inland brooks and rivers: God in his wisdom having ordered it so, that the advantages of the country are divided; the back lands being generally three to one richer than those that lie by navigable rivers. We have much of another soil, and that is a black hazel mould upon a stony or rocky bottom.

"2. The air is sweet and clear, and the heavens serene, like the south parts of France, rarely overcast; and as the woods come by numbers of people to be more cleared, that itself will refine.

"3. The waters are generally good; for the rivers and brooks have mostly gravel and stony bottoms, and in numbers hardly credible. We have also mineral waters, which operate in the same manner with those of Barnet and North Hall, not two miles from Philadelphia.

"4. For the seasons of the year, having by God's goodness now lived over the coldest and hottest that the oldest liver in the province can remember, I can say something to an English understanding.

"First of the fall, for then I came in. I found it from the twenty-fourth of October to the beginning of December, as we have it usually in England in September, or rather like an English mild spring. From December to the beginning of the month called March, we had sharp frosty weather; not foul, thick, black weather, as our north-east winds bring with them in England, but a sky as clear as in the summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing, and hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more clothes than in England. The reason of this cold is given from the great lakes, which are fed by the fountains of Canada. The winter before was as mild, scarce any ice at all, while this for a few days froze up our great river Delaware. From that month to the month called June, we enjoyed a sweet spring; no gusts, but gentle showers and a fine sky. Yet this I observe, that the winds here, as there, are more inconstant, spring and fall, upon that turn of nature, than in summer or winter. From thence to this present month, August, which endeth the summer, commonly speaking, we have had extraordinary heats, yet mitigated sometimes by cool breezes. The wind that ruleth the summer season is the south-west; but spring, fall, and winter, it is rare to want the north-western seven days together. And whatever mists, fogs, or vapors foul the heavens by easterly or southerly winds, in two hours time are blown away; the one is followed by the other; a remedy that seems to have a peculiar providence in it to the inhabitants, the multitude of trees yet standing being liable to retain mists and vapors, and yet not one quarter so thick as I expected.

"5. The natural produce of the country, of vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note are the black walnut, cedar, cypress, chestnut, poplar, gum-wood, hickory, sassafras, ash, beech, and oak of divers sorts, as red, white, and black; Spanish chestnut, and swamp, the most durable of all; of all which there is plenty for the use of man.

"The fruits I find in the woods are the white and black mulberry, chestnut, walnut, plums, strawberries, cranberries, hurtleberries, and grapes of divers sorts. The great red grape, now ripe, called by ignorance the fox-grape, because of the relish it hath with unskilful palates, is in itself an extraordinary grape; and by art, doubtless, may be cultivated to an excellent wine, if not so sweet, yet little inferior to the Frontiniac, as it is not much unlike it in taste, ruddiness set aside; which, in such things, as well as mankind, differs the case much. There is a white kind of muscadel, and a little black grape, like the cluster grape of England, not yet so ripe as the other; but, they tell me, when ripe, sweeter, and that they only want skilful vinerons to make good use of them. I intend to venture on it with my Frenchman this season, who shows some knowledge in those things. Here are also peaches very good, and in great quantities, not an Indian plantation without them; but whether naturally here at first I know not. However, one may have them by bushels for little. They make a pleasant drink, and I think not inferior to any peach you have in England, except the true Newington. It is disputable with me, whether it be best to fall to fining the fruits of the country, especially the grape, by the care and skill of art, or send for foreign stems and sets already good and approved. It seems most reasonable to believe, that not only a thing groweth best where it naturally grows, but will hardly be equalled by another species of the same kind, that doth not naturally grow there. But to solve the doubt, I intend, if

God give me life, to try both, and hope the consequence will be as good wine as any European countries of the same latitude do yield.

"6. The artificial produce of the country is wheat, barley,* oats, rye, peas, beans, squashes, pumkins, water melons, musk-melons, and all herbs and roots that our gardens in England usually bring forth.

"7. Of living creatures, fish, fowl, and the beasts of the wood, here are divers sorts, some for food and profit, and some for profit only: for food as well as profit, the elk, as big as a small ox; deer, bigger than ours; beaver, raccoon, rabbits, squirrels; and some eat young bear and commend it. Of fowl of the land there is the turkey, (forty and fifty pounds weight,) which is very great, pheasants, heath-birds, pigeons, and partridges in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose, (white and gray); brands, ducks, teal, also the snipe and curloe, and that in great numbers; but the duck and teal excel, nor so good have I ever eaten in other countries. Of fish there is the sturgeon, herring, rock, shad, cat's-head, sheep's-head, eel, smelt, perch, roach; and in inland rivers trout, some say salmon above the Falls. Of shell-fish, we have oysters, crabs, cockles, conchs, and muscles; some oysters six inches long, and one sort of cockles as big as the stewing oysters; they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only, by skin or fur, and which are natural to these parts, are the wild cat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, fisher, minx, musk-rat; and of the water, the whale for oil, of which we have a good store; and two companies of whalers, whose boats are built, will soon begin their work, which hath the appearance of considerable improvement; to say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod in the bay.

"8. We have no want of horses, and some are very good and shapely enough. Two ships have been freighted to Barbadoes, with horses and pipe-staves, since my coming in. Here is also plenty of cow-cattle and some sheep. The people plough mostly with oxen.

"9. There are divers plants, which not only the Indians tell us, but we have had occasion to prove, by swellings, burnings, and cuts, that they are of great virtue, suddenly curing the patient; and for smell, I have observed several, especially one, the wild myrtle, the other I know not what to call, but they are most fragrant.

"10. The woods are adorned with lovely flowers for color, greatness, figure, and variety. I have seen the gardens of London best stored with that sort of beauty, but think they may be improved by our woods. I have sent a few to a person of quality this year for a trial. Thus much of the country: next, of the natives or aborigines.

"11. The natives I shall consider in their persons, language, manners, religion, and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, straight, well built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin. Of complexion black, but by design, as the gipsies in England. They grease themselves with bear's fat clarified; and using no defence against sun and weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a straight-looked Jew. The thick lip and flat nose, so frequent with the East Indians and blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them, of both sexes, as on your side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white; and the noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.

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* Edward Jones had for one grain of English barley seventy stalks and ears of barley; and it is common for one bushel sown to reap forty, often fifty, and sometimes sixty. Three pecks of wheat sow an acre here.

"12. Their language is lofty, yet narrow; but, like the Hebrew in signification, full. Like short-hand in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer; imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion; and I must say that I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in accent and emphasis, than theirs: for instance, Octocockon, Rancocas, Oricton, Shak, Marian, Poquesian, all which are names of places, and have grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, *anna* is mother, *issimus*, a brother; *neteap*, friend; *usqueoret*, very good; *pane*, bread; *metsa*, eat; *matta*, no; *hatta*, to have; *payo*, to come; Sepassen, Passijon, the names of places; Tamane, Secane, Menanse, Secatareus, are the names of persons. If one ask them for anything they have not, they will answer, *matta ne hatta*, which, to translate, is, 'Not I have,' instead of, 'I have not.'

"13. Of their customs and manners there is much to be said. I will begin with children. So soon as they are born they wash them in water, and while very young, and in cold weather to choose, they plunge them in the rivers to harden and embolden them. Having wrapt them in a clout, they lay them on a strait thin board a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast upon the board to make it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat heads; and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go very young, at nine months commonly. They wear only a small clout round their waist till they are big. If boys, they go a-fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen. Then they hunt; and, having given some proofs of their manhood by a good return of skins, they may marry: else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burthens; and they do well to use them to that, while young, which they must do when they are old; for the wives are the true servants of the husbands: otherwise the men are very affectionate to them.

"14. When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something upon their heads for an advertisement, but so as their faces are hardly to be seen but when they please. The age they marry at, if women, is about thirteen and fourteen; if men, seventeen and eighteen. They are rarely older.

"15. Their houses are mats or barks of trees, set on poles in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man. They lie on reeds or grass. In travel they lodge in the woods about a great fire, with the mantle of duffils they wear by day wrapt about them, and a few boughs stuck round them.

"16. Their diet is maize or Indian corn divers ways prepared, sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call homine. They also make cakes not unpleasant to eat. They have likewise several sorts of beans and peas that are good nourishment: and the woods and rivers are their larder.

"17. If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodgings at their house or wigwam, they give him the best place and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an *Itah*, which is as much as to say, 'Good be to you!' and set them down, which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright: it may be they speak not a word, but observe all passages. If you give them anything to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and, be it little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased: else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

"18. They are great concealers of their own resentments, brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practised among them. In either of these they are not exceeded by the Italians. A tragical instance fell out since I came into the country. A king's daughter, thinking herself slighted by her husband in suffering another woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground, and ate it, upon which she immediately died; and for which, last week, he made an offering to her kindred for atonement and liberty of marriage, as two others did to the kindred of their wives, who died a natural death: for till widowers have done so, they must not marry again. Some of the young women are said to take undue liberty before marriage for a portion; but when married, chaste. * * *

"19. But in liberality they excel. Nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live: they feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulateth like the blood. All parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property. Some kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of land. The pay or presents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular owners; but the neighboring kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what, and to whom they should give them. To every king, then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that gravity which is admirable. Then that king subdivided it in like manner among his dependants, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects: and be it on such occasions as festivals, or at their common meals, the kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little, because they want but little: and the reason is, a little contents them. In this they are sufficiently revenged on us. If they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. They are not disquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with Chancery suits and Exchequer reckonings. We sweat and toil to live. Their pleasure feeds them; I mean their hunting, fishing, and fowling, and this table is spread everywhere. They eat twice a-day, morning and evening. Their seats and table are the ground. Since the Europeans came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially; and for it exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are heated with liquor, they are restless till they have enough to sleep. That is their cry, 'Some more, and I will go to sleep;' but, when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world.

"20. In sickness, impatient to be cured, and for it give anything, especially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural. They drink at those times a teran or decoction of some roots in spring water; and if they eat any flesh, it must be of the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman, and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them, as a token of their love; their mourning is blacking of their faces, which they continue for a year. They are choice of the graves of their dead: lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

"21. These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion, to be sure the tradition of it: yet they believe a God and immortality, without the help of metaphysics: for they say there is a great king, that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them; and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again. Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico. Their sacrifice is their first fruits. The first and fattest buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him who performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labor of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts; two being in the middle who begin, and by singing and drumming on a board, direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antic and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labor, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another. There have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will. I was at one myself. Their entertainment was a great seat by a spring under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans, which they make up in a square form, in the leaves of the stem, and bake them in the ashes, and after that they fall to dance. But they who go must carry a small present in their money; it may be sixpence, which is made of the bone of a fish; the black is with them as gold; the white silver; they call it *wampum.*

"22. Their government is by kings, which they call sachama, and those by succession; but always of the mother's side. For instance, the children of him who is now king will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign, for no woman inherits. The reason they render for this way of descent is, that their issue may not be spurious.

"23. Every king hath his council; and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them, and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade, Their order is thus: The king sits in the middle of an half-moon, and has his council, the old and wise, on each hand. Behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me. He stood up, came to me, and in the name of the king saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me that he was ordered by his king to speak to me, and that now it was not he but the king who spoke, because what he should say was the king's mind. He first prayed me to excuse them, that they had not complied with me the last time. He feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English. Besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate and take up much time in council before they resolved; and that, if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay. Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of, and the price; which now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty miles not buying now two. During the time that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile—the old grave, the young reverent, in their deportment. They speak little, but fervently, and with elegance. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was going to say the spoil) of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise who outwits them in any treaty about a thing they understand. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the English and Indians must live in love as long as the sun gave light: which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the Sachamakers or Kings; first, to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them to love the Christians, and particularly to live in peace with me and the people under my government; that many Governors had been in the river; but that no Governor had come himself to live and stay here before: and having now such an one, who had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong; at every sentence of which they shouted, and said Amen in their way.

"24. The justice they have is pecuniary. In case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the offence or person injured, or of the sex they are of. For, in case they kill a woman, they pay double; and the reason they render is, 'that she breedeth children, which men cannot do.' It is rare that they fall out if sober; and if drunk they forgive, saying, 'It was the drink, and not the man, that abused them.'

"25. We have agreed, that in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter. Do not abuse them, but *let them have justice, and you win them.* The worst is, that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill and not for good things. But as low an ebb as these people are at, and as inglorious as their own condition looks, the Christians have not outlived their sight with all their pretensions to an higher manifestation. What good then might not a good people graft, where there is so distinct a knowledge left between good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts to outlive the knowledge of the natives by a fixt obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God; for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

"26. For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race, I mean of the stock of the ten tribes, and that for the following reasons: first, they were to go to a land not planted nor known, which to be sure Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and He who intended that extraordinary judgment upon them might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself from the easternmost parts of Asia to the westernmost of America.* In the next place, I find them of the like countenance, and their children of so lively resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke's Place or Berry-street, in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all: they agree in rites; they reckon by moons; they offer their first fruits; they have a kind of feast of tabernacles; they are said to lay their altar upon twelve stones; their mourning a year; customs of women; with many other things that do not now occur. So much for the natives. Next, the old planters will be considered in this relation, before I come to our colony and the concerns of it.

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* This bold conjecture, though thought ridiculous at the time, has since been verified by the discoveries of Captain Cook and later navigators.

"27. The first planters in these parts were the Dutch, and soon after them the Swedes and Finns. The Dutch applied themselves to traffic, the Swedes and Finns to husbandry There were some disputes between them for some years; the Dutch looking upon them as intruders upon their purchase and possession, which was finally ended in the surrender made by John Rizeing, the Swedish Governor, to Peter Styresant, Governor for the States of Holland, anno 1655.

"28. The Dutch inhabit mostly those parts of the province that lie upon or near the Bay, and the Swedes the Freshes of the river Delaware. There is no need of giving any description of them, who are better known there than here; but they are a plain, strong, industrious people, yet have made no great progress in culture, or propagation of fruit-trees; as if they desired rather to have enough than plenty or traffic. But I presume the Indians made them the more careless by furnishing them with the means of profit, to wit, skins and furs for rum and such strong liquors. They kindly received me as well as the English, who were few before the people concerned with me came among them. I must needs commend their respect to authority, and kind behavior to the English. They do not degenerate from the old friendship between both kingdoms. As they are people proper and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full: rare to find one of them without three or four boys and as many girls; some six, seven, and eight sons. And I must do them that right, I see few young men more sober and laborious.

"29. The Dutch have a meeting-place for religious worship at Newcastle; and the Swedes three; one at Christina, one at Tenecum, and one at Wicoco, within half a mile of this town.

"30. There rests that I speak of the condition we are in, and what settlement we have made; in which I will be as short as I can; for I fear, and not without reason, that I have tried your patience with this long story. The country lieth bounded on the east by the River and Bay of Delaware and Eastern Sea. It hath the advantage of many creeks, or rivers rather, that run into the main river or bay, some navigable for great ships, some for small craft. Those of most eminency are Christina, Brandywine, Skilpot, and Sculkil, any one of which has room to lay up the royal navy of England, there being from four to eight fathom water.

"31. The lesser creeks or rivers, yet convenient for sloops and ketches of good burthen, are Lewis, Mespillion, Cedar, Dover, Cranbrook, Feversham, and Georges below; and Chichester, Chester, Toacawny, Pammapecka, Portquessin, Neshimenck, and Pennberry in the Freshes: many lesser, that admit boats and shallops. Our people are mostly settled upon the upper rivers, which are pleasant and sweet, and generally bounded with good land. The planted part of the province and territories is cast into six counties: Philadelphia, Buckingham, Chester, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, containing about four thousand souls. Two General Assemblies have been held, and with such concord and dispatch that they sat but three weeks, and at least seventy laws were passed without one dissent in any material thing. But of this more hereafter, being yet raw and new in our gear. However, I cannot forget their singular respect to me in this infancy of things, who, by their own private expenses, so early considered mine for the public, as to present me with an impost upon certain goods imported and exported, which, after my acknowledgment of their affection, I did as freely remit to the province and the traders to it. And for the well-government of the said counties, courts of justice are established in every county, with proper officers, as justices, sheriffs, clerks, constables; which courts are held every two months. But, to prevent law-suits, there are three peace-makers chosen by every county court, in the nature of common arbitrators, to hear and end differences between man and man. And spring and fail there is an orphans' court in each county, to inspect and regulate the affairs of orphans and widows.

"32. Philadelphia: the expectation of those who are concerned in this province is at last laid out, to the great content of those here who are any ways interested therein. The situation is a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable rivers, Delaware and Sculkill, whereby it hath two fronts upon the water, each a mile, and two from river to river. Delaware is a glorious river; but the Sculkill, being an hundred miles boatable above the Falls, and its course north-east towards the fountain of Susquehannah (that tends to the heart of the province, and both sides our own), it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age. I say little of the town itself, because a platform will be shown you by my agent, in which those who are purchasers of me, will find their names and interests. But this I will say, for the good providence of God, that of all the many places I have seen in the world, I remember not one better seated; so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks, and springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land, and the air, held by the people of those parts to be very good. It is advanced within less than a year, to about fourscore houses and cottages, such as they are, where merchants and handicrafts are following their vocations as fast as they can; while the countrymen are close at their farms. Some of them got a little winter corn in the ground last season; and the generality have had a handsome summer-crop, and are preparing for their winter corn. They reaped their barley this year, in the month called May, the wheat in the month following; so that there is time in these parts for another crop of divers things before the winter season. We are daily in hopes of shipping to add to our number; for, blessed be God! here is both room and accommodation for them: the stories of our necessity being either the fear of our friends, or the scarecrows of our enemies; for the greatest hardship we have suffered hath been salt meat, which, by fowl in winter and fish in summer, together with some poultry, lamb, mutton, veal, and plenty of venison, the best part of the year, hath been made very passable. I bless God I am fully satisfied with the country and entertainment I got in it; for I find that particular content, which hath always attended me, where God in his providence hath made it my place and service to reside. You cannot imagine my station can be at present free of more than ordinary business; and, as such, I may say it is a troublesome work. But the method things are putting in will facilitate the charge, and give an easier motion to the administration of affairs, However, as it is some men's duty to plough, some to sow, some to water, and some to reap, so it is the wisdom as well as the duty of a man to yield to the mind of providence, and cheerfully as well as carefully embrace and follow the guidance of it.

"33. For your particular concern I might entirely refer you to the letters of the President of the Society; but this I will venture to say, your provincial settlement, both within and without the town, for situation and soil, are without exception. Your city lot is a whole street, and one side of a street, from river to river, containing near one hundred acres not easily valued; which is, besides your four hundred acres in the city-liberties, part of your twenty thousand acres in the country. Your tannery hath plenty of bark. The saw-mill for timber and the place of the glass-house are so conveniently posted for water-carriage, the city-lot for a dock, and the whalery for a sound and fruitful bank, and the town Lewis by it to help your people, that by God's blessing the affairs of the society will naturally grow in their reputation and profit. I am sure I have not turned my back upon any offer that tended to its prosperity; and though I am ill at projects, I have sometimes put in for a share with her officers to countenance and advance her interest. You are already informed what is fit for you further to do. Whatsoever tends to the promotion of wine and to the manufacture of linen in these parts, I cannot but wish you to promote; and the French people are most likely in both respects to answer that design. To that end I would advise you to send for some thousands of plants out of France, with some able vinerons, and people of the other vocation. But because I believe you have been entertained with this and some other profitable subjects by your president, Nicholas Moore, I shall add no more, but to assure you that I am heartily inclined to advance your just interest, and that you will always find me your kind and cordial friend,

"WILLIAM PENN.*

"Phila. 16th of 6th month (August), 1683."

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* Proud's Hist. Pa. i. 264.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Lord Baltimore's Demand; His Aggressive Measure; History of the Controversy with him; Early Settlements on the Delaware by the Dutch and Swedes; William Penn's Letter to Duke of York: Negotiation with New Jersey; William Penn's Letter to Friends in Pa.; Sufferings of Friends in England; Reasons for William Penn's Return there; Commissions the Provincial Council to act in his stead; Commissions Judges; Population of Pa. and Indian tribes; Letter from S. Crisp; Letter of William Penn to Inhabitants of Pa.; His Arrival in England; Letter to J. Harrison; Fragment of his Autobiography.

1684.

The controversy with Lord Baltimore concerning boundaries, was the greatest, if not the only, source of disquietude to William Penn, during the first two years of his administration. To obtain an amicable adjustment of the matter in dispute, he had made two efforts, which being unsuccessful, there was no alternative but to refer the whole subject to the legal tribunals in England. In the meantime, Lord Baltimore sent an agent to make a formal demand, of all the country south of the fortieth degree of north latitude, both in the province of Pennsylvania and the territories annexed; and this not being acceded to, a party from Maryland, under the command of Col. George Talbott, in the spring of 1684, came and made forcible entry on several plantations in the lower counties. Upon this, the governor and council at Philadelphia, sent a copy of Penn's answer to Lord Baltimore's demand, showing the grounds of their refusal, and at the same time took legal measures to reinstate the persons who had been dispossessed, and if necessary, to have the invaders prosecuted according to law.

This controversy embraced interests of great importance to William Penn, and as he has been unjustly censured, by some writers, for the course he pursued, it appears requisite to examine the grounds of his claim, and that of Lord Baltimore, to the territory in dispute. It has been stated in a preceding chapter, that on Penn's application to the King for the grant of his province, the agents of Lord Baltimore and of the Duke of York, proprietaries of the adjoining territories, were consulted, and great care was taken to prevent any encroachment on their domains.

The patent for Maryland, called for the fortieth degree of north latitude, for its northern boundary, which is described as lying on the *Bay of Delaware*, but owing to the imperfection of instruments, or the unskilfulness of those who took the observations, there was an error in the latitude assigned to the boundaries of *all the colonies*, from North Carolina to Connecticut. This error was not discovered till after the date of Penn's patent, but it appears from a letter of Sir John Werden, agent of the Duke of York, that very little reliance was placed on the latitude,* and twelve miles north of New Castle was named in charter, as the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, which was supposed to be in the *beginning* of the fortieth degree of north latitude.

It was intended that Lord Baltimore's patent should include two degrees of latitude, and at that time a degree was computed at sixty miles. It was also intended that Penn's boundaries should include three degrees of latitude, as expressed in the charter, from "*the beginning* of the fortieth to *the beginning* of the forty-third degree." But the northern boundary of Pennsylvania is under the forty-second degree, which appears to have been considered equivalent to *the beginning* of the forty-third, and in order to include three degrees, the southern boundary must have been at the end of the thirty-ninth, or *beginning* of the fortieth degree of north latitude.

There were no correct maps of the British territories in America, at the time these charters were granted. The boundaries of Maryland appear to have been founded on Smith's map, contained in his history of Virginia. "In that map the latitude of forty degrees north, appears near where the division line between the provinces was eventually settled,"† which gave to Penn a considerable part of what he claimed on the south, but did not allow him the three degrees intended to be granted.

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* Hazard's Annals.

† Life of Penn. Friends' Library, chap xxii.

The colony of Maryland was founded in 1634.

The royal patent to Lord Baltimore, dated in 1632, contained a restriction of the grant, to lands *not planted or in possession of any Christian people. Previous to this date*, the Dutch, under Cornelius May, had sailed up the Delaware and asserted a claim to its western shore. They planted a colony in 1623, at Fort Nassau, where Timber Creek enters the Delaware, a few miles from the mouth of the Schuylkill: and in 1631, they made another settlement on Lewis Creek, near Cape Henlopen. They made two purchases of land from the natives, one of which extended from Cape Henlopen to the mouth of the river Delaware.

In 1638, a colony of Swedes arrived under Governor Minuit, and erected a fort at the mouth of Minquas River, now called the Christeen. The Dutch governor of the New Netherlands [now New York], protested against this settlement, as an encroachment on the rights of the Dutch West Indian Company, but he took no effectual measures to resist it. In 1643, the Swedish government sent two ships of war and an armed transport with emigrants, under the command of John Printz, who was appointed governor of the colony, with instructions to assert, by force of arms, the Swedish claim to the whole western shore of the Delaware River and Bay. The Swedes built three forts, all below the Dutch fort, Nassau.

After some years of altercation between the rival colonists, Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor of the New Netherlands, appeared, in 1655, with a naval force before Fort Christiana, and obliged the Swedes to capitulate, which put an end to their dominion on the Delaware. The Dutch retained possession until 1664, when the New Netherlands being conquered by the English, they also took possession of the Dutch settlements on the Delaware River and Bay.* This territory was granted by Charles II. to his brother, the Duke of York, and never was in possession of Lord Baltimore; who had indeed claimed it of the Dutch, but they resisted his claim, and he did not assert any title to it during eighteen years—or from the time it was conquered by the English, until it was granted to William Penn by the King and the Duke of York.

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* Original settlements on the Delaware, by B. Ferris; Bancroft, U. S. ii. 280.

In his answer to Lord Baltimore's demand, Penn very justly observes, "if the Lord Baltimore's patent were title good enough for what was another's before, and which he never enjoyed since, Connecticut colony might put in for New York, as reasonably as the Lord Baltimore can for Delaware, their patent having that part of the Dutch territories within its bounds, on the same mistake." In conclusion he says, "I must take leave to refer the Lord Baltimore to his royal highness, who is a prince, doubtless, of too much honor, to keep any man's right, and of too much resolution to deliver up his own; whose example I am resolved to follow."

When we consider that the claim set up by Lord Baltimore, if successful, would have taken all the lands on the western side of the Delaware, from the city of Philadelphia to the Capes, that it would have given to Maryland the command of Delaware Bay, and would have deprived Penn of several valuable seaports; we cannot be surprised that he should resist it with firmness; convinced as he was, that it was not founded in justice. The mildness of his measures, and the courtesy of his defence, stand out in bold relief when contrasted with the proceedings of his antagonist.

A letter he wrote to the *Duke of York*, throws further light upon this subject:

"GREAT PRINCE—It is some security to me, and an happiness I must own and honor, that in these my humble and plain addresses, I have to do with a prince of so great justice and resolution; one that will not be baffled by crafts nor blinded by affection; and such a prince, with humility be it spoken, becometh the just cause I have to lay before him.

"Since my last, by which I gave the Duke to understand that the Lord Baltimore had sent agents to offer terms to the people, to draw them from their obedience of this government, where his Royal Highness had placed them, and that without having any special order for the same, it hath pleased that lord to commissionate Col. George Talbot to come, with armed men, within five miles of New Castle town, there upon a spot of ground belonging to one Ogle, that came with Captain Carr, to reduce that place by force, erected a fort of the bodies of trees, raised a breastwork, and palisaded the same, and settled armed men therein. The president of that town and county, together with the sheriff and divers magistrates and inhabitants of the same, went to the said fort, demanded of Colonel George Talbot the reason of such actions, being a warlike invasion of the right of his majesty's subjects, never in his possession. He answered them, after having bid them stand off, (presenting guns and musquets at their breasts) that he had the Lord Baltimore's commission for what he did. The president being an old experienced man, advised him to depart, and take heed how he obeyed such commands as these were, since acting in such a way of hostility against the right of his majesty's subjects not in rebellion, and not by his commission, might cost him and his lord dear in the issue. He still refused, upon which proclamations were made in the king's name, that they should depart, but he, with some more, would not depart but in the name of Lord Baltimore, refusing to go in the king's name: and there the garrison is kept, the commander and soldiers threatening to fire upon and kill all such as shall endeavor to demolish the block-house, and say they have express commands so to do from that lord.

"How far these practices will please the king or duke, is not fit for me to say; but if not mistaken, I shall be able to make evident by law, he hath almost cancelled his allegiance to the king herein, and exposed himself to his mercy for all he hath in the world.

"I hear he is gone for England, and was so just as to invite me, by a letter in March, delivered in the end of April, informing me that towards the end of March, he intended for England. This was contrived that he might get the start of me, that making an interest before I arrived, he might block up my way, and carry the point. But such arts will never do, where there is no matter to work upon, which I am abundantly satisfied they will not, they cannot find in the duke, with whom I know he hath great reason to ingratiate his cause and malconduct, if he could.

"I am following him as fast as I can, though Colonel Talbot, since his departure, threatened to turn such out by violence, as would not submit to him, and drive their stock for arrears: believing that the worse the better, I mean, the more illegal and disrespectful he and his agents are to his majesty and royal highness, and humble and patient I am, they will the more favor my so much abused interest.

"I add no more, but to pray that a perfect stop be put to all his proceedings till I come, who hope to show myself the king's dutiful, and (in reference to his American empire,) not unuseful subject, and as well as the duke's most faithful friend, to serve him to my power,

"WILLIAM PENN.*

"Philadelphia, the 8th of the 4th month (June), 1684."

In the spring of this year Gov. Penn sent his friend, Robert Turner, on an embassy to New Jersey, in order to negotiate with the General Assembly of that province, for the passage of laws to reclaim fugitives from justice, and to lay an impost on "strong spirits and liquors." This method of raising a revenue, he says, "seemeth the most insensible of any to supply the wants of our governments, for the rich and the drunkard will be most concerned in it." A bill was prepared for such a law in Pennsylvania, but without similar legislation in the adjoining province it would have been ineffectual.

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* Mem. Hist. Soc. Pa. IV. i. 178.

During this time, Penn was engaged, not only in administering the civil affairs of the colony, but in assisting the Friends to improve their system of church government, and to organize their meetings for discipline.*

The following letter, written this year, was addressed to the members of his own religious society in Pennsylvania, viz:

"DEAR FRIENDS:— * * * * It is upon me, and long hath been, from the God of truth and righteousness, to communicate to you a short word of counsel and advice. God hath brought us hither, and we are yet among the living. He hath a work for us to do here, though the spiteful and envious will not believe us. O! that we may be faithful to the measure of grace received, that the evil-minded may be disappointed. Friends, keep in the sense of that which first visited you and kept you, and He that was with you to bless you in your native country, will be with you and bless you and yours, and make you a blessing to them that you are come among, who know him not, in this wilderness, also. The earth is the Lord's, and his presence fills it, and his power upholds it, and it is a precious thing to enjoy and use it in the sense and feeling of the same: truly this honor have all the saints, to whom he will give it for a quiet habitation. Have a care of cumber, and the love and care of the world. It is the temptation that lieth nearest to those who are redeemed from looseness, or not addicted to it. The moon, the figure of the changeable world, is under the foot of the true woman, whose seed we ought to approve ourselves—God hath ordained it for a footstool, and we must not make a throne of it, nor doth it become them who seek heavenly places in Christ Jesus. Show forth a blessed example, for the Lord's sake: and truly blessed is that man and woman who, in the invisible power, rule their affections about the visible things, and who use the world as true travellers and pilgrims, whose home is not here below: such do not extort, grind, or oppress their neighbors in their dealings, but are content with moderate gain, looking to the blessing that follows; knowing right well, that they who overvalue and overcare, fall into divers snares and sorrows, that hurt and pierce the soul's peace. And in like manner, dear friends, have a care of looseness, for it becometh us to be watchful, and to gird up the loins of our minds, and be sober and hope to the end. Are we from under outward sufferings and trials that we once knew, and that carry an humiliation with them upon the spirits of people? Let us be more circumspect, that we forget not the Lord nor his tender mercies towards us! for he is God, and he can find us out, and trouble, and vex, and plague the disobedient and careless here, as well as in other lands. Be zealous therefore for the Lord, for 'he is a jealous God,' and especially over those that have betrothed themselves unto him by the profession of his holy truth! yea, he will be avenged of the hypocrite and rebellious, but the obedient he will bless, which my soul prayeth you may be, that so I may never have an occasion to exercise any other power than that of love and brotherly kindness. And, dear friends, remember who it was that said to his children and followers, 'Ye are brethren,' and have a care of naturalness in the profession of the truth. To be without natural affection to one another in the truth, is a mark of apostasy! Wherefore, love one another, and help, and assist, and comfort one another. This was the new and living commandment of our blessed Lord and Master, which, if you keep, then can you not fall out, backbite, slander, go to law, or hate one another, in the sight of the world, and that for the things that perish! verily, if any do these things, the wrath of God will overtake them.

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* Clarkson, 151.

"O, friends, let us call to mind the day that hath dawned upon us, and what manner of persons we ought to be.

"Besides, you know that the eyes of the inhabitants of the lands, and those of neighboring countries, yea, the people of remote regions, are upon us and our doings: how we live, how we rule, and how we obey; and joy would it be to some to see us halt, hear evil tidings of our proceedings, as it would be a heavy and an unspeakable grief to those that wish well to our Zion. Friends, God requireth great watchfulness from you, especially elders and teachers in the church of Christ, that they watch over their own and other families, that whatever appears in any contrary to the testimony and mind of Truth, may be brought to judgment and disowned. that the camp of the Lord may be kept clean of the uncircumcised who resist the Spirit.

"My friends, remember that the Lord hath brought you upon the stage, he hath now tried you with liberty, yea, and with power too; he hath now put precious opportunities into your hands: have a care of a perverse spirit, and do not provoke the Lord by doing those things by which the inhabitants of the land grieved his Spirit, that were before you: but sanctify God, the living God in your hearts, that his blessings may fall and rest as the dew of heaven upon you and your offspring! then shall it be seen by the nations, that there is no enchantment against Jacob, nor divination against Israel, but your tents shall be goodly, and your dwellings glorious; which is the daily humble supplication of my soul to my God and your God, and to my Father and your Father; who am with unfeigned love, in that lasting relation,

"Your tender, faithful friend and brother, WILLIAM PENN."

While the colonists of Pennsylvania were busily and happily engaged in clearing their grounds, erecting their habitations and houses for worship, establishing meetings, and enjoying all the blessings of civil and religious liberty; their sympathies were awakened by the sufferings of their brethren in Great Britain, who were subjected to the severest persecution.

The laws against non-conformists continued to be enforced with rigor, persons who met peaceably for the performance of Divine worship, were prosecuted as rioters, their meetings were broken up by armed troops, and many hundreds of men and women, separated from their families, were confined in noisome prisons, where some had remained for years, and others were released only by death.

The feelings of William Penn, always alive to the sufferings of others, were deeply moved at hearing these reports. As the Duke of York had always been his friend, and was then supposed to have great influence with the king, he had reason to believe that his personal influence and exertions, might be instrumental to mitigate the sufferings of his friends.

The controversy respecting the boundaries of Pennsylvania and Maryland, was soon to be brought before "the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations." Lord Baltimore had already gone over to urge his claim; it was, therefore, highly important that Penn should be present to protect his own interests and those of the province. In addition to these considerations, we may reasonably conclude, that his desire to join his family, from which he had now been separated nearly two years, was not the least among the motives that determined him to return to England.

As the time of his departure drew nigh, there were many important arrangements to be made, in order to secure the prosperity of the colony during his absence; these he proceeded to accomplish with his usual activity and diligence. One of the first was, to improve and secure the friendly intercourse, so happily begun, with the Indians. For this purpose, he had frequent conferences with them. It is stated by Oldmixon, a cotemporary historian, that "he laid out some thousands of pounds to instruct, support and oblige them." "There are," he says, "ten Indian nations within the limits of his province, and the number of souls of these barbarians is computed at about six thousand. The number of inhabitants of Swedish or Dutch extraction, may be about three thousand souls." He "made a league of amity with nineteen Indian nations, between them and all the English in America, he established good laws, and saw his capital so well inhabited, that there were then near 300 houses and 2500 souls in it, besides twenty other townships."* The whole white population of his dominions, at this time, was "about seven thousand."†

Before he left the province, he was called upon to settle a question of some interest to the citizens of Philadelphia in relation to the front lots near the river Delaware. He had reserved the river bank for the common use of all, and to promote the health of the city. Those who owned lots adjoining this bank, claimed the right to build vaults or stores on it, opposite their property, but he decided that they had no more right to do so than those who held lots further back. They might build stairs or construct wharves at the termination of the streets, but the bank was intended for a common exchange or public walk.

At this time the Ketch Endeavor arrived from England with letters and passengers. She brought Penn a letter from his old friend, Stephen Crisp, from which the following extracts are taken: viz:

> "Dear William—I have had a great exercise of spirit concerning thee, which none knows but the Lord; for my spirit has been much bowed into thy concern, and difficulty of thy present circumstances; and I have had a sense of the various spirits, and intricate cares, and multiplicity of affairs, and these of various kinds, which daily attend thee, enough to drink up thy spirit, and tire thy soul; and which if it be not kept to the inexhaustible fountain, may be dried up. And this I must tell thee, which thou also knowest, that the highest capacity of natural wit and parts, will not and cannot perform what thou hast to do, viz. to propagate and advance the interest and profit of the government and plantations, and at the same time to give the interest of truth, and testimony of the holy name of God, its due preference in all things: for to make the wilderness sing forth the praise of God, is a skill beyond the wisdom of this

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* Oldmixon, quoted by Proud, i. 287, and Clarkson, 151.

† Ibid, 152.

world. It is greatly in man's power to make a wilderness into fruitful fields, according to the common course of God's providence, who gives wisdom and strength to be industrious; but then, how he who is the Creator may have his due honor and service thereby, is only taught by his spirit, in them who singly wait upon him.

"There is a wisdom in government that hath respect to its own preservation, by setting up what is profitable to it, and suppressing what may be a detriment; and this is the *image of the true wisdom;* but the *substance* is the birth that is heavenly, which reigns in the Father's kingdom till all is subdued, and then gives it up to him whose it is. There is a power on earth, that is of God, by which princes decree justice, *this is the image,* and there is a power which is heavenly, in which the Prince of Peace, the Lord of Lords, doth reign in an everlasting kingdom, and this is the *substance.* By this power, is the spiritual wickedness in high places brought down; he that is the true delegate in this power, can do great things for God's glory, and shall have his reward, and shall be a judge of the tribes; and whosoever else pretend to judgment, will seek themselves; beware of them; the times are perilous."*

Governor Penn, having determined to embark in the Endeavor, commissioned the Provincial Council to act in his stead, of which Thomas Lloyd was president, to whom he entrusted the keeping of the Great Seal. Nicholas Moore, Wm. Welch, Wm. Wood, Robt. Turner and John Eckly, were commissioned as provincial judges for two years; his cousin, Colonel Markham was secretary, and James Harrison his steward had charge of his house and manor at Pennsbury.

Having completed his arrangements, he embarked the 12th of the 6th month (August), greatly to the regret of the whole country, for he had, by his uniform justice and kindness, endeared himself to all. From on board the vessel he wrote the following letter:

"To THOMAS LLOYD, J. CLAYPOLE, J. SIMCOCK, C. TAYLOR, AND J. HARRISON, to be communicated in Meetings in Pennsylvania and the Territories thereunto belonging, among Friends.

"My love and my life is to you, and with you, and no water can quench it, nor distance wear it out, or bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me, and near to me beyond utterance. I bless you in the name and power of the Lord, and may God bless you with his righteousness, peace, and plenty all the land over! O that you would eye him in all, through all, and above all the labor of your hands, and let it be your first care how you may glorify him in your undertakings; for to a blessed end are you brought hither; and if you see and keep but in the sense of that providence, your coming, staying and improving, will be sanctified: but if any forget him, and call not upon his name in truth, he will pour out his plagues upon them, and they shall know who it is that judgeth the children of men.

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* Crisp's Works, 385.

"O, you are now come to a quiet land; provoke not the Lord to trouble it! And now that liberty and authority are with you and in your hands, let the government be upon His shoulders in all your spirits, that you may rule for him under whom the princes of this world will one day esteem it their honor to govern and serve in their places. I cannot but say, when these things come mightily upon my mind, as the Apostle said of old, 'What manner of persons ought we to be in all godly conversation?' Truly the name and honor of the Lord are deeply concerned in you as to the discharge of yourselves in your present station, many eyes being upon you; and remember that, as we have been belied about disowning the true religion, so, of all government, to behold us exemplary and Christian in the use of it will not only stop our enemies, but minister conviction to many on that account prejudiced. O that you may see and know that service, and do it for the Lord in this your day!

"And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail hast here been to bring thee forth and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee!

"O that thou mayest be kept from the evil that would overwhelm thee: that, faithful to the God of thy mercies, in the life of righteousness, thou mayest be preserved to the end! My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be blessed of the Lord, and thy people saved by his power. My love to thee has been great, and the remembrance of thee affects my heart and mine eye.—The God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee to his glory and thy peace!

"So, dear friends, my love again salutes you all, wishing that grace, mercy and peace, with all temporal blessings, may abound richly amongst you! so says, so prays your friend and lover in the truth,

"WILLIAM PENN."

After a passage of about seven weeks, he landed within seven miles of his own residence. His arrival is announced in the following letter to his steward at Pennsbury.

"Worminghurst, 7th 8th, '84.

"Dear James Harrison:—My dear love salutes thee and thine, my family and friends thereaway, the presence of the Lord be with you. Last sixth day, being the 3d inst., I got safe to my family, and found them well, to my joy in the Lord.

"Phil. Lemain has, most carelessly, left behind the York papers that Thomas Lloyd brought, and should have come as the ground and very strength of my coming: so that I am now here with my finger in my mouth. He would not have done me a worse injury, nor balked a greater service, if he had had the bribe of £1000 to do it. Wherefore let him be quickened to send them by the first ship that comes out of Maryland or Virginia.

"Let Thomas Lloyd step to York and get fresh affidavits of the three men that can swear the Dutch possession of river and bay, before Baltimore's patent, in the Governor's presence and under the seal of the province.

"By East come wine and strong beer; let the beer be sold for as much profit as is reasonable, and some of the wine. Some may be kept for me, especially *sack* and such like, to be the better for age.

"There are seeds for Ralph, [the gardener,] value here four pounds and odd money. By an Irish ship comes value 150 pounds in provisions, butter, cheese, beer, shoes, &c. * * * *

"My love to Friends of your meeting, to those of Philadelphia and Chester, especially J. Simcock, C. Taylor, T. Lloyd, T. Janney, T. Holmes, W. Clayton, W. Yardly; Friends of the other side, [Jersey,] and J. Longhurst. Let Ralph follow his garden and get the yards fenced in, and doors to them. Expect news and further directions by the next ship. Ships come out of Maryland and Virginia the 10th, 11th and 12th months. Quicken T. Lloyd and P. Lemain as aforesaid. Farewell in the love of God. Thy true friend.

"WILLIAM PENN."

"I have sent some walnuts for Ralph to set, and other seeds of our own that are rare good."

Soon after his arrival in England, he waited on the king and Duke of York, as related in the following extract from fragments of an autobiography, called an "Apology for Himself."*

"I arrived from America the 6th of October, '84, at Wonder, in Sussex, being within seven miles of my own house; whence, after some days of refresment, I went to wait upon the King and Duke, then both at New Market, who received me very graciously, as did the ministers very civilly. Yet I found things in general with another face than I left them:

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* Mem. Hist. Soc. Pa. iii. part ii. 235.

sour and stern, and resolved to hold the reins of power with a stiffer hand than heretofore, especially over those that were observed to be State or Church Dissenters, conceiving that the opposition which made the government uneasy, came from that sort of people, and, therefore, they should either bow or break.

"This made it hard for me, a profest Dissenter, to turn myself—for that party having been my acquaintance, my inclination, and my interest too: to shift them I would not, to serve them I saw I could not, and to keep fair with a displeased and resolved government, that had weathered its point upon them, humbled and mortified them, and was daily improving all advantages against them, was a difficult task to perform.

"Finding myself narrowed in this manner, that one day I was received well at court as proprietor and governor of a province of the crown, and the next taken up at a meeting by Hilton and Collingwood, and the third smoakt (?] and informed of for meeting with the men of the whig stamp. After informing myself of the state of things, I cast about in mind what way I might be helpful to the public, and as little hurtful to my concerns as I could, for I had then a cause depending about bounds of land in America with the Lord Baltimore, before the council, that was of importance to me.

"Upon the whole matter, I found no point so plain, so honest, so sensible, that carried such weight, conviction, and compassion with it, and that would consequently find an easier reception and more friends, than liberty of conscience, my old post and province. I therefore sought out some bleeding cases, which was not hard to do, Bristol, Norwich, &c., being ready at hand in bloody letters—barbarities never used certainly in a Protestant country—especially at Bristol. The relations are in print. But finding them uneasy under generals, as too much to grant at once, I began with a particular case. It was that of Richard Vickris, an honest, sober, and sensible man, of good reputation and estate in that city. He was under sentence of death upon the statute of the 35th of Queen Elizabeth, for not abjuring the realm as Dr. Cheny did, that was under sentence. His crime only worshiping of God his own way, but could not abjure because he could not swear at all. The heat had been great in that city, and an example they would make, and chose these two men as eminent in their persuasion, and as having something to lose. But the thing looked so like a snare, the fruit of private malice and avarice, and the said R. Vickris, being a meek and quiet person, upon my assuring them he was, and would live peaceably under the government, the Duke promised to press the King in his favor, who grew harsh and very tender to be spoken to upon that head, though for the very Papists in the new case of the long writ set a-foot about that time. And the Duke was as good as his word. He was pardoned.

"That my design might succeed the better with the King, it came into my mind to write something of the true interest of the King and kingdom, have it transcribed fair, and present it in manuscript, the times being too set, (?) and rough for print. In this I undertook to show that since it was so, that his kingdom was divided into such great bodies, opposite to each other, and near an equality in strength and value, all things considered, though not perhaps in number, and that nothing would serve either party but the ruin of the other, and that it was too great a loss to his crown to gratify either so far, he was not to suffer his authority to humor their passions, but overrule both with justice, wisdom, and goodness; that he might be King, and have the benefit of his whole people.

"Adding, that he might be easy if the uneasy are made so, and not sooner—and that the revenue was not as in old time upon tenures and in lands, but upon trade which lay much in the hands of the party he was angry with, however, that it would discourage and confound trade to be sure, if he changed the course of his government, and therefore to look upon past things as a King, and not as a man, without passion, and not suffer his own resentment or his ministers' flatteries, interests or revenges to carry him further than was good for his interest. And that upon the trial of a true liberty of conscience he would find [it] more the advantage of the crown than any private man or particular party." * * * *

CHAPTER XIX.

Death of Charles II.; Letter of William Penn concerning it; Accession of James II.; He openly professes the Roman Catholic religion; Influence of the Priests and Imprudence of the King; His regard for William Penn; The King professes Tolerant Principles, and promises to protect the Church of England; Friends' Petition for Relief; 1400 of their Members in Prison; William Penn uses his Influence for Liberty of Conscience; Takes lodgings at Kensington; Letter to J. Harrison; Monmouth's Insurrection quelled; Cruelties of Jeffreys; Executions; Letter of William Penn to J. H.; Protestants persecuted in France; William Penn's position and services at Court; Intercedes for J. Locke; Unpopularity of the King; William Penn shares the odium; Tract called "Fiction Found Out;" Correspondence with Tillotson; The Boundary Question; Order in Council relating to it; Affairs of Pennsylvania; William Penn's letters.

1685.

In the winter of 1684–5 King Charles II. died of an apoplexy, and his brother James, Duke of York, peaceably succeeded to the throne under the title of James II. Although the late King had at one time been extremely popular, on account of his affability, generosity, and unequalled urbanity, he had, by a long course of profligacy and extravagance in his private life, as well as misgovernment and perfidy in his public affairs, forfeited the affections and confidence of a loyal people.

In a letter of William Penn to Thos. Lloyd, dated the 16th of the first month, (March,) 1685, he gives some interesting particulars relating to this event, viz.:

"The King is dead: and the Duke succeeds peaceably. He was well on first-day night,—being the first of February (so called); about eight next morning, as he sat down to shave, his head twitched both ways, or sides, and he gave a shriek, and fell as dead, and so remained some hours; they opportunely blooded and cupped him, and plied his head with red-hot *frying pans.* He returned, (revived,) and continued till sixth day noon, but mostly in great tortures. He seemed very penitent, asking pardon of all, even the poorest subject he had wronged; prayed for pardon, and to be delivered out of the world—the Duke appearing mighty humble and sorrowful. * * * He was an able man for a divided and troubled kingdom. The present King was proclaimed about three o'clock that day. A proclamation followed, with the King's speech, to maintain the Church and State as established, to keep property and use clemency. Tonnage and poundage, with the excise, are revived *de bene esse*, till the Parliament meet. One is now choosing. The people of Westminster just gone by to choose. It sits the 19th of the 3d month next. In Scotland one next month. Severities continue still, but some ease to us faintly promised. Be careful that no indecent speeches pass against the government, for the King, going with his Queen publicly to mass in Whitehall, gives occasion. He declared he concealed himself to obey his brother, and that now he would be above-board; which we like the better on many accounts. I was with him, and told him so; but, withal, hoped we should come in for a share. He smiled, and said he desired not that peaceable people should be disturbed for their religion. And till his coronation, the 23d, when he and his consort are together to be crowned, no hopes of release; and, till the Parliament, no hopes of any fixed liberty. My business, I would hope, is better. The late King, the Papists will have, died a Roman Catholic; for he refused (after his usual way of evading uneasy things, with unpreparedness first, and then weakness) the Church of England's communion, Bishop Ken, of Wells, pressing him, that it would be to his comfort and that of his people to see he died of that religion he had made profession of when living; but it would not do. And once, all but the Duke, Earl of Bath, and Lord Feversham, were turned out; and one Huddlestone, a Romish priest, was seen about that time near the chamber. This is most of our news. The Popish lords and gentry go to Whitehall to mass daily; and the Tower, or Royal Chapel, is crammed by vying with the Protestant lords and gentry. The late King's children, even by the Duchess of Portsmouth, go thither.

"Our King stands more upon his terms, than the other, with France: and though he has not his brother's abilities, he has great discipline and industry. Alas! the world is running over to you: and great quantities together is to put the sale of lands out of my own hands,* after I have spent what I got by my own on the public service, for I am £3000 worse in my estate than at first: I can say it before the Lord: I have only the comfort of having approved myself a faithful steward, to my understanding and ability; and yet I *hope my children shall receive it in the love of yours when we are gone.*" * * * "Keep up the people's hearts and love," &c. I hope to be with them next fall, if the Lord prevent not. I long to be with you. No temptations prevail to fix me here. The Lord send us a good meeting. Amen, &c."

On the King's accession to the throne he was received with favor by the nation, although his profession of the Roman Catholic religion was incompatible with a station in which, according to the British constitution, he was the head of the established church. There was a powerful party who, in the late reign, had been opposed to his succession on this account, and were now watching with jealous eyes every measure of his cabinet. Under these circumstances, common prudence would have dictated that he should enjoy his religion in his own private chapel, and protect its members from persecution to the extent of his power, without offending the prejudices of the nation by an ostentatious display of its ceremonies. Instead of this conciliatory course, the King, who was under the influence of his confessor, Father Peter, seemed to set public opinion at defiance; he not only went openly with his family to mass at Whitehall, but he suffered the Jesuits to build a college at the Savoy, in London, sent an ambassador to Rome, and received the Pope's nuncio with honors, even kneeling in his presence.

James, while Duke of York, had, for many years, been the friend and patron of William Penn, whom he admitted to terms of familiar intercourse, not usual between a Prince and a subject. This partiality on the part of the Duke arose, in the first place, from his great regard for Admiral Penn, and was, doubtless, confirmed and augmented by the agreeable manners and excellent qualities of his son. After his accession to the throne he continued to manifest the same regard, which, as it gave Penn ready access to the royal closet, enabled him to use his influence for the relief of many, both of his own and other religious persuasions, who were suffering for conscience sake.

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* This alludes to large purchases made by *speculators* at first prices, which prevented the proprietary from deriving any advantage from the enhanced value of lands.

It will be remembered that in the year 1673, in order to obtain the liberation of George Fox, he waited on the Duke, who received him in the most cordial manner, and assured him "that he was against all persecution for the sake of religion, that it was true he had, in his younger time, been warm, especially when he thought people made it a pretence to disturb government, but that he had seen and considered things better, and he was for doing to others as he would have others do unto him, and he thought it would be happy for the world if all were of that mind, for he was sure, he said, that no man was willing to be persecuted himself, for his own conscience."*

This declaration of sentiment being followed by a promise of aid in obtaining the release of his friend, and by an obliging deportment at the time he applied for his province, made an indelible impression upon the mind of Penn, who, believing James to be sincere in his professions, became attached to him from affection and gratitude.

"The King universally passed for a man of great sincerity and great honor,"† and as he still continued to profess himself in favor of universal toleration, it is not surprising that his personal friends should have relied on the purity of his motives.

On the first day of his reign, the King, in council assembled at Whitehall, made a speech disclaiming all arbitrary principles in government, and promising protection to the Church of England, which gave great satisfaction to the nation, and he soon received, from all parts of the kingdom, congratulatory addresses, some of which were couched in terms of servile adulation. It does not appear that the Society of Friends at this time offered any congratulations, though there is a fictitious address attributed to them, and preserved in Hume's History of England, which must have been intended as a burlesque.

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* Penn's Apology for himself, quoted in Chap. VII.

† Hume.

Their first address, dated 2d of the first month, called March, 1685, was of a very different kind, being intended merely to bring before the King the suffering condition of their members left in prison at the death of King Charles II.

This address being brief, is here inserted:

"TO KING JAMES THE SECOND.

"The humble application of the people called Quakers.

"Whereas, it hath pleased Almighty God (by whom kings reign), to take hence the late King Charles the Second, and to preserve thee peaceably to succeed: we, thy subjects, heartily desire that the Giver of all good and perfect gifts, may please to endue thee with wisdom and mercy in the use of thy great power, to his glory, the King's honor, and the kingdom's good. And it being our sincere resolution, according to our peaceable principles and conversation, (by the assistance of Almighty God), to live peaceably and honestly, as becomes true and faithful subjects under the King's government, and a conscientious people that truly fear and serve God, we do humbly hope that the King's tenderness will appear and extend with his power to express the same, recommending to his princely clemency the case of our present suffering friends hereto annexed."*

This address was accompanied by a statement, showing that upwards of 1400 members of the Society, of both sexes, were continued prisoners in England and Wales, only for worshiping God according to their sense of duty, and for conscientiously refusing to swear. "Besides some hundreds had died prisoners, many by means of this long imprisonment, since the year 1680, thereby making widows and fatherless, and leaving poor innocent families desolate in distress and sorrow." The liberation of these prisoners did not take place for a year after their case was brought before the King, and there is reason to believe it was then done chiefly through the personal influence and intercession of William Penn. As his object in returning to England was to solicit the liberation of his friends, and to obtain a favorable settlement of the boundary question, it became necessary for him to appear frequently at court: he therefore took lodgings for himself and family at Kensington.

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* Gough's Hist. Quakers.

By the following extract from a letter to James Harrison, dated Kensington, 11th of 5th month, (July,) 1685, it appears that he met with many delays in the prosecution of his purposes. "We are all well through the Lord's mercy, and long to be with you, especially the children; my business here has been thrown off, with other people's, first by the late King's death, then the coronation, next the Parliament, now this insurrection, almost over, for the Duke of Monmouth is defeated, and he and Grey taken, will be brought up to London next third day. I hope now I may be despatched." "We had a blessed quiet, though but a small General Meeting, things are very well on Truth's account in this nation and Ireland.

"Salute me to Friends generally, and to your meeting especially. I beseech God to bless you with Joseph's portion. My love to my family.*

"O! that they would, from the Lord, be sober and diligent, that they may have a good name and be my joy."

The Duke of Monmouth's insurrection, alluded to above, having been a rash and ill-concerted enterprise, was quelled promptly by the King's troops, and was followed by a series of trials and executions the most atrocious that, for many generations, had been witnessed by the British people. Jeffreys, who had been made Chief Justice by the late King, and was continued in office by the present monarch, was noted for his arbitrary and tyrannical disposition; which prompted him to overstep the bounds of decency, as well as the forms of law, in order to wreak his vengeance, and that of his royal master on the unhappy victims who were brought before him. It had been usual in cases of insurrection, to punish severely the leaders and influential men concerned in them, but after a few public executions, to grant a general amnesty to those of inferior rank.

Now a very different course was pursued: Monmouth, and a few others of high rank, were executed; but generally, the rich were allowed to purchase pardons at exorbitant rates, to gratify the avarice of the judge or enrich the favorites of the court; while hundreds of the poor and the ignorant, who had been deluded by their superiors, were condemned and executed without mercy.

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* His family, i. e., his workmen and servants at Pennsbury.

In a letter of Penn to James Harrison, dated 2d of 8th month, (October) 1685, alluding to these executions, he says: "About three hundred hanged in divers towns in the west, about one thousand to be transported. I begged twenty of the King. Col. Holmes, young Hays, the two Hewlings, Lark, and Hix, ministers, are executed. Preparations in Westminster Hall for trial of Lords Grey, Delamere, Gerard, &c. Sir G. Gerard, and Sir R. Cotton committed.

"The keeper dead, and Lord Jeffreys, Chief Justice and Baron of W——, made Lord Chamberlain, and is, as said, to be Earl of C——."*

It must have been a happy relief to those prisoners whom Penn "begged of the king," when they found that instead of the hardships and bondage usually assigned to transported convicts, they were to enjoy the privileges of civil and religious liberty in Pennsylvania. In another of his letters to his steward, near the same date, he thus refers to two executions which had just taken place. "There is daily inquisition for those engaged in the late plots, some die denying, as Alderman Cornish, others confessing but justifying. Cornish died last 6th day, in Cheapside, for being at the meeting that Lord Russel died for, but denied it most vehemently to the last. A woman, one Gaunt of Wappen, of Doct. Moore's acquaintance, was burned the same day at Tyburn for the high treason of hiding one of Monmouth's army, and the man saved came in [as witness] against her. She died *composedly and fearless, interpreting the cause of her death God's cause.* Many more to be hanged, great and small. *It is a day to be wise.* I long to be with you, but the eternal God do as he pleases. O! be watchful, fear and sanctify the Lord in your hearts."† In the same letter he refers, in the following terms, to the cruelties then inflicted on the Huguenots in France, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantz. "In France, not a meeting of Protestants left, they force all, by not suffering them to sleep, to conform; they use drums or fling water on the drowsy till they submit or run mad. They pray to be killed, but the King has ordered his dragoons to do any thing but kill." * * * "Such as fly and are caught, are executed or sent to the galleys to row. Thus they use all qualities, from dukes and duchesses to the meanest of that way. Many [persons] and much wealth will visit your parts. Be wise, weighty, and strict against looseness. Believe me it is an *extraordinary day*, such as has not been since generations ago. *Read this to weighty Friends* and magistrates, in private, and gird up your loins and serve the Lord in this juncture. No matter in what part they settle in our country, let not *temporal interest* sway, on my land or on theirs that have bought of me; no matter, the public will [gain] in a while by their establishment."*

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* Pemberton's MSS.

† Ibid.

It is worthy of note how careful he was that his friends in America should act with prudence in that "*extraordinary day*," advising his steward to read his letter "to weighty Friends and magistrates, in private." There is abundant evidence to show that Penn, at this time, though on intimate terms with his sovereign, abstained, as much as possible, from entering into the measures or imbibing the spirit of either of the great political parties then contending for power; his objects in frequenting the court were, to obtain justice for his province in the boundary question; to plead the cause of the innocent and suffering of all religious persuasions; to extend the hand of mercy to those who fell under the displeasure of the government, and to advise the King to those measures of clemency and moderation, which would have established his throne.†

One of the first persons whom he endeavored to serve, by the use of his influence at court, was his old friend and fellow student, John Locke, then an exile in Holland on account of his "opposition to Popery and arbitrary power." The King authorized him to inform Locke, that he should be pardoned: but the blameless philosopher replied, after expressing his sense of his friend's kindness, that "he had no occasion for a pardon when he had not been guilty of any crime."‡

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* Pemberton's MSS.

† See Lawton's Memoir, quoted in chap. xxi.

‡ Clarkson.

The following passage from Gerard Croese, shows the standing of Penn with the king, and the manner in which he used his influence.

> "William Penn was greatly in favor with the King—the Quaker's sole patron at court—on whom the hateful eyes of his enemies were intent. The King loved him as a singular and entire friend, and imparted to him many of his secrets and counsels. He often honored him with his company in private, discoursing with him of various affairs, and that, not for one, but many hours together, and delaying to hear the best of his peers who at the same time were waiting for an audience. One of these being envious, and impatient of delay, and taking it as an affront to see the other more regarded than himself, adventured to take the freedom to tell his majesty, that when he met with Penn he thought little of his nobility. The King made no other reply, than that Penn *always talked ingenuously, and he heard him willingly.* Penn, being so highly favored, acquired thereby a number of friends. Those also who formerly knew him, when they had any favor to ask at court, came to, courted, and entreated Penn to promote their several requests. Penn refused none of his friends any reasonable office he could do for them, but was ready to serve them all, but more especially the Quakers, and these wherever their religion was concerned. It is usually thought, when you do me one favor readily, you thereby encourage me to expect a second. Thus they ran to Penn without intermission, as their only pillar and support, who always caressed and received them cheerfully, and effected their business by his influence and eloquence. Hence his house and gates were daily thronged by a numerous train of clients and suppliants, desiring him to present their addresses to his majesty. There were sometimes there *two hundred and more.* When the carrying on of these affairs required money for writings, such as drawing things out into form and copyings, and for fees and other charges which are usually made on such occasions, Penn so discreetly managed matters, that out of his own, which he had in abundance, he liberally discharged many emergent expenses."

The zeal manifested by the King in promoting the Catholic religion, the high tone he assumed with regard to the royal prerogative, and the judicial murders perpetrated in his name by Jeffreys and others, were rapidly alienating the affections of the people. The odium of his proceedings, attached to all who were known to enjoy his confidence, and among others, Penn was accused of favoring the Catholic religion and the arbitrary measures of the court. The old charge of his being bred at St. Omers and a Jesuit in disguise, was revived, and owing to the highly excited state of the public mind, was believed by many.

Soon after the King's accession, a copy of verses, full of flattery to the new sovereign and of Popish predilections, was published, with the initials of his name, and supposed by many to be his production. In order to clear himself and disabuse the minds of his friends, he issued the following paper, addressed to them, which he entitled "Fiction Found Out."

"Dear Friends—I have written this for your satisfaction, and yet not for yours, as you will say, but to inform those many that importune you on my account, asking if I was the author of the condoling and congratulatory verses on the late and present King, printed (say they) in my name, concluding if I were the author I must have turned Papist, flatterer, and what they please. * * *

"For the verses—if it be considered, the two letters W. P. begin five hundred names besides mine; and I that pretend not to *poetry* at any time, should hardly have done it then, when I must needs look to have such sad company as the dull flattery of all the suburbs of the town. But that I did not write them, the stuff itself shows; and they must be bereaved of sense, as well as charity, that can think it. For to own myself a Quaker and jeer the profession; to use their phrases and profane them; to promise as Quakers to live peaceably, and yet engage to be no more such; to make ourselves loyal in one stanza, and ask pardon for not being so in another; be now a mistaken and wilful rout, and presently the loving and loyal friends of Charles and James; make up a jar and a nonsense that I have not been used to be guilty of in prose; and whenever I turn such a penny-poet, let such confusion be my judgment. However, it would look rude to be angry at them, for certainly they put a mighty compliment upon my name that thought two letters of it would make their drug sell. And because I am so known a friend to property, to the unknown hawker-wit that writ them, I leave them with the credit of all the fine and foolish fancy they are labored with: contenting myself against all defamations, that I have this defence for my religion and conduct in my conclusions:

"1st. That the grace of God *within me*, and the Scriptures *without me*, are the foundation and declaration of my faith and religion, and let any man get better if he can.

"2dly. That the profession I make of this religion, is in the same way and manner that I have used for almost these eighteen years last past.

"3dly. That my civil conduct, I humbly bless my God, has been with peace on earth, and good will to all men, from the King on the throne to the beggar on the dung-hill.

"I have ever loved England, and moderation to all parties in it, and long seen and foreseen the consequences of the want of it. I would yet heartily wish it might take place, and *persuasion* that of *persecution*, that we might not grow *barbarous for Christianity*, nor abuse and undo one another for *God's sake.*

"These have been, these are, and with God's strength shall be, through all the crooked and uneven paths of time, the principles and practice of

"Your ancient and constant friend,

"WM. PENN.

"Worminghurst-place, the last of the 2d month, called April, 1685."

How strange soever it may seem to us, that any man acquainted with William Penn, should think him a Papist or Jesuit in disguise, it yet appears there were many who then believed it, and among others Doctor Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, expressed some suspicions of him, which coming to the knowledge of our author, occasioned the following correspondence: viz.

WILLIAM PENN TO DR. TILLOTSON.

"WORTHY FRIEND—Being often told that Dr. Tillotson should suspect me, and so report me, a Papist, I think a Jesuit, and being closely prest, I take the liberty to ask thee, if any such reflection fell from thee? If it did, I am sorry one I esteemed ever the first of his robe should so undeservedly stain me, for so I call it; and, if the story be false, I am sorry they should so abuse Dr. Tillotson as well as myself, without a cause. I add no more, but that I abhor two principles in religion, and pity those that own them. The first *is obedience upon authority without conviction*, and the other *the destroying them that differ from me for God's sake.* Such a religion is without judgment, though not without teeth. Union is best, if right; else charity: and, as Hooker said, the time will come when a few words spoken with meekness, humility, and love, shall be more acceptable than volumes of controversies, which commonly destroy charity, the very best part of the true religion; I mean not a charity that can change with all, but bear all, as I can Dr. Tillotson in what he dissents from me, and in this reflection too, if said, which is not yet believed by thy Christian and true Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"Charing-Cross, 22d 11th mo. 1685."

DR. TILLOTSON TO WILLIAM PENN.

"HONORED SIR—The demand of your letter is very just and reasonable, and the manner of it very kind; therefore, in answer to it, be pleased to take the following account:

"The last time you did me the favor to see me at my house, I did, according to the freedom I always use where I profess any friendship, acquaint you with something I had heard of a correspondence you held with some at Rome, and particularly with some of the Jesuits there. At which you seemed a little surprised; and after some general discourse about it, you said you would call on me some other time, and speak further of it. Since that time I never saw you, but by accident and in passage, where I thought you always declined me, particularly at Sir William Jones's chamber, which was the last time, I think, I saw you; upon which occasion I took notice to him of your strangeness to me, and told what I thought might be the reason of it, and that I was sorry for it, because I had a particular esteem of your parts and temper. The same, I believe, I have said to some others, but to whom I do not so particularly remember. Since your going to Pennsylvania, I never thought more of it, till lately, being in some company, one of them pressed me to declare whether I had not heard something of you which had satisfied me that you were a Papist? I answered, No; by no means. I told him what I had heard, and what I said to you, and of the strangeness that ensued upon it; but that this never went further with me than to make me suspect there was more in that report which I heard than I was at first willing to believe; and that, if any made more of it, I should look upon them as very injurious both to Mr. Penn and myself.

"This is the truth of that matter; and whenever you will please to satisfy me that my suspicions of the truth of that report I had heard was groundless, I will heartily beg your pardon for it. I do fully concur with you *in the abhorrence of the two principles* you mention, and in your approbation of that excellent saying of Mr. Hooker, for which I shall ever highly esteem him. I have endeavored to make it one of the governing principles of my life, never to abate anything of humanity or charity to any man for his difference from me in opinion, and particularly to those of your persuasion, as several of them have had experience. I have been ready upon all occasions to do them all offices of kindness, being truly sorry to see them so hardly used; and though I thought them mistaken, yet in the main I believed them to be very honest. I thank you for your letter, and have a just esteem of the Christian temper of it, and rest your faithful friend, "JO. TILLOTSON."

WILLIAM PENN TO DR. TILLOTSON.

"Worthy Friend—Having a much less opinion of my own memory than of Dr. Tillotson's truth, I will allow the fact, though not the jealousy: for, besides that I cannot look strange where I am well used, I have ever treated the name of Dr. Tillotson with another regard. I might be grave, and full of my own business. I was also then disappointed by the Doctor's; but my nature is not harsh, my education less, and my principle least of all. It was the opinion I have had of the Doctor's moderation, simplicity and integrity, rather than his parts or post, that always made me set a value upon his friendship, of which, perhaps, I am better judge, leaving the latter to men of deeper talents. I blame him nothing, but leave it to his better thoughts, if in my affair, his jealousy was not too nimble for his charity. If he can believe me, I should hardly prevail with myself to endure the same thought of Dr. Tillotson on the like occasion, and less to speak of it. For the Roman correspondence I will freely come to confession: I have not only no such thing with any Jesuit at Rome (though Protestants may have without offence), but I hold none with any Jesuit, priest, or regular in the world of that communion. And that the Doctor may see what a novice I am in that business, I know not one anywhere. And yet when all this is said, I am a Catholic, though not a Roman. I have bowels for mankind, and dare not deny others what I crave for myself, I mean liberty for the exercise of my religion, thinking Faith, Piety, and Providence, a better security than force; and that, if Truth cannot prevail with her own weapons, all others will fail her.

"Now, though I am not obliged to this defence, and that it can be no temporizing now to make it, yet, that Dr. Tillotson may see how much I value his good opinion, and dare own the truth and myself at all turns, let him be confident I am no Roman Catholic, but a Christian, whose creed is the Scripture; of the truth of which I hold a nobler evidence than the best Church authority in the world; and yet I refuse not to believe the porter, though I cannot leave the sense to his discretion; and when I should, if he offends against those plain methods of understanding God hath made us to know things by, and which are inseparable from us, I must beg his pardon, as I do the Doctor's, for this length, upon the assurance he has given me of his doing the like upon better information; which that he may fully have, I recommend him to my 'Address to Protestants,' from p. 133 to the end, and to the first four chapters of my 'No Cross, no Crown,' to say nothing of our *most unceremonious and unworldly way of worship, and their pompous cult;* where at this time I shall leave the business, with all due and sensible acknowledgments to thy friendly temper, and assurance of the sincere wishes and respects of thy affectionate, real friend, WILLIAM PENN.

"Charing-Cross the 29th of 11th month, 1685."

WILLIAM PENN TO DR. TILLOTSON.

Charing-Cross, 27th of 2d month, 1686.

"WORTHY FRIEND—This should have been a visit; but, being of opinion that Dr. Tillotson is yet a debtor to me in this way, I chose to provoke him to another letter by this, before I made him one; for though he was very just and obliging when I last saw him, yet, certainly, no expression, however kindly spoken, will so easily and effectually purge me from the unjust imputation some people cast upon me in his name as his own letter will do. The need of this he will better see when he has read the enclosed, which, coming to hand since my last, is, I presume, enough to justify this address, if I had no former pretensions. And, therefore, I cannot be so wanting to myself, as not to press him to a letter in my just defence, nor so uncharitable to him as to think he should not frankly write what he has said, when it is to right a man's reputation and disabuse the too credulous world. For to me it seems from a private friendship to become a moral duty to the public, which, with a person of so great morality, must give success to the reasonable desire of thy very real friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

DR. TILLOTSON TO WILLIAM PENN.

"April the 29th, 1686.

"SIR—I am very sorry that the suspicion I had entertained concerning you, of which I gave you the true account in my former letter, hath occasioned so much trouble and inconvenience to you: and I do now declare, with great joy, that I am fully satisfied that there was no just ground for that suspicion, and, therefore, do heartily beg your pardon for it. And ever since you were pleased to give me that satisfaction, I have taken all occasions to vindicate you in this matter; and shall be ready to do it to the person that sent you the enclosed, whenever he will please to come to me. I am very much in the country, but will seek the first opportunity to visit you at Charing-Cross, and renew our acquaintance, in which I took great pleasure.—I rest your faithful friend,

"JO. TILLOTSON."

During Penn's residence at Kensington, he continued to press the settlement of the boundary question, but met with many delays. On the 2d of 8th month, [Oct.] he wrote to James Harrison, "Baltimore and I have had one hearing, and next week expect another. In that which we had, all went well on our side, he had time to examine our Holland proofs." These were, doubtless, the evidence of the territories having been in the possession of the Dutch. On the 25th of the same month, he wrote again; that "after a full hearing before the lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations with the Lord Baltimore, he was cast, and the lands in dispute adjudged to be none of his right and not within his patent."*

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* Pemberton's MSS.

By an order of Council, dated 13th of November, '85, it appears that, "the substance of the said lords' report was, that the said lands intended to be granted by the Lord Baltimore's patent were only cultivated and inhabited by savages, and that the part then in dispute, was inhabited and planted by Christians, at and before the date of the Lord Baltimore's patent, as it had been ever since to that time, and continued as a distinct colony from that of Maryland, so that the lords offered it as their opinion, that for avoiding further difference, the tract of land lying between the River and Bay of Delaware, and the Eastern Sea, on one side, and Chesapeake Bay on the other, be divided into two equal parts by a line from the latitude of Cape Henlopen to the fortieth degree of north latitude, (the south boundary of Pennsylvania, by charter,) and that one-half thereof be adjudged to his majesty (viz. King James, who, when Duke of York, granted it to William Penn), and the other half remain to the Lord Baltimore, as comprised in his charter."*

The line designated in this order is the boundary between the States of Delaware and Maryland; but the line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, notwithstanding the many efforts made by Penn for its adjustment, continued in dispute during the remainder of his life, and was not finally settled until the year 1762, when it was run by "two ingenious mathematicians," Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, who came out from England for that purpose; and hence it is called Mason and Dixon's Line.†

While Penn was engaged in obtaining an adjustment of boundaries, and pleading the cause of religious liberty in England, his friends in Pennsylvania were pushing forward their improvements in building and planting, and performing their novitiate in legislation. The increase of population continued to be rapid, the colony was peaceful and prosperous, but some disorders ensued, and they felt the want of the proprietary's presence; yet were too unmindful of his expenses abroad. In a letter to James Harrison, dated 30th of 5th month (July), '85, he says, "I have had two letters more with three bills of exchange. I am sorry the public is so unmindful of me as not to prevent bills upon me, that am come on their errand, and had rather have lost a thousand pounds, than have stirred from Pennsylvania. The reproaches that I hear daily of the conduct of things, bears hard upon my spirit too.

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* Proud's Hist. Pa i 293.

† Ibid. ii. 211.

"The Lord order things for his glory. James, send no more bills, for I have enough to do to keep all even here, and think of returning with my family: that can't be [done] without vast charge."* In a letter, near the same date, to Thomas Lloyd, John Simcock, Chr. Taylor, J. Harrison and Robert Turner, he says, "I am sorry at heart for your animosities; cannot more friendly and private courses be taken, to set matters right in an infant province, whose steps are numbered and watched? For the love of God, me, and the poor country, be not so *governmentish*, so noisy and open in your dissatisfactions; some folks *love hunting* in government itself." "It is an abominable thing to have three warrants for one purchase; 'tis oppression that my soul loathes; I do hereby require it, that P. L. be called to an account for *requests and warrants*, &c., for town lot, *liberty lot, and the rest of the purchase:* why not one warrant for all, at least for liberty lot and the *remainder?* This is true and right oppression, besides several things set down that are not in law nor in my regulations."

About the same time, he received from the General Assembly of Pennsylvania the following letter: viz.

"MOST EXCELLENT GOVERNOR—We, the Freemen of the Province of Pennsylvania and Territories, do, with unfeigned love to your person and government, with all due respect acquaint you, that we have, this last day of our session, passed all such bills as we judged meet to pass into laws, and impeached Nicholas Moore, a member of the Assembly, of ten articles, containing divers high crimes and misdemeanors, and, in the presence of the President and Provincial Council, made very clear proof of the said articles.

"We have had the person of Patrick Robinson under restraint for divers insolencies and affronts to the Assembly;—but there was a right and good understanding betwixt the President, Council, and Assembly, and a happy and friendly farewell.

"Dear and honored Sir, the honor of God, the love of your person, and the preservation of the peace and welfare of the government, were, we hope, the only centre to which all our actions did tend. And, although the wisdom of the Assembly thought fit to humble that aspiring and corrupt minister of state, Nicholas Moore, yet to you, dear Sir, and to the happy success of your affairs, our hearts are open, and our hands ready at all times to subscribe ourselves, in the name of ourselves and all the Freemen we represent, your obedient and faithful Freemen,

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* Pemberton's MSS.

"JOHN WHITE, Speaker.

"P. S.—Honored Sir—We know your wisdom and goodness will make a candid construction of all our actions, and that it shall be out of the power of malicious tongues to separate betwixt our Governor and his Freemen, who extremely long for your presence, and speedy arrival of your person."

Judge Moore was President of the Free Society of Traders, and was charged with "violence, partiality and negligence," in a case in which that society was interested. He refused to answer to the impeachment, and was suspended from his judicial functions, as well as expelled from his seat in the Assembly.*

Penn believed that he had been too rigidly dealt with, and afterwards employed him as one of his commissioners of government, in which high office "there appears no objection from any party against his conduct."† The accounts received by the proprietary from the meetings of Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, were more satisfactory; they had endeavored to fulfil his wishes by preventing their members from selling rum to the Indians, and had appointed meetings among them "to instruct them in the principles of Christianity, and the practice of a true Christian life."

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* Gordon's Hist. Pa., and Colonial Records.

† Proud i. 298, 299.

CHAPTER XX.

Tract called "Persuasive to Moderation;" King pardons all imprisoned for Religion; Thirteen hundred Friends released; The informers discouraged; Letters to Harrison; William Penn travels to Holland and Germany; Mission to Prince of Orange; Burnet; Scotch Refugees; William Penn's aid to them; He appoints five Commissioners to govern in Pennsylvania; His instructions to them; Gordon's strictures on these instructions, answered; Doctor Franklin's Historical Review; Quit-rents considered; William Penn's Letter to his Commissioners of Government.

1686–87.

In order to allay the excitement prevailing in the public mind, and to prepare the nation for a free toleration of religious faith and worship, William Penn published in the spring of 1686 a valuable treatise entitled, "A Persuasive to Moderation."

In the opening paragraph he says: "Moderation, the subject of this discourse is, in plainer English, liberty of conscience to church dissenters; a cause I have, with all humility, undertaken to plead against the prejudices of the times." "By conscience I understand the apprehension and persuasion a man has of his duty to God; by liberty of conscience, I mean a free and open profession and exercise of that duty, especially in worship." "But I always premise this duty to keep within the bounds of morality, and that it be neither frantic nor mischievous, but a good subject, a good child, a good servant in all the affairs of life; as exact to yield to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, as jealous of withholding from God the things that are God's. In brief, he that acknowledges the civil government under which he lives, and that maintains no principle hurtful to his neighbor in his civil property."

The great benefits of religious liberty in promoting the happiness of the people and securing the safety of the state, are ably stated in this work and illustrated by numerous examples from the history of ancient and modern times.

He thus refers to the success that had attended this policy in the dominions of the Prince of Orange: "Holland, that bog of the world, neitheir sea nor dry land, now the rival of the tallest monarchs, not by conquests, marriage, or accession of royal blood, the usual way to empire, but by her own superlative clemency and industry, for the one was the effect of the other; she cherished her people whatsoever were their *opinions*, as the reasonable stock of the country, the heads and hands of her trade and wealth, and making them easy on the main point, their conscience, she became great by them; this made her fill up with people, and they filled her with riches and strength."

In allusion to the happy effects of the Declaration of Indulgence issued by Charles II. during the brief period of its continuance, he says, "all dissenters seemed then united in their affection to the government, and followed their affairs without fear or distraction. But when the loss of that indulgence made them uncertain, and that uneasy, their persons and estates being again exposed to pay the reckoning of their dissent, no doubt but every party shifted then as they could. Most grew selfish, at least jealous, fearing one should make bargains apart or exclusive of the other.

"This was the fatal part dissenters acted to their common ruin: and I take this partiality to have had too great a share in our late animosities, which, by fresh accidents falling in, have swelled to a mighty deluge, such an one as hath o'erwhelmed our former civil concord and unity. And pardon me if I say I cannot see that those waters are like to assuage till this *olive branch* of indulgence be some way or other restored. The waves will still cover the earth, and a spot of ground will hardly be found in this glorious isle, for a great number of useful people to set a quiet foot upon. And, to pursue the allegory, what was the ark itself, but the most ample and lively emblem of *toleration?* A kind of natural temple of indulgence, in which we find two of every living creature dwelling together."

Soon after the publication of this treatise, the King issued his proclamation for a general pardon to all who were in prison on account of conscientious dissent. This was the means of liberating from the noisome jails of England and Wales thousands of worthy citizens belonging to the various dissenting sects: among them were upwards of thirteen hundred Friends, some of whom had been separated during twelve or fifteen years from their families and homes.*

This signal act of justice and mercy was principally attributed to the efforts of William Penn, who omitted no opportunity to plead the cause of humanity by his public appeals to the nation, and his personal influence with the King and his cabinet. But although the King's proclamation released those who were in prison, the penal laws against dissenters were still in force, and during the present year, many were grievously persecuted and despoiled of their goods by greedy informers. This being represented to the King, he directed that the judges and magistrates should discountenance the informers and put a stop to their depredations.

In the spring of this year, Penn wrote to his friend James Harrison as follows: "For my coming over (to Pennsylvania) cheer up the people, I press what I can, but the great undertakings that crowd me, and to raise money to get away, hinders me yet, but my heart is with you, and my soul and love is after you. The Lord keep us here in this dark day. Be wise, close, respectful to superiors. The King has discharged all Friends by a general pardon, and is courteous to us, though as to the Church of England, things seem pinching. Several Roman Catholics get much into places in the army, navy and court." "My '*Persuasive*' works much among all sorts, and is divers spoken of. I have been *thrice taken at meetings*, but got off, blessed be the Lord."†

About this time he took a journey into Holland and Germany, in order to visit the meetings of Friends there, and preach the Gospel among them.

The King, being acquainted with his intention, entrusted him with a commission to William, Prince of Orange, in order to obtain his concurrence in a general toleration of religious faith and worship, and the removal of tests. This Prince, having married Mary, the eldest daughter of James II., who was at this time considered the heir presumptive of the crown of England, his approbation was considered essential to the success and permanence of the proposed measures.

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* "It was a great consolation at their ensuing Annual Meeting in London to have the company of many valuable Friends, whose faces had not been seen there for many years, having been immured in prison, some of them, *twelve or fifteen years and upwards*, for no crime but endeavoring to keep a good conscience towards God."—Gough's Hist. Quakers, Book v. ch. iii.

† Pemberton's MSS.

Penn, accordingly, waited on William, who, in several interviews, expressed himself in favor of toleration, so far as regarded faith and worship, but he was opposed to the removal of the tests which excluded the dissenters from parliament.*

At the Hague, he met with Burnet the historian, who was a favorite at that court. He also was opposed to the abolition of the tests, and Penn's arguments in favor of entire religious liberty, being distasteful to him, produced a prejudice on his part, which is manifest in the allusions he makes to Penn in his "History of his own Times"

While at the Hague, Penn met with a number of English and Scotch refugees, who had left their country on account of religious dissent or political offences. To some of these he afterwards rendered important services, as will appear by the following extract from a work of the Earl of Buchan, entitled, "The Lives of Fletcher, of Saltoun, and Thompson."

> "In the year 1686, 'when the business of the test was in agitation, William Penn was employed at the Court of Holland to reconcile the Stadtholder to the views of his father-in-law. Penn became acquainted with most of the Scotch fugitives, and, among the rest, with Sir Robert Stuart, of Coltness, and his brother James, who wrote the famous 'Answer to Fagel;' and finding that the violence of their zeal reached little further than the enjoyment of their religious liberty, on his return to London he advised the measure of an indemnity and recall to the persecuted Presbyterians who had not been engaged in treasonable acts of opposition to the civil government. Sir Robert availed himself of this indemnity to return to his own country; but found his estate, and only means of subsistence, in the possession of the Earl of Arran, afterwards Duke of Hamilton. Soon after his coming to London he met Penn, who congratulated him on his being just about to feel experimentally the pleasure so beautifully expressed by Horace of the *mihi me reddentis agelli.*' Coltness sighed, and said, 'Ah! Mr. Penn, Arran has got my estate, and

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* Clarkson, 173.

I fear my situation is about to be now worse than ever.'—'What dost thou say?' says Penn, 'thou surprisest and grievest me exceedingly.—Come to my house to-morrow, and I will set matters to right for thee.'

"Penn went immediately to Arran. 'What is this, friend James,' said he to him, 'that I hear of thee? Thou has taken possession of Coltness's estate. Thou knowest *that it is not thine.*'—'That estate,' says Arran, 'I paid a great price for. I received no other reward for my expensive and troublesome embassy in France except this estate; and I am certainly much out of pocket by the bargain."

"'All very well, friend James,' said the Quaker; 'but of this assure thyself, that if thou dost not give me this moment an order on thy chamberlain for two hundred pounds to Coltness to carry him down to his native country, and a hundred a year to subsist on till matters are adjusted, I will make it as many thousands out of thy way with the King.' Arran instantly complied, and Penn sent for Sir Robert and gave him the security. After the revolution Sir Robert, with the rest, had full restitution of his estate; and Arran was obliged to account for all the rents he had received, against which this payment only was allowed to be stated. This authentic particular I received from my illustrious uncle, the late Sir James Stuart Denham, father of the present worthy member for Clydesdale."

From the Hague, Penn proceeded to Amsterdam on his religious mission, where he met with William Sewell, a learned man, who afterwards wrote the "History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers."

Sewell was then engaged in translating into Dutch Penn's "Account of the province of Pennsylvania," and his "No Cross no Crown." An intimacy sprung up between them; and a correspondence in Latin, commenced before this interview, was afterwards continued, which furnished some of the materials used by Clarkson in his Life of Penn.* From Amsterdam he continued his travels into Germany, where he was engaged in the work of the ministry; but we have no account of his labors, except some allusions to them in letters to his friends, from which it appears that he was blessed with the evidence of divine favor.

The large expenditures of the proprietary in planting his province of Pennsylvania, the frequent drafts made upon him by his steward at Pennsbury Manor, together with the expenses of living at Kensington, and travelling abroad, now began to press heavily upon him, and the income of his estates in England and Ireland were found insufficient to meet the demands. His province being prosperous, he had reason to expect supplies from thence from sales of land and quit-rents, but in a letter to Thomas Lloyd, he complains that of five hundred pounds per annum of quit-rents then accruing, he could not get one penny.

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* Clarkson, 175.

His letters written at this time to his steward, account for his continued stay in England, when his presence was so much needed and desired in the colony.

FROM W. PENN TO J. HARRISON.

"London, 23d 7th mo. 1686.

"DEAR J. HARRISON— * * * I have five letters from thee and several bills, that I found at my arrival from Holland. For my coming, what with the delays we have had at council, where New England business and Jamaica has lain these three years and but now ended: and what with the fresh packets, one after another from your side, that Baltimore complies not with the King's order; I cannot come this fall; for *to leave that unfinished I came for*, and so to return by his obstinacy when wife and family are there, will not be advisable. Wherefore I *think to see an end of that before I go*. Besides that the country think not upon my supply, and I resolve never to act the governor and keep another family and capacity upon my private estate. If my table, cellar and stable may be provided for, with a barge and yacht or sloop for the service of governor or government, I may try to get hence, for in the sight of God, I can say, I am five thousand pounds and more behindhand, more than I ever received or saw for land in that province, and to be so baffled by the merchants is discouraging, and not to be put up. Now I desire thee to draw no more upon me for one penny. Two hundred pounds came in East, as much by Jos. Massey, some by Fanner's ship, I suppose, and *now* more meat and other things from Ireland, and there is above five hundred a year in quit-rents and a small family, and a good farm for corn and stock, so that I beseech thee not to draw any more. * * * If I cannot be supplied, I resolve to turn over a new leaf. There is nothing my soul breathes more for in this world, next my dear family's life, than that I may see poor Pennsylvania again, and my wife is given up [to go], but I cannot force my way hence, and see nothing done on that side inviting. 'Tis not that I will not come whatever they do there, but not the sooner to be sure. I refer thee to the passengers for news. The King [is] kind to me and Friends, and meetings open again. I have had a blessed service in Holland and Germany, and many incline with me. * * My dear wife is well and salutes thee and thy honest wife. Give my dear love to T. J., P. P., and W. Y. and wives."*

"10th of 8th mo, 1686.

"This is my third by this ship, as things rise in my mind, for I have much on my hands for others as well as myself, yea, I can say that for one hour I have served myself, I have served the public a day."

"Worminghurst, 28th of 11th mo , 1686."

"Dear James Harrison—The salutation of unfeigned love in the truth, which is felt to be a preserver of them that love it and keep in it, is unto thee and thy honest careful wife, the children and God's true friends in that country especially. I wish you the heavenly increase of life more than I am able to utter.

"Know that after my journey into Holland and Germany, in which God blessed me with his glorious presence and power, I have visited the northern parts [of England] both going to my sister's into Cleaveland, and in the circuit I took in my return. Friends in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, and Warwickshire, generally I visited, and blessed enjoyment we had together.

"To come to thy particular notice, I had a meeting at H. Baly's, at Manchester, at J. Alcock's, the other house being too little, and there we were forced to stand in his court-yard, and the house was almost full besides. A mighty concourse everywhere—one thousand Friends at a meeting. I was at Thos. Janney's sisters—all well. I saw many whose relations are with you; another ship load is like to go from Liverpool this summer.

"Much love to J. Simcock, Thos. Janney, William Yardley and thyself especially." * * * * "Being come home, I found thine from Philadelphia of the 3d of 8th month past, by which I am both gladdened and troubled.

"Glad that three such honest friends, whom I love in my heart, are in that station of service, as your being the provincial judges. I know also that you are men of a good understanding, and friends to me and my honest interest, but I could have wished you easier and better work. * *

"Next I am sorry at heart that my letters to the council are so slightly regarded." * * * *

"I have with a religious mind consecrated my pains in a prudent frame [of government], but I see it is not valued, understood, or kept to, so that the charter is over and over again forfeited if I would take advantage of it. Nay, I hear my name is really not mentioned in public acts of state, nor the King's, which is of dangerous consequence to the persons and things they have transacted, since they have no power but what is derived from me, *as mine is from the King.*

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* Thomas Janney, Phineas Pemberton, and William Yardley, residents of Bucks county, and intimate friends of William Penn.

"Next, I do desire thee to let no more mention be made of the supply, though 'tis a debt, since a plain contract in the face of authority for a supply. I will sell my shirt off my back, before I will trouble them any more. I shall keep the power and privileges I have left to the pitch, and recover the rest as their misbehavior shall forfeit them back into my hands; for I see I am to let them know, that 'tis yet in my power to make them need me, as much as I do their supply: though the disappointment of me in that, with above £1000 bills I paid since my return, have kept me from Pennsylvania above all other things, and yet may do. Nor will I ever come into that province with my family to spend my private estate, to fill up and discharge a public station, and so add more wrongs to my children. This is no anger, though I am grieved, but a cool and resolved thought. [As] for my private matters: first, I did entreat thee to have no more bills, though every season some come. I have sent goods in East, in Massey, and in some others, [ships,] paid divers bills, have large rents, am not there to eat them,—sent beef twice lately, (enough for my small family,) and some money, and you have your own husbandry, a great stock: so that I hope thou wilt forbear to draw besides. * * *

"I hear by R. Ingels thou takest great care and pains about my husbandry. I believe it, and expected as much of thee, knowing thou art an upright man. Methinks you should be able to feed yourselves of the plantation, with all but meat, and some part of the rent will answer that. There is now for city lots, and new and old renters, above £500 arrears." * * * *

"I writ, that regard should be had to Andrew Dore about the vineyard. I know it is a charge, but if wine can be made, that I have such a proof, it will be worth the province thousands the year; for many Frenchmen are disheartened [from coming to Pennsylvania] by the Carolinians, as not being hot enough.

"In seven years there would be hundreds of vineyards if the experiment take, and I understand, by P. Lloyd and D. More, that he produced ripe grapes the 28th of the 5th month, [O. S. July,] '86; that the shoots were but 15 or 16 months planted. 'Tis an high character of the country, and And. Dore says that J. Simcock and T. Lloyd said, he deserved the place, paying only an acknowledgment in wine to me.

* * * * "I recommend to thee, for the gardens and improvements of the lands, that ashes and soot are excellent for the ground, grass, and corn. Soot may be gotten at Philadelphia, I suppose, for the fetching. I suppose it should be sowed pretty thick for corn; in spring, not so thick. It's best for low lands, and such as are moist. Let me desire thee to lay down as much as thou canst with English grass, and plough up *new Indian fields*, and after a crop or two they may be laid down so too; for that feeds sheep, and that feeds the ground, as well as they feed and clothe us. * * * * Thy true friend, WM. PENN."

From the tenor of these letters it is evident the proprietary was much dissatisfied with the members of the Provincial Council to whom he had entrusted the executive power in his absence.

Doubtless he had cause for dissatisfaction; but there is reason to believe that the reports which reached him of disorders prevailing in the province, were much exaggerated through enmity to him and to the Society of Friends.*

The effect of such rumors in England was to prevent emigration, and to impair the credit of the proprietary government. His letters to the council were neglected and unanswered, his requests to have copies of the laws sent to him were disregarded, and his exhortations to promote harmony among the officers of his government were ineffectual; hence he came to the conclusion to change the form of the executive, and he accordingly appointed five commissioners, any three of whom were authorized to act in his behalf.

"William Penn, Proprietor and Governor—

"To my trusty and well-beloved friends, Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas Moore, James Claypole, Robert Turner, and John Eckley, or any three of them, in Philadelphia:—

"Trusty and well-beloved! I heartily salute you. Lest any should scruple the termination of President Lloyd's commission with his place in the Provincial Council, and to the end that there may be a more constant residence of the honorary and governing part of the government, for the keeping all things in good order, I have sent a fresh commission of Deputation to you, making any three of you a quorum, to act in the execution of the laws, enacting, disannulling, or varying of laws, as if I myself were there present; reserving to myself the confirmation of what is done, and my peculiar royalties and advantages.

"First: You are to oblige the Provincial Council to their charter-attendance, or to take such a council as you think convenient to advise and assist you in the business of the public; for I will no more endure their most slothful and dishonorable attendance, but dissolve the frame without any more ado. Let them look to it, if further occasion be given.

"Secondly: That you keep to the dignity of your station, both in Council and out, but especially that you suffer no disorder in the Council, nor the Council and Assembly, nor either of them, to entrench upon the powers and privileges remaining yet in me.

"Thirdly: That you admit not any parleys or open conferences between the Provincial Council and Assembly; but let one, with your approbation, propose, and let the other consent or dissent, according to the charter.

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* Gordon, p. 87.

"Fourthly: That you curiously inspect the past proceedings of both, and let me know in what they have broken the bounds or obligations of the charter.

"Fifthly: That you, this very next Assembly General, declare my abrogation of all that has been done since my absence; and so of all the laws but the fundamentals; and that you immediately dismiss the Assembly and call it again; and pass such of them afresh, with such alterations as you and they shall see meet; and this to avoid a greater inconveniency, which I forsee, and formerly communicated to Thomas Lloyd.

"Sixthly: Inspect the qualifications of members in Council and Assembly, and see they be according to charter; and especially of those that have the administration of justice; and whatever you do, let the point of the laws be turned against impiety, and your severe brow be upon all the troublesome and vexatious, more especially trifling appealers.

"You shall shortly have a limitation from the King, though you have power, with the Council and Assembly, to fix the matter and manner of appeals, as much as to do any justice, or prevent any disorder in the province at all.

"Seventhly: That, till then, I have sent you a proclamation to that effect, according to the powers of ordinance making, as declared in my letters patent, which you may expose as you please.

"Eighthly: Be most just, as in the sight of the all-seeing, all-searching God; and, before you let your spirits into an affair, retire to Him (who is not far away from any of you, and by whom kings reign and princes decree justice,) that he may give you a good understanding and government of yourselves in the management thereof; which is that which truly crowns public actions, and dignifies those that perform them. You shall hear further from me by C. King. The ship is ready to sail: so I shall only admonish you in general, that, next to the preservation of virtue, you have a tender regard to peace and my privileges, in which enact from time to time. Love, forgive, help, and serve one another; and let the people learn by your example, as well as by your power, the happy life of concord. So, commending you to God's grace and keeping, I bid you heartily farewell.

"Given at Worminghurst, in old England, the first of the twelfth month, 1686."

The foregoing instructions have been commented on with some asperity in Gordon's History of Pennsylvania. "His instructions," says that author, "present a new view of his estimate of the proprietary power. His frame of government, though unquestionably a contract between himself and his people, he held to be the gift of his special grace, revocable at his pleasure, when he believed its conditions were broken; and the laws enacted with the consent of his deputies, void at his discretion." "These pretensions, so hostile to liberty, prostrating at once the constitution and laws, were borrowed from the dispensing power claimed by the king, and by him so fatally and liberally exercised."*

In reply to these strictures, the following considerations are offered.

1st. There is no evidence that Penn held his frame of government to be the "gift of his special grace." He probably regarded it as a contract, which being broken by one party was no longer binding on the other. When its provisions were disregarded by the Council and Assembly, it seems unreasonable that the proprietary should be bound by it, especially if his interest and that of the province were likely to suffer through the *forfeiture of the royal patent.*

2d. This view of the subject was not new to the colony, nor confined to the proprietary, for at the opening of the first Council and General Assembly, at Philadelphia, the number of delegates returned being less than the constitution required, "a member moved that the Governor may be desired that this alteration may not hinder the people from the benefit of this charter;" and so great were their apprehensions of forfeiting their privileges, that they desired of the Governor a new charter, with a reduction in the number of delegates, which he readily granted, and received in return, "the hearty thanks of the whole house." From this it is evident they then thought the charter might be forfeited by noncompliance with its provisions.

3d. The proprietary believed that the charter had been forfeited, by the General Assembly enacting laws without publication, omitting his name and that of the King and neglecting to send copies of them to England, to be laid before the Privy Council, for approval. His instructions for abrogating the laws and having them re-enacted, were intended "to avoid a greater inconveniency, which he had communicated to Thomas Lloyd."

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* Gordon's Hist. 90.

We are left to conjecture what was this greater inconveniency, but we may infer that it was the apprehended displeasure of the King, or the forfeiture of the royal patent.

Finally. It is evident that Penn never did take advantage of any infraction of the charter, but on the contrary, granted further privileges to the people, as will be shown in the course of this work.

The unwarranted strictures in Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, may be traced to the Historical Review, an unfair and acrimonious publication, attributed to to Doct. Franklin, but disowned by him. The following extracts from an able paper presented by J. R. Tyson to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, will set this matter in its true light. "The Historical Review asserts that, in 1686 he ordered the withdrawal of the charter by his commissioners; this is repeated by Chalmers and Belknap, and after them, Mr. Gordon, departing a little from the current in which they had so unresistingly glided, produces the charge, that Penn, presuming it to be the offspring of his special favor, supposed that he had the power of revocation. Both these accusations are without the slightest evidence, except that which brings proof of unpardonable negligence and inattention on the part of the accusers. It is certain Penn imputed to the Provincial Council, repeated infringements of the charter, which amounted, in his estimation, to a forfeiture, if he chose to avail himself of the advantage. The correctness of this view is too obvious to require the aid of legal principles. A convention, the stipulations of which have been violated by one party, must surely be void or not, at the discretion of the other."*

The letters of Penn, already quoted, show that his quit-rents were not paid, or at least, that no remittances reached him from this source. Some of the colonists, doubtless, were prevented from paying them punctually by the scarcity of money, and the unavoidable privations incident to a new colony, while others openly refused to pay them, affecting to consider this claim of the proprietary an onerous exaction. Among others, Joshua Carpenter, who was among the rich of the province, suffered distress to be made, and stood suit by advice of his counsel, David Lloyd.[*]

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* Mem. Hist. Soc. Pa. vol. ii. part ii. 140.

It will be remembered by the reader, that the original terms of sale for land in Pennsylvania were, forty shillings in money and an annual *quit-rent* of one shilling for every hundred acres. In his account of the province, published in 1681, soon after he received the royal patent, he thus refers to the subject: "And for the quit-rent one English shilling, or the value of it, yearly, for a hundred acres, which such as will, may now, or hereafter, buy off to an *inconsiderable matter;* but as I hold by a small rent of the King, so must all hold of me by a small rent, for their own security." In some cases this quit-rent appears to have been bought off or relinquished.[†]

Now it is evident that the quit-rent of one shilling, reserved in most of the deeds, was a part of the original price of the land, intended to reimburse the proprietary for his expenditures in purchasing and planting the colony. If it were not so, those among the colonists who bought off the rent by an additional payment, would not have received their lands on as good terms as others. Nor was this mode of selling lands unexampled in the other colonies, for Oldmixon, in his history of Carolina, says, "every planter pays one penny an acre quit-rent, unless he buys it off."

The claim subsequently set up by the Assembly, in the year 1708, that the quit-rents were reserved to pay the expenses of government, had no foundation in fact. Indeed the very first Assembly that met in Philadelphia, passed an act allowing William Penn an impost on exports and imports, which was, doubtless, intended to defray his expenses in the government, but he generously declined receiving it at that time, and it was repealed in his absence. There was, however, a small duty on foreign wines and spirits granted him the following year, "but this miserable pittance was slowly and partially collected."[‡]

The appointment of commissioners to fulfil the executive functions in the province, seems to have been attended with a happy effect. "Their administration was prudent, steady and efficient."*

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[*] Logan MSS. and Gordon's Hist., note ii.

[†] I have now before me an old patent of William Penn, dated March 21st, 1681, for a tract of 250 acres, in which the rent is reduced to "*one pepper corn* only."

[‡] J. R. Tyson's "Examination."

Nothing further, of note, occurs in the history of the province in the two succeeding years, during which the colonists continued to enjoy the blessings of domestic tranquillity.

The affectionate concern of the proprietary for the welfare of his province, is evinced by the following letter to his commissioners, superscribed:

"To my trusty and well-beloved friends, THOMAS LLOYD, ROBERT TURNER, JAMES CLAYPOLE, JOHN SIMCOCK, and JOHN ECCLES, Philadelphia.

"I salute you all with unfeigned love; and in Christ Jesus, wish you health and happiness. My last is by the same hand, this being sent to the Downs after him, upon the receipt of Thomas Lloyd's and William Markham's letters. I am heartily sorry that I had no letter from the government, indeed, I have hardly had one at all; and [as] for private letters, though from public persons, I regard them but little: I mean, as to taking of my public measures by; for I find such contradiction as well as diversity, that I believe I may say, I am one of the unhappiest proprietaries with one of the best people. If this had not been complained of in mine, by Ed. Blackfain, I should have been less moved at this visible incomplacency and neglect.

"Had the government signed, I mean those that are the most eminent in authority, by consent of the rest, it had given me some ease and satisfaction; but as it is, 'tis controversy rather than government, which stands, and lives, and prospers in unity; at least of the governing part; whatever be their affections; for men may agree in duty, that dislike one another's natural tempers. I shall henceforth, therefore, expect letters from the government recounting the affairs of it, that they may be authoritative to me; and as many private ones of love and friendship as you please besides, for that I also rejoice in; and any particular advices that may inform me, as to the public, or remedy what may be amiss, or meliorate what is in itself well, will also be very exceptable to me.

"Now I have said this, I cannot but condole the loss of some standards in the province, honest men, and of good understandings in their kind. The Lord avert his judgments, and constrain all by his visitations, to amend, be it in conversation, or be it in peace, concord and charity. They that live near to God, will live far from themselves; and from the sense they have of his nearness and majesty, have a low opinion of themselves; and out of that low and humble frame of spirit, it is that true charity grows, the most excellent way. Ah! what shall I say? There can be no union, no comfortable society without it. Oh! that the people of my province and parts annexed, felt this gracious quality abounding in them. My work would soon be done, and their praise and my joy unspeakably abound to us. Wherefore, in the name and fear of God, let all old scores be forgotten as well as forgiven. Shut out the remembrance of them, and preach this doctrine to the people in my name, yea, in the King's name, and His that is greater and above all, namely, God Almighty's name. I am sorry that Thomas Lloyd, my esteemed friend, covets a *quietus*, that is young and active and ingenious, for from such it is that I expect help, and such will not sow, I hope, in vain; but since 'tis his desire, I do hereby signify his dismiss from the trouble he has borne, (for some time of rest and ease at last,) and do nominate to be commissionated in my name, under the great seal, till further order, Samuel Carpenter, who, I hope, will except and industriously serve that station; else Thomas Ellis, who has an office that requires his attendance. Having one in my eye that may see you shortly, as a man richly qualified for that station.

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* Gordon's Hist. Pa.

"Robert Turner of course has the chair for the first month after the receipt of this, and the rest alternatively, monthly; if you find that convenient, as I believe it will be most easy; else let the senior counsellor have it always.

"I have only to recommend to you the due execution of the divers good laws among you, impartially, and diligently; not neglecting the orders from hence sent, especially for peace and concord. Government is not to make, but to do, and dispatch business; in which few words, and a quiet but brisk execution does best. Wherefore consider well what is just or fit, the one in law, the other in prudence, (where you have room to use it,) pursue in all cases, and no matter what any say or object. I write to you about my quit-rents; I am forced to pay bills here, for the support of my family when there, while I have four or five hundred pounds per annum, in quit-rents there. You may remember the vote of Council to pay my charges in this expedition. I could draw a large bill upon the Provincial Council in that regard—I am sure I need it—but have forborne; though it is none of the endearingest considerations, that I have not had the present of a skin or pound of tobacco, since I came over: though they are like to have most advantage by it, and promised so much.

"Pray prevent people withdrawing from us what you can. They cannot mend themselves, and they that go will find it so in a while, for I believe God has blessed that poor place; and the reason of my stay here, and the service I am, and have been, to the conscientious, shall be rewarded on my solitary province. Remember me to the people! and let them know my heart's desires towards them, and shall embrace the first opportunity to make my abode with them.

"Once more let me hear from you, and have a copy of the laws, as my other letter directs, and you shall soon hear from me to your content. And so I bid you heartily farewell.

"Given at Holland House, this 27th of the 10th mo. (December), 1687."*

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* Mem. Hist. Soc. Pa. v iv. Part. I.

CHAPTER XXI.

Declaration of Indulgence and Removal of Tests; An Unpopular Measure; William Penn Opposed to its being based on the *Dispensing* power of the King; Course of the Dissenters; Address of Friends, and William Penn's Speech to the King; His Tract called "Good Advice to the Church of England;" His Letters to J. Harrison; His Desire to Return to Pennsylvania; His Religious Labors in England; King's Progress; William Penn's Intercourse with the King; Interesting Memoirs of C. Lawton, concerning William Penn.

1687.

In the spring of 1687, James II. issued a declaration of general indulgence to all religious dissenters, not only suspending the laws against non-conformity, but dispensing with the tests, which had hitherto excluded from seats in Parliament and offices under government, all except members of the established church.

This measure, though apparently intended for a good purpose, was received with great distrust by the nation from the prevailing opinion that the King's intention was, not so much to protect Protestant dissenters, as to favor the members of his own communion, and eventually to pave the way for re-establishing the Roman Catholic religion. The declaration was rendered still more objectionable, by being based expressly on the dispensing power, in virtue of which, the King claimed the right to suspend the acts of Parliament.

This dangerous power had formerly been an unquestioned prerogative of the crown, but as the principles of civil liberty advanced among the people, its exercise was, in most cases, forbidden by public opinion. The late King had, more than once, suspended acts of Parliament, without giving much umbrage,* but in two memorable instances, when he attempted, by this means, to favor the dissenters, the jealousy of the hierarchy was excited, and he was obliged to retract. Since that time the sufferings of the non-conformists, and the arguments of Penn and others, had so far influenced public sentiment, that a mere toleration of *Protestant* dissenters, without the removal of the tests, would not have met with serious opposition.

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* Hume's History.

The declaration for liberty of conscience thus issued by the King, has been attributed, in part, to the influence of William Penn, and, doubtless, he rejoiced in the apparent triumph of a principle which it had been the main purpose of his life to promote. But although he approved of the object, he did not sanction the means, for there is good cotemporary evidence to show that he was opposed "to putting out the King's declaration on so unpopular a prerogative."*

Although many of the Protestant dissenters disapproved of the King's assumption of the dispensing power, yet, as he expressed his belief in the concurrence of Parliament, and they had long suffered under the rod of persecution, they willingly accepted the relief afforded, which they deemed no more than their natural right, and addresses expressive of their gratitude, were sent up to the throne.†

Among others, the society of Friends, having suffered long and severely, felt bound to express their acknowledgments to the King: accordingly their yearly meeting adopted an address, and appointed William Penn, with others, to present it.

On being admitted, with his associates, to the King's presence, he made the following speech:

"May it please the King:—It was the saying of our blessed Lord to the captious Jews, in the case of tribute, 'Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.' As this distinction ought to be observed by all men in the conduct of their lives, so the King has given us an illustrious example, in his own person, that excites us to it: for while he was a subject he gave Cæsar his tribute, and now he is Cæsar he gives God his due, namely, the sovereignty over consciences. It were a great shame then, for any Englishman that professes Christianity, not to give God his due. By this grace he has relieved his distressed subjects from their cruel sufferings, and raised to himself a new and lasting empire, by adding their affections to their duty. And we pray God to continue the King in this noble resolution; for he is now upon a principle that has good nature, Christianity, and the good of civil society on its side—a security to him beyond the little arts of government.

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* Lawton's Memoir, quoted in this chapter.

† Gough, iii. 189.

"I would not that any should think that we came here with design to fill the 'Gazette' with our thanks; but, as our sufferings would have moved stones to compassion, so we should be harder if we were not moved to gratitude.

"Now, since the King's mercy and goodness have reached to us throughout the kingdom of England, and principality of Wales, our General Assembly from all those parts, met at London about our church affairs, has appointed us to wait upon the King with our humble thanks, and me to deliver them; which I do, by this address, with all the affection and respect of a dutiful subject."

After these introductory remarks, the address was read, as follows:

"To KING JAMES THE SECOND over England, &c., the humble and grateful acknowledgment of his peaceable subjects, called Quakers, in this kingdom.

"We cannot but bless and praise the name of Almighty God, who hath the hearts of princes in his hand, that he hath inclined the King to hear the cries of his suffering subjects for conscience sake; and we rejoice that, instead of troubling him with complaints of our sufferings, he has given us so eminent an occasion to present him with our thanks. And since it hath pleased the King, out of his great compassion, thus to commiserate our afflicted condition, which hath so particularly appeared by his gracious proclamation and warrants last year, whereby twelve hundred persons were released from their severe imprisonments, and many others from spoil and ruin in their estates and properties, and by his princely speech in Council and Christian Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, in which he doth not only express his aversion to all force upon conscience, and grant all his dissenting subjects an ample liberty to worship God in the way they are persuaded is most agreeable to his will, but gives them his kingly word the same shall continue during his reign: We do as our friends of this city have already done, render the King our humble, Christian, and thankful acknowledgments, not only in behalf of ourselves, but with respect to our friends throughout England and Wales; and pray God, with all our hearts, to bless and preserve thee, O King, and those under thee, in so good a work. And, as we can assure the King, it is well accepted in the several counties from which we came, so we hope the good effects thereof for the peace, trade, and prosperity of the kingdom will produce such a concurrence from the Parliament as may secure it to our posterity in after times; and, while we live, it shall be our endeavor, through God's grace, to demean ourselves, as in conscience to God and duty to the King we are obliged, his peaceable, loving, and faithful subjects."

THE KING'S ANSWER.

"Gentlemen, I thank you heartily for your address. Some of you know (I am sure you do, Mr. Penn), that it was always my principle, that consciences ought not to be forced, and that all men ought to have the liberty of their consciences. And what I have promised in my declaration I will continue to perform so long as I live. And I hope, before I die, to settle it, so that after ages shall have no reason to alter it."

Some persons have censured the Friends and other dissenters for their addresses on this occasion, because the act that called them forth, was considered a dangerous exercise of the royal prerogative. But it will be observed, that the Friends were careful in their address to intimate the necessity of "concurrence from the Parliament," in order to render the measure permanent.

Penn was so far from considering this a final settlement of the question, that he continued to write and publish arguments in favor of the completion, by the Parliament, of that which the King had begun. Such was the purpose of a work he issued, anonymously this year, entitled, "Good Advice to the Church of England, Roman Catholic, and Protestant Dissenter, in which it is endeavored to be made appear, that it is their duty, principle, and interest, to abolish the penal laws and tests." In this treatise, after advancing many cogent arguments to establish the position assumed in the title, and to expose the absurdity, as well as impiety, of persecution for religion, he says in his concluding section: "Shall I speak within our own knowledge, and that without offence? There have been ruined since the late King's restoration above *fifteen thousand families*, and more than *five thousand persons died under bonds, for matters of mere conscience to God*. But who hath laid it to heart?"

About this time he issued another publication, having the same object: it was a tract entitled, "The Great and Popular Objection Against the Repeal of the Penal Laws, Briefly Stated and Considered."

From his letters to James Harrison, written this year, the following extracts are taken: viz.*

"A blessed general meeting we had, the Lord good among us, many of thy old friends at it." "As yet I cannot get clear, for besides that I am not in my private affairs fit to move for a stay, as that I intend when I come there; I am engaged in the public business of the nation, and Friends and others in authority, would have me see the establishment of the liberty, that I was a small instrument to begin in this land. The Lord has given me great entrance and interest with the King, though not so much as 'tis said, and I confess I should rejoice to see poor England fixt, the penal laws repealed, that are now suspended, and if it goes well with England it cannot go ill with Pennsylvania. Perhaps thou wilt hear more from some passengers, but this I say, no temporal honor or profit can tempt me to decline poor Pennsylvania, as unkindly used as I am, and no poor slave in Turkey desires more earnestly, I believe, for deliverance, than I do to be with you; wherefore, be contented awhile, and God in his time will bring us together."

"8th of 7th month, '87. I am straitened, being just come home from the King's progress through Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, Cheshire Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Hampshire, and so home. I had two meetings on a first day at Chester, in the Tennis court, where were about a thousand people while the King was there."

From Clarkson's account of this journey, it appears to have been undertaken on a religious account, but the King being on a tour through some of the same counties, they occasionally met and he attended meetings held by Penn at Chester and some other places. At Bristol his meetings were attended by a great concourse of people, and at Chew, in Somersetshire, he held one in the open air, under a tree, there being no building sufficient to contain the crowds in attendance.

As the intercourse of William Penn with King James has been a subject of much animadversion, it may be proper to introduce here an extract from Lawton's Memoir, concerning him; which was communicated to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and published in their Memoirs, vol. iii. part ii. The author of this interesting paper, was "a person of considerable weight in his day, and moving in the highest political circles."*

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* Pemberton's MSS.

Charlewood Lawton was agent of Pennsylvania, in 1701, during William Penn's second residence in America, and his name is found among the documents relating to Pennsylvania in the State Paper Office, London.†

"I had the happiness," he says, "to converse frequently, and as inwardly as if we had been brothers, with Mr. Penn, almost thirty years before his death, and during all that time, I constantly discovered in him an inexhaustible spring of benevolence towards all his fellow creatures, without any narrow or stingy regard to either civil or religious parties. And yet this best natured man, was, whilst living, daily persecuted with groundless slanders, and since his death, his good name is not free from malicious attacks. If only little people had of late handed about calumnies against him, I should have disregarded such reports: but I have very often met with men of figure, as well amongst the laity as clergy, who still, as it were, delight to spread opprobrious falsehoods concerning him. This usage hath often provoked me to defend him in conversation, both in his lifetime and since his decease, and is the motive which extorts from me the publication of some few transactions, which I intended should have remained secret till my own death." After this introduction, C. Lawton relates how he first became acquainted with William Penn, while travelling in the Kensington coach, and that having himself got into trouble by his connexion with Monmouth's rebellion, he was obliged to keep concealed till the general pardon was published by the King. He then went with his family to live near Windsor, but did not meet with William Penn, until he received an invitation, through a friend, to call on him, which was "the summer that the declaration for liberty of conscience was published."

He then proceeds with his narrative as follows:

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* G. Penn.

† Catalogue, Mem. Hist. Soc. Pa. iv. ii. 305 to 308.

"Upon this advice and encouragement I went, the next morning, to Mr. Penn, who received me most courteously, and engaged me to dine with him that day. But going with him in his chariot to Windsor, and he calling upon one Mr. Popple, (since the Revolution, Secretary, as his son now is, to the Lords of Trade and Plantations), Mr. Popple, who Mr. Penn was then bringing out of trouble, pressed Mr. Penn to dine with him, which Mr. Penn refused to do unless Mr. Popple could engage me to dine with him also.

"Though that was the first time I ever spoke with Mr. Popple, I had heard of him at Bordeaux, where he merchandized, as a man of good, both acquired and natural parts, and of an excellent temper, and therefore I soon agreed to the proposal; and Mr. Penn, going to the French Ambassador's to solicit Mr. Popple's business, he appointed me to meet him upon the terrace walk in the castle, which I did accordingly.

"As we came from Eaton to Windsor, I freely, amongst other things, told Mr. Penn, that though I was for liberty of conscience, I thought the King ill-advised to put out his Declaration of Indulgence upon the dispensing power; to which Mr. Penn made no answer then, but many years after, (upon what occasion I shall tell more at large before I have done,) I came to know the reason of his silence, *which was because Mr. Penn had been himself against putting it out upon so unpopular a prerogative.*

"But to return to our meeting upon the terrace. When we had walked a little while and talked of common things, Mr. Penn said to me, 'Friend Lawton, I would not have taken so much pains to have found thee out, if I had not an inclination for thee, and they say, I have some interest with the King, and, therefore, prithee, tell me how I can employ it for thy good;' to which I, fearing to be drawn into some things I might not like, replied, 'Sir, my ill state of health confines me (as indeed it did) to a country life; and though my fortune is small, I am contented with it.' And so we began to talk of different things, such as the fine prospect of the terrace walk, &c. But after a while it came into my mind that I would ask him to get Aaron Smith pardoned, and thereby hear his thoughts about political mercy, which, God knows, few who have interest in princes, either understand the wisdom or benefit of, or even incline to when they are in prosperity, and think they shall always remain in play, though Mr. Penn, as will appear more fully hereafter, did, to the greatest degree imaginable, and, therefore, upon my asking to get Aaron Smith pardoned, he, without hesitation, promised me he would do it if he could. I thanked him for his promise, for though I had not seen Aaron for some years, I then* thought him (though I was neither of his religion, nor agreed with many of his notions in politics) a brave fellow. Immediately after this we closed with Mr. Barrillon (the then French Ambassador) and the late Duke of Montague, who were walking together on the terrace, and after two or three turns, Mr. Penn and I went to dine with Mr. Popple at his lodgings in Windsor.

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* "I have since had reason enough to change my mind; for besides his other faults, Aaron took, after the revolution, a great deal of pains to ruin both Mr. Penn and me, and stuck not at telling the grossest falsehoods to my Lord Romney (then Secretary of State) in order to do it."

"After dinner, as we were drinking a glass of wine, Mr. Penn, turning to him, told Mr. Popple that he had brought him such a man as he had never met with before. 'I have just now asked him how I might do something for himself, and he hath desired me to get pardon for another man.' And so Mr. Penn repeated at length what had passed between us upon the terrace walk, and then turning to me, he said, 'though I will, at thy request, get, if I can, Aaron Smith's pardon, yet I desire thou wilt think of something wherein I can do a kindness for thyself.'

"Upon that, I said I could tell him how he might prolong my life. Mr. Penn replied, 'I am no physician, but prithee tell me what thou meanest?' And so I told him Jack Trenchard (for so we State Whigs used to call him) who was afterwards Secretary of State, was abroad, and if he could get him leave to come home *with safety and honor*, the drinking now and then a bottle with Jack Trenchard would make me so cheerful, that it would prolong my life.

"To this Mr. Penn smilingly answered, 'To show thee I will not deny thee anything thou canst reasonably ask, I promise thee I will get him too a pardon, if I can;' and after this we chatted half an hour, and so parted.

"In three weeks or a month he got Aaron Smith's pardon; and prevailing with my Lord Jefferies (then Lord Chancellor) to join with him, they in a short time obtained Mr. Trenchard's.

"Though the engaging to use his endeavors to get pardons for two men obnoxious as they were both then reckoned, and that at the request and first motion of a man so little known to him as I was, may convince any unprejudiced person how compassionate Mr. Penn was in his nature; yet I will, as a further proof, give an account of the third conversation I had with him.

"He going to London, I soon followed him, and found out Aaron Smith, who was then purchasing his pardon, by giving all that he was worth in the world, as he himself told me, to the man who was to procure it. I advised Mr. Smith to break off that treaty, and told him I was come up in order to get it for nothing. He said that was impossible. I then told him it was by Mr. Penn. Aaron replied, several friends of his had pretended to have an interest with Mr. Penn, and had undertaken to serve him that way, but that all their promises had come to nothing. Upon this I repeated to Mr. Smith what had passed between Mr. Penn and me about him, and protested if Mr. Penn broke his word with me, I would immediately break off the friendship I had so lately begun to contract with him; and withal desired Mr. Smith to come to me the next day to settle such a petition as Mr. Penn should deliver to the King.

"He came accordingly to my lodgings the next day, and we spent a great many hours in forming the petition, resolving it should neither be too sneaking nor too saucy. However, we left it harsh and unmannerly enough, as will appear presently. After the petition was settled, Mr. Smith wrote a civil letter to Mr. Penn and inclosed the petition in it; and the next day I carried both to Holland House. When I came thither, Mr. Penn was from home, and I took a walk in the garden, whither Mr. Penn came to me as soon as he returned, and his first salutation was: "Friend Lawton, I am glad to see thee, but I have ill news to tell thee, for I mentioned thy friend Aaron Smith's pardon this morning to the King, and he was never so angry with me in his life. He was ready to turn me out of his closet, and said, 'Six such men would put his three kingdoms in a flame.' Upon this I told him I was sorry for it, because I had brought him a letter with a petition to the King inclosed in it; but now it was not worth while to give him either. He answered, however, 'give me them, for I don't yet despair; there are *mollia tempora fandi*, and I will take an opportunity when the King is in a very good humor.' So I gave him the letter, and he read both that and the petition; and when he had done, he told me, he would not present the petition, 'for,' said he, 'the King may not like so much sturdiness, but Aaron's letter to me is very civil, and I will read that to the King. I believe thou comest to town to look after me. Don't stay to hurt thy health. If I can do it, it shall be done as well in thy absence as if thou wast here;' which he accordingly performed in about three weeks or a month, when I was in the country.

"When this was over, we went to the rest of the company, and so to dinner; after which, he and I, and a gentleman, who hath since, at a certain time, made a great figure in our politics, fell into a debate concerning whatever was necessary to be done to quiet the nation; and what measures ought to be taken to make people willing to establish by *law* an impartial liberty of conscience. I proposed, as one step, issuing out such a general pardon as should bring over all the outlaws from Holland. Mr. Penn seconded me so roundly and warmly, that I am confident it was as much his as my own opinion; and that, though I first started it then, it was his thoughts before. The third person, though then, and still an eminent Whig, strenuously opposed us. What secret reasons he had for doing so, I can't tell, but what he gave us with a great deal of warmth, seemed to me very weak, and I have since thought (because he soon went to the Prince of Orange) that it is possible he artfully intended to obstruct so popular a measure as that would have been. But whatever was his design is not much to my present purpose, and all I desire may be observed from this my third conversation with Mr. Penn, is the good-natured care Mr. Penn took *by dropping it*, not to provoke the King by Aaron's petition, and the strong inclination Mr. Penn wisely and honestly had for real acts of indemnity.

"And here I will confess this, his behavior confirmed me in so good an opinion of Mr. Penn, that I thenceforwards frequented his company, and talked freely with him upon any subject; and after we had been together two or three times more, he proposed to carry me to the King in his closet. I agreed to go, and he got the audience appointed; and as we went Mr. Penn encouraged and advised me to speak boldly. I followed his instructions, and amongst other things, when I was speaking concerning liberty of conscience, I told the King that, though I was sure my charity was as catholic as he thought his faith, yet I could not contribute towards settling the liberty of conscience he was pursuing, unless the church of England was, at the same time, made secure of being the national religion, and the civil liberties of my country were also secured; to which the King calmly answered, 'I assure you I have no design upon either.'

"When I came away, Mr. Penn commended me for speaking my mind so plainly; and told me, I need not have blushed, which he said he observed me sometimes to do, and particularly, when I compared my catholic charity to the King's faith.

"Soon after this, Mr. Penn went into Yorkshire, and during his absence, that justly suspicious and offensive measure of regulating corporations was resolved on. At this I was excessively alarmed, and therefore, went, with a design to take my leave of him, to meet Mr. Penn at his lodgings at Kensington, the day I was told he would return. He did return at the time he had set, and after common civilities, and being by nature very passionate, and then very young, I fell into a vehement declamation against regulations. Mr. Penn let me spend my fury, and after it was over, told me he did not know what I meant, but desired me to tell him cooly what had so disturbed me. I then talked over the matter with more temper, and when I had done, he assured me that was the first time he had ever heard any thing of it; 'for,' said he, 'I have been in Yorkshire to visit my brother and sister Lowther, and that I might enjoy their company with greater satisfaction, I took care to prevent anybody's writing to me anything relating to public affairs; but now I have one thing to desire of thee. What thou hast said, hath made impression upon me, and I entreat thee to send me thy thoughts by the penny post, without setting thy name to thy letter, but prithee write with as much vehemence as thou spokest at first; for that warmth will make them enter more into my mind.' This request, I must confess, convinced me that he had no hand in setting on foot that measure; and I complied with him, but little imagined what use he intended to make of that letter. That, and several other anonymous letters which he, by honest artifice, from time to time got from me, he showed to the King, but never would let his majesty know who wrote them; but Mr. Penn having brought me to the King, his majesty sometimes talked to me. The generality of what the King at any time said to me, and what I answered, I shall reserve to be inserted in my memoirs; but one thing I will, because it brings in Mr. Penn's, mention now. The last time I ever spoke to his majesty in England, which was above a twelvemonth before he went away, the King, when I objected against the measures which he was betrayed into, and proved afterwards his ruin, and which I then told him highly provoked the church of England, seemed to lay great stress upon, and place his security in the church of England's belief of passive obedience. Upon this I replied, that I could not imagine that his majesty ought to venture much upon an expectation that they would live up to that doctrine; for, said I, perhaps it is but a great compliment in the mouths of most men. It is like telling a lady that she is an angel, and a goddess, when we intend to use her like a woman. I think myself as firm a believer as any body that that Episcopacy which is called the church of England, established by law, is the best of all religions; and yet I never intended to believe (since I could form any belief) passive obedience; and I am sure there is a multitude who never go out of conscience, whatever they may do out of curiosity, to, or ever so much as once communicate with, any other congregation, who are of my sentiments. But, continued I, for argument sake, I will grant as much as your majesty can desire, and that is, that the greatest part of the church of England do sincerely believe resistance, upon any pretence whatever, is unlawful; but now I have allowed this, give me leave to ask your majesty, whether the same men don't believe drunkenness and common swearing to be sins? and don't you, nevertheless, find many of them to drink very hard and swear very often? These last, sir, are indisputed crimes, disavowed by all Christians, as well as by them; how then can you be certain, or expect that the same men will live up, when provoked, to a disputed principle, when they so often commit faults which Christians of all denominations agree to be sins? Upon this the King smilingly told me, I was not enough of the church of England to know how far their loyalty would carry them: and so I made my bow and went away. As soon as I saw Mr. Penn I told him, as I always did, what had passed between the King and me, but Mr. Penn had been, in the interval, with the King, and so he began, as he had a great talent that way, to rally me very facetiously upon my bluntness; and when he had made himself merry with me as long as he thought fit, Mr. Penn told me the King liked me for my sincerity, and I would have thee (said he) think of some place. The King hath a mind thou shouldst be in commission of the peace, and a member of the next Parliament, and a corporation will be found where some honest gentleman will bring thee in. To all which I replied, as to a place, I had given him formerly my answer upon the terrace walk. As to being a justice of peace, he knew there were great misunderstandings between me and some of the principal officers of the forest, and I was resolved as far as I could, to protect (which indeed he helped me to do) the poor people, inhabitants of it, and that, therefore, I could not consent that I should be liable to have forest business brought before me; and lastly, as to being a member of Parliament, I told him I should be glad, if a regulated Parliament did any good, but, by the help of God, I would never make one amongst them. After this, finding my obstinacy created no coldness in Mr. Penn, I kept on my friendship with him ; but from that time I industriously avoided coming in the King's way, in any place where he might single me out to speak to me upon business; for I was apprehensive lest I should have been too indecent, if the King had spoken to me, and seconded the message which he had sent by Mr. Penn. The King, however, had from time to time my thoughts in the many invective anonymous letters which, with so good a design, Mr. Penn drew from me upon every occasion ; and, about this juncture, Mr. Penn himself gave the greatest proofs as well of his integrity as good nature ; for he was not only helping every man he could out of his troubles, he was not only busy in getting particular pardons, but daily pressing for *a real general one.* And farther, finding himself oppressed, as I may call it, by the opposition others made to the honest and universal measures which he would have propagated, and set on foot, and in order likewise to hinder all the mischief others were doing, he solicited many of the State Whigs to come in to his assistance, and carried several of them to the King.

" Amongst those State Whigs there were some who, instead of helping Mr. Penn, vilely complied with every thing, whilst the unfortunate King James had any likelihood to keep his crown ; but as soon as they thought the design of the Prince of Orange would be successful, they turned as violently against that misled prince, who they had then ever helped to mislead.

" I forbear to blot my paper with the names of such wicked miscreants ; but I will take this opportunity to do justice to three men, very great after the revolution, to whom Mr. Penn applied. And those three were Lord Somers, Secretary Trenchard, and my Lord Chief Justice Treby.

" As for that most universal, and most finished man that ever was bred to the law, (I mean of those who perfectly understood, which Bacon did not, the profession,) my Lord Somers, he, from a natural shyness, refused to go to the King, though he was, by Mr. Penn, offered from his majesty to be made solicitor general, before it was ever proposed to Sir William Williams, and consequently before the bishop's trial. But Mr. Secretary Trenchard, upon a letter which Mr. Penn desired me to write, and whereof I have (lodged amongst my other papers, which are the materials of my memoirs, a copy, as well as his original answer,) came over from Holland, and behaved himself perfectly like a man of honor ; for without laying aside the good manners he was master of, or telling the least syllable of past times, or what he knew before his arrival, he fairly and frankly told the King wherein he thought he mistook his own interest; and yet he did it in so handsome a manner, that, upon his gentleman-like behavior, Mr. Penn prevailed with the King to resolve to make him (had not the revolution .come on) what he was afterwards, Lord Chief Justice of Chester.

"My Lord Chief Justice Treby also deserves the utmost commendation; for he went to the King, and amongst other things, told his majesty that he was confident that he himself was, and he believed many other whigs were misrepresented as enemies to the prerogative, whereas, he and they were sensible, the prerogative, discreetly used, was necessary for the protection of the subject; and yet he said, as willing as he was to serve the King, and as much as he was for liberty of conscience, he could not join in the methods by which it was then attempted to be introduced.

"What he so honorably said, was not only told me by Mr. Penn, but several years after, when my Lord Chief Justice Treby permitted me to have a good deal of intimacy with him, by my Lord Chief Justice himself.

"And one thing more I will, with great satisfaction, say of the two last mentioned persons, which is, that I never knew that either of them did, after the revolution, in their respective offices, but one thing which any impartial man can say so much as bordered upon severity towards the non-jurors. On the contrary, they both, upon my application, helped several out of their troubles, as likewise my Lord Somers did Dr. Turner, the deprived Bishop of Ely; Dr. Hicks, the deprived Dean of Worcester, and many more upon my speaking and writing to him.

"I am sensible I may be thought to have gone out of my way; but my inclination to rescue the memories of three so great men (who honored Mr. Penn and me, though they knew we differed from them in one great point, with their particular friendship, till the time of their deaths,) from the unjust imputations of some warm writers, who have, without regard to truth, charged them, in pamphlets, with cruelty, hath occasioned this digression.

"I return to Mr Penn, who, the summer before the revolution, desired me to board him and his family, at my house near Windsor. I never did any thing of that nature, either before or since, except once, for a few months, to conceal, under feigned names, two children, at the request of their Protestant mother, from a father-in-law, who was a Roman Catholic, and would have brought the children up in his religion. But Mr. Penn having done so many good-natured things upon my proposing them, and I having room enough to spare, I prevailed with my wife to let him, and his lady, and part of his family, to be with us most part of that summer, and he would not be with us unless he paid for his board. Whilst Mr. Penn was so much with me in the country, and I so much with him in London, I had an opportunity, unsought for by me, of observing the behavior of several, both Dissenters and State Whigs; but not delighting to expose the deformities of the minds of men, any more than I do their bodily defects, I shall be silent concerning them. * * * * * *

"But before I go further, I must set down Mr. Penn's own behavior that summer, in relation to the bishops who were sent to the Tower. He was not only against their commitment, but the day the Prince of Wales was born, he went to the King, and pressed him exceedingly to set them at liberty, and to order, in council, a general pardon to be issued out, as soon as it could pass the seals. He pressed, most heartily, to have both done, and told his majesty, that on that happy day, every body ought to rejoice, which they would do, if the bishops were let out; and it was generally known such a pardon would soon be proclaimed. Mr. Penn hoped the occasion would have made him succeed in both proposals; and I suppose all men must own, it was unhappy for the King that he did not follow Mr. Penn's advice. But there were about the King some villainous knaves, and others who were as visionary fools, I can't help calling them so, who sat themselves against every wise measure that was laid before that unfortunate prince, either by Mr. Penn or any body else; and they overpersuaded the King not to lay hold of so good an opportunity to regain the affections of multitudes of his people, who were justly startled; and much provoked by seeing the Right Reverend Fathers of the church illegally committed to prison.

"The same knaves and fools had afterwards too much success in prevailing with the King to lay aside a measure which might very probably have kept the crown upon his head, even after the Prince of Orange was landed; which was, to make the State Whigs arbitrators between the King and that prince."

CHAPTER XXII.

Vindication of William Penn from the charges of T. B. Macaulay.

1687–'8.

Having traced the progress of William Penn from the morning to the meridian of life, we have seen him pursuing a uniform course of disinterested virtue. At Oxford, dedicating his youthful heart to the service of God; in France, turning aside from the fascinations of the gay metropolis to pursue his religious studies at Saumur; in Ireland, embracing the faith of a persecuted sect, and renouncing the honors of the world; in the Tower of London and Newgate prison, patiently suffering for his devotion to duty; in Pennsylvania, laying the foundations of a great State on the principles of justice and philanthropy; and, lastly, at the palace of his sovereign, a confidential friend, using his influence solely for the promotion of individual and national happiness.

Is it credible that the tongue of calumny should have dared to detract from the merits of such a man? We have seen that in his own age he was persecuted and defamed; but the mists then engendered by prejudice and passion, have long since passed away; the clear light of historic truth has shed around his name an imperishable glory, and men of all creeds and of every clime have delighted to do him honor.

Can the award of history, thus deliberately pronounced, be reversed? Is it possible, that after the lapse of a hundred and fifty years, a new light should dawn upon the world, and show us that we have been mistaken in the character of one whose name has long been regarded "as a synonyme for probity and philanthropy."

The attempt has been made; and by no ordinary hand has the shaft been directed.

Thomas Babington Macaulay, one of the most brilliant and popular of British essayists, but not the most accurate among her historians, has brought grave charges against the moral character of William Penn, which have been read by the public with astonishment and regret. Like the heathen priests, who adorned with garlands the victim intended for sacrifice, this author, in his work called "The History of England," introduces the name of Penn with high sounding praise, but concludes his panegyric with ominous hints, and base insinuations.

> "To speak the whole truth concerning Penn," he says, "is a task which requires some courage: for he is rather a mythical than a historical person. Rival nations and hostile sects have agreed in canonizing him. England is proud of his name. A great commonwealth beyond the Atlantic regards him with a reverence similar to that which the Athenians felt for Theseus, and the Romans for Quirinus. The respectable society of which he was a member honors him as an apostle. By pious men of other persuasions he is generally regarded as a bright pattern of Christian virtue. Meanwhile admirers of a very different sort have sounded his praises. The French philosophers of the eighteenth century pardoned what they regarded as his superstitious fancies in consideration of his contempt for priests, and of his cosmopolitan benevolence, impartially extended to all races and to all creeds. His name has thus become,

throughout all civilized countries, a synonyme for probity and philanthropy.

"Nor is this high reputation altogether unmerited. Penn was without doubt a man of eminent virtues. He had a strong sense of religious duty, and a fervent desire to promote the happiness of mankind. On one or two points of high importance he had notions more correct than were in his day common, even among men of enlarged minds; and as the proprietor, and legislator of a province, which, being almost uninhabited when it came into his possession, afforded a clear field for moral experiments, he had the rare good fortune of being able to carry his theories into practice without any compromise, and yet without any shock to existing institutions. He will always be mentioned with honor as the founder of a colony, who did not, in his dealings with a savage people, abuse the strength derived from civilization, and as a lawgiver, who, in an age of persecution, made religious liberty the corner-stone of a polity. But his writings and his life furnish abundant proofs that he was not a man of strong sense. He had no skill in reading the characters of others. His confidence in persons less virtuous than himself led him into great errors and misfortunes. His enthusiasm for one great principle sometimes impelled him to violate other great principles which he ought to have held sacred. Nor was his integrity altogether proof against the temptations to which it was exposed in that splendid and polite, but deeply corrupted society, with which he now mingled. The whole court was in a ferment with intrigues of gallantry and intrigues of ambition. The traffic in honors, places, and pardons was incessant. It was natural that a man who was daily seen at the palace, and who was known to have free access to majesty, should be frequently importuned to use his influence for purposes which a rigid morality must condemn. The integrity of Penn had stood firm against obloquy and persecution. But now, attacked by royal smiles, by female blandishments, by the insinuating eloquence and delicate flattery of veteran diplomatists and courtiers, his resolution began to give way. Titles and phrases against which he had often borne his testimony dropped occasionally from his lips and his pen. It would be well if he had been guilty of nothing worse than such compliances with the fashions of the world. Unhappily it cannot be concealed that he bore a chief part in some transactions condemned, not merely by the rigid code of the society to which he belonged, but by the general sense of all honest men. He afterwards solemnly protested that his hands were pure from illicit gain, and that he never received any gratuity from those whom he had obliged, though he might easily, while his influence at court lasted, have made a hundred and twenty thousand pounds. To this assertion full credit is due. But bribes may be offered to vanity as well as to cupidity, and it is impossible to deny that Penn was cajoled into bearing a part in some unjustifiable transactions, of which others enjoyed the profits."

This is, certainly, a most extraordinary passage. The character it portrays, though incongruous, if not impossible, has evidently employed the most sedulous care of the artist. Let us endeavor to study the proportions of the figure he has so elaborately drawn.

In the same paragraph we are told "he was, without doubt, a man of eminent virtues," but he bore a *chief part* in some transactions, condemned, not merely by the rigid code of the society to which he belonged, but by the *general sense of all honest men*. He "had a *strong sense of religious duty*, and a fervent desire to promote the happiness of mankind:" but "his *integrity* was not altogether proof against the temptations to which it was exposed in that splendid and polite, but deeply corrupted society with which he now mingled:" and "he was cajoled into bearing a part in some *unjustifiable transactions*, of which others enjoyed the profits."

"On one or two points of *high importance*, he had notions more correct than were, in his day, common, even *among men of enlarged minds*, and he had the rare good fortune of being able to *carry his theories into practice* without any *compromise*." Yet, "he was not a man of strong sense."

To reconcile these palpable contradictions, will require more than the ingenuity and eloquence even of Thomas Babington Macaulay.

In the paragraph above quoted, and the pages immediately ensuing, he gives no instances of those alleged "unjustifiable transactions," but in turning over the leaves of his book, we find that wherever the name of Penn is introduced, it appears to be with the determined purpose of depreciating his merits.

The first direct charge against the character of Penn is introduced in the latter part of his fifth chapter, where, after speaking of the large profit obtained by Mary of Modena, the Queen of James II., for a cargo of convicts sentenced to transportation for being engaged in Monmouth's rebellion, he says:

> "The maids of honor, imitating her unprincely greediness and unwomanly cruelty, exacted £1000 from Roger Hoare, a merchant of Bridgewater, who had contributed to the military chest of the rebel army. But

the prey on which they pounced most eagerly, was one which it might have been thought that even the most ungentle natures would have spared.

"Already some of the girls who had presented the standard to Monmouth at Taunton had cruelly expiated their offence. * * * * Most of the young ladies who had walked in the procession were still alive. Some of them were under ten years of age. All had acted under the orders of their schoolmistress, without knowing that they had committed a crime. The Queen's maids of honor asked the royal permission to wring money out of the parents of the poor children, and the permission was granted.

"An order was sent down to Taunton that all these little girls should be seized and imprisoned. Sir Francis Ware, of Hestercombe, the Tory member for Bridgewater, was requested to undertake the office of exacting the ransom. He was charged to declare in strong language, that the maids of honor would not endure delay, that they were determined to prosecute to outlawry, unless a reasonable sum were forthcoming, and that by a reasonable sum was meant seven thousand pounds. Ware excused himself from taking any part in a transaction so scandalous. The maids of honor then requested Wm. Penn to act for them; and Penn accepted the commission. Yet it should seem that a letter of the pertinacious scrupulosity which he had often shown about taking off his hat, would not have been altogether out of place on this occasion.

"He probably silenced the remonstrances of his conscience by repeating to himself that none of the money which he extorted, would go into his own pocket; that if he refused to be the agent of the ladies, they would find agents less humane, that by complying he should increase his influence at the court; and that his influence at the court had already enabled him and might still enable him to render great services to his oppressed brethren. The maids of honor were at last forced to content themselves *with less than a third part of what* they had demanded."*

The glaring injustice of this charge has been demonstrated in the masterly treatise of Wm. E. Forster, published in England as a Preface to a late edition of Clarkson's Life of Penn.

He says, "The only one of the authorities Mr. Macaulay quotes in reference to this case, in which there is any allusion to Penn, is the following letter from the Earl of Sunderland, the then Home Secretary, a copy of which is in the State Paper Office:—

"Whitehall, Feb. 13th, 1685-6.

"Mr. Penne—Her Majesty's Maids of Honour having acquainted me, that they designe to employ you and Mr. Walden in making a composition with the Relations of the Maids of Taunton for the high Misdemeanor they have been guilty of, I do at their request hereby let you know that her Majesty has been pleased to give their fines to the said Maids of Honour, and, therefore, recommend it to Mr. Walden and you to make the most advantageous composition you can in their behalfe.

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* Macaulay's Hist. of Eng.

"I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"SUNDERLAND P."*

"This letter, to which no reply can be found either in the State Paper Office or elsewhere, is the sole proof upon which the charge is grounded: there exists no collateral evidence whatever confirming its receipt by Penn, much less his acceptance of its commission: it is not even certain that it was addressed to him. The address in the State Paper Office is not 'William Penn, Esq.,' nor William Penn at all, but plain *Mr. Penne,* and, therefore, it is quite possible that it was intended for a certain 'George Penne,' who it appears was instrumental in effecting the release from slavery of a Mr. Azariah Pinney, a gentleman of Bettescombe, near Crewkerne in Somersetshire, whose sentence of death had been commuted to transportation."†

It is truly surprising that an author, making any pretensions to historical accuracy, should have founded, on such slight evidence, a grave accusation against the character of one so distinguished for piety and virtue. Even if Sunderland's letter had been addressed to William Penn, it would have furnished no proof that he accepted the proposed agency; but when we observe that the name is spelt differently from that of the founder of Pennsylvania, with whom the Secretary had long been acquainted, and held frequent intercourse, there remains not a shadow of doubt that it was intended for some other person. George *Penne* having been engaged in a similar service, we may reasonably conclude that it was he whom the maids of honor "designed to employ." There is, however, no evidence that he accepted the commission; but, on the contrary, it appears by the testimony of Oldmixon, "a contemporary, almost an eye witness," that the negotiation was effected through another agency. In his history of this transaction, he says:

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* State Paper Office. Letter Book, 1679-1688. Domestic Various, No. 629, page 324.

In Dixon's Life of Penn is the following note; "In transcribing this letter from the State Papers, Mr. Forster writes '*her*' [instead of his] majesty, a mistake which gives an erroneous countenance to Mr. Macaulay's 'scandal against Queen Maria.'" p. 342.

Dixon having carefully examined the Sunderland letter book in the State Paper Office, and the Registers of the Privy council, asserts positively that this letter was not addressed to William Penn, but in all probability, to George Penne.

† See Robert's Life of Monmouth (vol. ii. p. 243), whose authority is family letters in the possession of Mr. Pinney's descendants.

> "The court was so unmerciful, that they excepted the poor girls of Taunton, who gave Monmouth colors, out of their pretended pardon, and every one of them was forced to pay as much money as would have been a good portion to each for particular pardons. This money and a great deal more, was said to be for the maids of honor, *whose agent, Brent, the Popish lawyer, had an under agent, one Crane of Bridgewater*, and 'tis supposed that both of them paid themselves very bountifully out of the money which was raised by this means, some instances of which are within my knowledge."*

This passage is sufficient of itself to exonerate William Penn from all connexion with the transaction, and it is remarkable that such conclusive evidence should have been overlooked by Macaulay; for in his account of Monmouth's insurrection, he frequently cites Oldmixon as authority, who, he says in a note, was then a boy living very near the scene of these events.†

When we consider how small is the number of historical personages, whose characters may be studied as models of unblemished virtue, we cannot without painful emotions witness this unwarrantable attempt to snatch from its place, where it has stood for a century and a half, one of the most honored names of English and American history—

"One of the few, the immortal names
That were not born to die."

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* Oldmixon, vol. ii. p. 708, quoted by Forster.

† Macaulay's Hist vol. i. chap. v.

In Dixon's Life of Penn, additional light is thrown upon this subject. He says George Penne was a pardon-broker; "he was actively engaged in the Taunton affair, and among other feats, as I am able to state on the authority of a family cash book, still preserved, he obtained £65 from Nathaniel Pinney as the ransom of his brother Azariah Pinney, one of the transported rebels." Since the publication of Forster and Dixon, it is reported that T. B. Macaulay has retracted this charge.

In the same history, a few pages subsequent to the charge just mentioned, we find the following passage: "William Penn for whom exhibitions, which humane men generally avoid, seem to have had a strong attraction, hastened from Cheapside, where he had seen Cornish hanged, to Tyburn, in order to see Elizabeth Gaunt burned. He afterwards related that when she calmly disposed the straw about her in such a manner as to shorten her sufferings, all the bystanders burst into tears."*

In reading this passage the inquiry arises, who were these bystanders? Were they the hardened populace who generally attend executions at Tyburn? Were they persons drawn thither by an idle curiosity to gloat on the dying agonies of a fellow creature? NO: they were the friends of the sufferers; who regarded them, not as malefactors, but as martyrs in the cause of civil and religious liberty. Cornish was a merchant in high standing, a staunch Whig, but a cautious man, and believed to be innocent of the political offence imputed to him.

Elizabeth Gaunt was a pious woman noted for her charitable deeds; her only offence was harboring the man who afterwards appeared as a witness against her.

It is reasonable to suppose that when such persons were condemned to die, the abhorence of all good men would be called forth, and many would attend, as in the case of the early martyrs, to manifest their sympathy with the sufferers, and to witness their constancy in death. But it is highly probable that Penn had an additional motive in view, a motive that does honor to his character, which is thus stated by Clarkson. "If I were allowed to conjecture," he says, "I should say that he consented to witness the scenes in question, with a view to good, with a view of being able to make an impression on the King by his own relation of things, that he might induce him to withhold his sanction at a future time to such unjust determinations of the law; and in this conjecture, I am in some degree borne out, by a passage in Bishop Burnet's 'History of His Own Times,' for when he, the historian, in a conversation with William Penn, on the subject of Cornish's execution, said that Cornish asserted his innocence with great vehemence, and complained with acrimony of the methods taken to destroy him, and that from these circumstances it had been given out that he died in a fit of fury, William Penn replied, 'that there appeared nothing in Cornish's conduct at the place of execution, but a just indignation that innocence might very naturally give.' This was in some measure a censure upon the King, who had confirmed that bloody sentence: but he went further, for immediately after this, he observed to Burnet that, 'the King was much to be pitied who was hurried into all this effusion of blood by Jefferies' impetuous and cruel temper:' and he added, 'that if the King's own inclinations had not been biased that way, and if his priests had not thought it the interest of their party to let that butcher loose, by whom so many men that were like to oppose them were put out of the way, it was not to be imagined that there would have been such a run of barbarous cruelty, and that in so many instances.' "

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* Macaulay, Hist.

If the narrative of Macaulay had been written for the sole purpose of undermining the character of Penn, he could not have seized with greater avidity, or perverted with more assiduity, every circumstance that could possibly be tortured into an accusation against him.

Passing over several unkind and unwarranted allusions, the next serious imputation against him, is found in the seventh chapter, where in relating the efforts made by James II. to conciliate the Dissenters, he introduces Wm. Kiffin, a Baptist minister of wealth and influence, whose grandsons had been condemned by Jefferies, and executed. "He was," says Macaulay, "seventy years old when he was left destitute, the survivor of them who should have survived him. The heartless and venal sycophants of Whitehall, judging by themselves, thought that the old man could easily be propitiated by an alderman's gown and some compensation in money, for the property his grandsons had forfeited. Penn was employed in the *work of seduction but to no purpose*."

From this we should infer, that Penn was employed by the King, or his ministers, to seduce Kiffin into compliance, and that he did not accept the proffered honor. Now it is found, on examining Kiffin's memoirs, the authority cited by Macaulay, that there is no evidence of Penn having been so employed by the King or court, but there is evidence that Kiffin, after six months consideration, did accept the proffered honor.

It appears from Kiffin's narrative, that means were used "by the King and his party, * * * to prevail on the House of Commons to promise, upon the meeting of Parliament to take off the parliament test," by which Catholics and Dissenters were excluded from office. This purpose was perfectly consistent with Penn's views, and is now regarded by all reasonable men, as a wise and salutary measure, but Kiffin, and many others among the Dissenters, looked upon it as a plot "to strengthen the Popish interest." He says, "this plot being carried on with all diligence, took with several Dissenters, but indeed they were few and in general of the meaner sort; William Penn being the head of that party." * * * * He adds, "in a little after a great temptation attended me, which was a commission from the King to be one of the aldermen of the city of London. I used all the means I could to be excused, both by some Lords near the King, and also by Sir Nicholas Butler and William Penn, but all in vain, they said they knew I had an interest that would serve the King, and although they knew that my sufferings had been great, by the cutting off of my two grandsons and losing their estates, yet it should be made up to me, both as to their estates and also in what honor or advantage I could reasonably desire for myself."* This language affords no evidence to substantiate Macaulay's inference, it implies nothing more than that "some Lords near the King, as well as Sir N. Butler and William Penn, were requested by Kiffin to make his excuse to the King, for declining the office, on which they expressed their sense of his ability to be of use to his sovereign, and their belief that some reparation would be made for the wrongs he had suffered." Can the most determined enemy of Penn discover any culpability in this?

We now come to one of the most prominent transactions in which, according to Macaulay, the agency of William Penn was employed by the King to promote his tyrannical purposes; but here, as in the former cases, cotemporary writers furnish the materials to refute the charge, and to show that the conduct of Penn was independent and honorable. During his journey, mentioned in the last chapter, he entered the city of Oxford at the same time with the King, who was then endeavoring to coerce the fellows of Magdalen College into the election of a president nominated by himself.

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* See Life of Kiffin, by Jos. Ivinney, London, 1833. Both Forster and Dixon in their vindications of Penn, have given but *a part* of the above extract from Kiffin, and are charged by Macaulay's apologist with garbling the quotation. See London Literary Gazette, 1851.

It appears that when the chair became vacant, he first recommended one Anthony Farmer, a notorious libertine, but, as a renegade Papist, a fit man to serve the purposes of the court.* The fellows sent up a respectful remonstrance, which not being regarded by the King, they at length proceeded to elect a president, and chose Dr. Hough, who was well qualified for the station. The King was highly incensed; his court of High Commission pronounced the election void, and he then nominated Parker, Bishop of Oxford, a man suspected of popish principles, and otherwise ineligible.

On coming to Oxford, the King summoned the fellows to attend him; he refused a petition they offered him, and commanded them in a peremptory manner to retire to their chapel and elect Dr. Parker. They retired, but remained firm in their position; all of them except one returned a written answer, stating that they could not in conscience comply with his mandate.†

At this stage of the proceedings, William Penn first appears upon the scene, and his agency is thus related by Clarkson: The answer of the fellows was given "on the Sunday night."

"Next morning William Penn was on horseback ready to leave Oxford; but knowing what had taken place, he rode up to Magdalen College, and conversed with the fellows on the subject. After this conversation he wrote a letter, and desired them to present it to the King, and then took his departure. In this letter he signified to his majesty, as mildly as he could, his disapprobation of his conduct on this occasion. Dr. Sykes, in relating this anecdote of William Penn by letter to Dr. Charlett, who was then absent, mentions that Mr. Penn, after some discourse with the fellows of Magdalen College, wrote a short letter directed to the King. He wrote to this purpose:—that their case was hard, and that, in their circumstances, they could not yield obedience without breach of their oaths.' Mr. Creech also, who was at Oxford at the time, in giving an account of the same event to the same person, said that 'Mr. Penn, the Quaker, with whom he dined the day before and had a long discourse concerning the college, wrote a letter to the King in behalf of the fellows, intimating that such mandates were a force on conscience, and not very agreeable to his other gracious indulgencies.' In this account, Sewel, who was then in correspondence with William Penn, and who knew almost everything relating to him as it happened, agrees in a striking manner. Sewel, it must be observed, had never seen the letters either of Dr. Sykes or Mr. Creech, for they were not made public till long after his death; and yet in his 'History of the Rise and Progress of Quakers,' he writes thus:—'It caused no small fermentation in the minds of people, when the fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, were by the King's order dispossessed to make way for Romanists. This was such a gross usurpation, that William Penn, who had ready access to the King, and who endeavored to get the penal laws and tests abrogated, thinking it possible to find out a way whereby to limit the Papists so effectually that they should not be able to prevail, did for all that not omit to blame this usurpation at Oxford, and to tell the King, that it was an act which could not in justice be defended, since the general liberty of conscience did not allow of depriving any of their property, who did what they ought to do, as the fellows of the said college appeared to have done.'

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* Foster.

† Clarkson.

"William Penn, having left the above letter for the King, took his departure home. The affair, however, with respect to the Presidentship of the College was not settled, neither was it settled as it related to William Penn. The fellows remained resolute and the King angry. At length the King took his departure also. Soon after this it was reported that his majesty had issued an order to proceed against the College by a writ of Quo Warranto. This report was strengthened by a letter to Dr. Thomas Bailey, one of the senior fellows, in which the writer said, that he addressed him out of a compassionate concern for him and his brethren, to persuade them either to comply with his Majesty's letters mandatory, or to think of some expedient to prevent the ruin of the College and themselves, that the order for the Quo Warranto against the College might be recalled before it was too late. The writer also suggested to him and his brethren the necessity of some concession to the King for their past conduct.

"As this letter was sent without any signature to it, the author was not known. Dr. Bailey, however, chose to attribute it to William Penn, and this expressly on account of the benevolent object it had in view."*

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* Clarkson's Life of Penn.

This anonymous letter to Dr. Bailey, appears to have been unjustly attributed to William Penn; it was not acknowledged by him; it was written in a style he never used, and we are informed by Forster, that "the cotemporary copy of the proceedings in this case preserved in the archives of Magdalen College bears on the margin of this letter a manuscript memorandum, "*Mr. Penn disowns this.*"[*]

The subsequent proceedings in this case, although grouped together, for effect, by Macaulay, as one continuous transaction, were in reality conducted in different interviews extending through a space of more than a month.

In order to contrast the contemporary account contained in Wilmot's life of Hough with the distorted paraphrase of Macaulay, they are here presented side by side, as arranged by Forster, and divided into three distinct parts, after the example of a previous critic.[†]

It has been remarked that "Wilmot's account, if biassed at all, is certainly against Penn; and it is the only one professing to be a complete relation of facts."[‡]

MACAULAY.[§]	WILMOT'S LIFE OF HOUGH.[‖]
"The King, greatly incensed and mortified by his defeat," (viz., the refusal of the fellows to admit Parker as their President), "quitted Oxford and rejoined the Queen at Bath. His obstinacy and violence had brought him into an embarrassing position. He had trusted too much to the effect of his frowns and angry tones, and had rashly staked not only the credit of his administration, but his personal dignity, on the issue of the contest. Could he yield to subjects whom he had menaced with raised voice and furious gestures? Yet	"It appears from Anthony A. Wood's account of this visit" (viz., the King's visit to Oxford), "that W. Penn, who attended the King to Oxford, went afterwards to Magdalen College; and although he at first hoped to persuade the fellows to comply with the King's wishes, yet, when he heard the statement of their case, he was satisfied that they could not comply without a breach of their oaths. This account is confirmed by some original letters now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, from Dr. Sykes and Mr. Creech to Dr. Charlett,

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[*] Foster's Preface, xxx., vii.

[†] Tablet, March 10th, 1849.

[‡] Foster's Preface.

[§] Macaulay, vol. ii. p. 298.

[‖] Wilmot's Life of Hough, p. 15.

could he venture to eject in one day a crowd of respectable clergymen from their homes because they had discharged what the whole nation regarded as a sacred duty? Perhaps there might be an escape from this dilemma. Perhaps the College might still be terrified, caressed, or bribed into submission. The agency of Penn was employed. He had too much good feeling to approve of the unjust and violent measures of the government, and even ventured to express part of what he thought. James was, as usual, obstinate in the wrong."

of the 6th, 7th, and 9th of September, 1687, in which, after giving exactly the same account of the King's reception and treatment of the fellows, they both state that Mr. Penn went afterwards to Magdalen College, and having had some conference with the fellows, wrote a letter to the King in their behalf, observing 'that their case was hard; that in their circumstances they could not yield without a breach of their oaths; and that such mandates were a force upon conscience, and not agreeable to the King's other gracious indulgencies.'"

"This interview of Penn with the fellows must have occurred between the 3rd of September, the day of the King's arrival at Oxford, and the 9th of the same month, the date of the last of the letters referred to by Wilmot. Some time afterwards, on what exact day is not known, but probably about the end of the month, an anonymous letter was received by Dr. Thomas Bailey, one of the fellows, which he chose to attribute to Penn, to whom he sent a reply, on which two epistles Mr. Macaulay rests the following declamation, or at least must be supposed to rest it, all other authority being utterly wanting:"

MACAULAY.*	WILMOT.†
"The courtly Quaker therefore did his best to seduce the College from the path of right. He first tried intimidation. Ruin he said impended over the society. The King was highly incensed. The case might be a hard one. Most people thought it so. But every child knew that his Majesty loved to have his own way, and he could not bear to be thwarted. Penn, therefore, exhorted the fellows not to rely upon the goodness of their cause, but to submit, or at least	"It was now rumored that the King had issued an order to proceed against the College by a writ of Quo Warranto, but however this was, the fellows appear to have listened to an application made to Dr. Thomas Bailey, one of the senior fellows, from William Penn, who was said to be in great favor at that time with the King, and had written to the Doctor a letter, of which the following is a copy:‡—

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* Macaulay, vol. ii. p. 288.

† Wilmot, p. 18.

‡ Quotations only from this letter are given in Wilmot, but the reader will understand it better if he read it all, and it is therefore given above in full, as printed in the State Trials, vol. iv. p. 270.

to temporise. Such counsel came strangely from one who had himself been expelled from the University for raising a riot about the surplice, who had run the risk of being disinherited rather than take off his hat to the princes of the blood, and had been more than once sent to prison for preaching at conventicles. He did not succeed in frightening the Magdalen men. In answer to his alarming hints he was reminded that in the last generation thirty-four out of the forty fellows had cheerfully left their beloved cloisters and gardens, their hall and their chapel, and had gone forth, not knowing where they should find a meal or a bed, rather than violate the oath of allegiance. The King now wished them to violate another oath. He should find that the old spirit was not extinct."

"A COPY OF A LETTER DIRECTED TO DR. BAILEY, FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXON, SUPPOSED TO BE WRIT BY MR. WILLIAM PENN.

"Sir—Upon an inquiry made of your present fellows of Magdalen College, I am informed that you are a person eminent in that learned body, for your temper, prudence, and good conduct in affairs, and therefore very fit to be addressed to by me, who did not send you this to trepan you and your brethren, but out of a passionate concern for your interest; to persuade you either to a compliance with his Majesty's letters mandatory, or to think among yourselves of some expedient to prevent the ruin of your College and yourselves; and to offer it to his Majesty's royal consideration, that the order for the *Quo Warranto* against the College may be recalled, before it be too late; for you cannot but be sensible how highly his Majesty is incensed against you, neither can you give one instance whether ever that sort of proceeding was judged against the Crown. Your cause most think it very hard; but you are not in prudence to rely on the goodness of your cause, but to do what the present instance of affairs will permit, and in patience to expect a season that will be more auspicious to persons of your character. Every mechanic knows the temper of his present Majesty, who never will receive a baffle in anything that he heartily espouseth; and that he doth this, yourselves have had too late and manifest an instance to doubt of his zeal in the affair.

"Where there are so many statutes to be observed, it is impossible but some must be broken at one time or another; and I am informed by the learned of the law, that a failure in any one point forfeits your grant, and lays your College open to the Royal disposal.

"I could give many other prudent arguments that might possibly incline you to a speedy endeavor of putting an end to your troubles almost at any rate: but I shall suggest this one thing to you, that your fatal overthrow would be a fair beginning of so much aimed at reformation, first of the University, then of the Church, and administer such an opportunity to the enemy as may perhaps not occur in his Majesty's reign.

"Your affectionate servant, &c.

"There was no signature to this letter, but, from what passed afterwards, there is every reason to believe that it was written by William Penn, to whom it was ascribed.

"Dr. Bailey returned a long and argumentative answer to this letter, on the 3d of October, directed to Mr. Penn, in which he says, 'The paper inclosed is a copy of a letter, which by the charitable purpose of it seems to be written by you, who have been already so kind as to appear in our behalf, and are reported by all who know you to employ much of your time in doing good to mankind, and using your credit with his Majesty to undeceive him in any wrong impressions given him of his conscientious subjects, and, where his justice and goodness have been thereby abused, to reconcile the persons injured to his Majesty's favor, and secure them by it from oppression and prejudice. In this confidence, I presume to make this application to you, desiring your excuse for not subscribing it; for if you did write the letter you know to whom it was directed; and if you did not, I hope your charity will induce you to make such use of your light you have by it into the affairs of our College, as to mediate for us with his Majesty to be restored to his good opinion, as the only thing which is desired by us, who are zealous, above all earthly things, for his felicity and glory."

"What reply Penn sent to Bailey's letter, or whether he sent any, is not known, but very soon after this,[*] 'viz., on the 9th of October, a deputation from the College, of which Dr. Hough was one, had a conference with Mr. Penn at Windsor, where the court at that time was held,' which is described by Dr. Hough in the following letter to a relation, a copy of which is among the MSS. of the British Museum, and paraphrased by Mr. Macaulay as follows:—

Macaulay.[†]	Wilmot.[‡] (Hough's Letter.)
"Then Penn tried a gentler tone. He had an interview with Hough and with some of the fellows, and, after many professions of sympathy and friendship, began to hint at a compromise. The King could not bear to be crossed. The college must give way. Parker must be admitted. But he was in very bad health. As his preferments would soon be vacant. 'Doctor Hough,' said Penn, 'may then be Bishop of Oxford. How should you like that, gentlemen?' Penn had passed his life in declaiming against a hireling	"October the 9th, at night. "Dear Cousin—I gave you a short account of what passed at Windsor this morning; but having the convenience of sending this by Mr. Charlett, I fancy you will be well enough satisfied to hear our discourse with Mr. Penn more at large. "He was in all about three hours in our company, and at his first coming in, he began with the great concern he had for the welfare of our College, the many efforts he had made to reconcile us to the King, and the great sincerity of his inten-

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[*] Wilmot, page 22.

[†] Macaulay, vol. ii. p. 299,

[‡] Wilmot, p. 52 to 30.

ministry. He held that he was bound to refuse the payment of tithes, and this even when he had bought land chargeable with tithes, and had been allowed the value of the tithes in the purchase money. According to his own principles, he would have committed a great sin if he had interfered for the purpose of obtaining a benefice on the most honorable terms for the most pious divine. Yet to such a degree had his manners been corrupted by evil communications, and his understanding obscured by inordinate zeal for a single object, that he did not scruple to become a broker in simony of a peculiarly discreditable kind, and to use a bishopric as a bait to tempt a divine to perjury. Hough replied, with civil contempt, that he wanted nothing from the crown but common justice. 'We stand,' he said, 'on our statutes and our oaths; but even setting aside our statutes and our oaths, we feel that we have our religion to defend. The Papists have robbed us of Christ Church. The fight is now for Magdalen. They will soon have all the rest.'

"Penn was foolish enough to answer that he really believed that the Papists would now be content. 'University,' he said, 'is a pleasant college. Christ Church is a noble place. Magdalen is a fine building. The situation is convenient. The walks by the river are delightful. If the Roman Catholics are reasonable, they will be satisfied with these.' This absurd avowal would alone have made it impossible for Hough and his brethren to yield. The negotiations were broken off, and the King hastened to make the tions and actions; that he thought nothing in this world was worth a trick, or anything sufficient to justify collusion or deceitful artifice, and this he insisted so long upon, that I easily perceived he expected something of a compliment, by way of assent, should be returned; and therefore, though I had much ado to bring it out, I told him that whatever others might conceive of him, he might be assured we depended upon his sincerity, otherwise we would never have given ourselves the trouble to come thither to meet him.

"He then gave an historical account, in short, of his acquaintance with the King; assured us it was not Popery but Property that first began it; that however people were pleased to call him Papist, he declared to us that he was a dissenting Protestant; that he dissented from Papists in almost all those points wherein we differ from them, and many wherein we and they are agreed.

"After this we came to the College again. He wished with all his heart that he had sooner concerned himself in it, but he was afraid that he had now come too late; however, he would use his endeavors, and if they were unsuccessful, we must refer it to want of power, not of good will, to serve us. I told him I thought the most effectual way would be to give his Majesty a true state of the case, which I had reason to suspect he had never yet received; and, therefore, I offered him some papers for his instruction, whereof one was a copy of our first petition before the election, another was our disobedient know, as he had threatened, what it was to incur his displeasure."

letter to the Duke of Ormond and the state of our case; a third was that petition which our society had offered to his Majesty here at Oxford, and a fourth was that sent after the King to Bath. He seemed to read them very attentively, and after many objections (to which he owned I gave him satisfactory answers), he promised faithfully to read every word to the King, unless he was peremptorily commanded to forbear. He was very solicitious to clear Lord Sunderland of suspicion, and threw the odium upon the Chancellor, which I think I told you in the morning, and which makes me think there is little good to be hoped for from him.

"He said the measures now resolved upon, were such as the King thought would take effect; but he said he knew nothing in particular, nor did he give the least light, or let fall any thing wherein we might so much as ground a conjecture, nor did he so much as hint at the letter which was sent to him.

"I thank God he did not so much as offer at any proposal by way of accommodation, which was the thing I most dreaded; only once, upon the mention of the Bishop of Oxford's indisposition, he said, smiling, 'If the Bishop of Oxford die, Dr. Hough may be made Bishop. What think you of that, gentlemen?' Mr. Cradock answered, 'they should be heartily glad of it, for it would do very well with the Presidentship.' But I told him seriously, 'I had no ambition above the post in which I was, and that having never been conscious to myself of any disloyalty towards my prince, I could not but wonder what it was should make me so much more incapable of serving his Majesty in it than those whom he had been pleased to recommend.' He said, 'Majesty did not love to be thwarted; and after so long a dispute we could not expect to be restored to the King's favor without making some concessions.' I told him 'that we were ready to make all that were consistent with honesty and conscience;' but many things might have been said upon that subject, which I did not then think proper to mention. 'However,' said I, 'Mr. Penn, in this I will be plain with you. We have our statutes and oaths to justify us in all that we have done hitherto; but setting this aside, we have a religion to defend, and I suppose yourself would think us knaves if we should tamely give it up. The Papists have already gotten Christ Church and University: the present struggle is for Magdalen; and in a short time they threaten they will have the rest.' He replied with vehemence. 'That they shall never have, assure yourselves; if once they proceed so far, they will quickly find themselves destitute of their present assistance. For my part, I have always declared my opinion that the preferments of the Church should not be put into any other hands but such as they at present are in; but I hope you would not have the two Universities such invincible bulwarks for the Church of England, that none but they must be capable of giving their children a learned education. I suppose two or three colleges will content the Papists; Christ Church is a noble structure, University is a pleasant place, and Magdalen College is a comely building. The walks are pleasant, and it is conveniently situated, just at the entrance of the town.' &c. &c. When I heard him talk at this rate, I concluded he was either off his guard, or had a mind to droll upon us. 'However,' I replied, 'when they had ours they would take the rest, as they and the present possessors could never agree.' In short, I see it is resolved that the Papists must have our College ; and I think all we have to do is, to let the world see that they TAKE it from us, and that we do not GIVE it up.

"I count it great good fortune that so many were present at this discourse (whereof I have not told you a sixth part, but I think the most considerable) ; for otherwise I doubt this last passage would have been suspected as if to heighten their courage through despair. But there was not a word said in private, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Cradock and Mr. Young being present all the time.

"Give my most humble service to Sir Thomas Powell and Mrs. Powell.

"I am, dear sir,

"Your very affectionate and faithful servant, J. H."

"With this interview ended, so far as history informs us, Penn's interference."*

The reader cannot fail to observe that in the first of these interviews the conduct of Penn, as represented by Wilmot, is substantially the same as related by Clarkson and Sewell. He had the independence and candor to tell the King, that "the fellows could not yield without a breach of their oaths, and that such mandates were a force upon conscience, and not agreeable to the King's other gracious indulgences."

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* Forster's Preface.

Yet even this manly remonstrance, which, perhaps, no other man in the kingdom would have dared to express, is thus mentioned by Macaulay in a way to destroy its effect, "he ventured to express a *part of what* he thought." Can the historian inform us what part of his thoughts he withheld?

The second part of Macaulay's relation being founded, apparently, on an anonymous letter, falsely attributed to Penn, of course, falls to the ground. The third part relating to the interview with Dr. Hough at Windsor, is so entirely perverted, that it is evident "he has drawn on his imagination for his facts." The discrepancies are clearly pointed out in the following quotations from a British critic:*

> "Mr. Macaulay represents Penn as employed to solicit the fellows; Dr. Hough represents the fellows as coming to solicit him."
>
> "Mr. Macaulay says that, after many professions of friendship, Penn 'began to hint at a compromise;' Dr. Hough 'thanks God he did not so much as offer at any proposal by way of accommodation, which was the thing I most dreaded.'
>
> "Mr. Macaulay makes his readers believe that the topics urged by Penn were urged to persuade them to compromise; Dr. Hough describes them as used to convince the fellows that there was little hope of success from his intercession.
>
> "Mr. Macaulay represents Penn as trying to overcome the scruples of the fellows to the commission of perjury; Dr. Hough represents him as admitting that the fellows 'gave satisfactory answers to his objections.'
>
> "Mr. Macaulay represents Penn as talking the merest drivel, relying solely on James's moderation, and willing to give the 'Papists' two or three colleges in mere wanton injustice; Dr. Hough (most unwillingly) shows that Penn thought the 'Papists' had a right to two or three colleges, and believed they would abstain from further demands, because it would be dangerous to ask for more.
>
> "Mr. Macaulay describes the result of the interview as the 'breaking off of a negotiation' by the fellows; Dr. Hough describes it as the concession of a favor by Penn.
>
> "In short, in every part of it, in general and in detail, no version of the interview could be imagined or invented more remote from the truth than that given by Mr. Macaulay. It is true that when somebody mentioned the Bishop of Oxford's indisposition, Penn 'smiling' asked the fellows

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* Tablet, March 10, 1849.

> how they would like Hough to be made a Bishop. This remark, made as a joke, answered by Mr. Cradock as a joke,—and even by Dr. Hough, who answered it more seriously, not taken as an 'offer at any proposal by way of accommodation'—this casual piece of jocosity, picked out of a three hours' conversation; reported by one interlocutor without the privity of the other; and, if taken seriously, at variance with every other part of the conversation, and unconnected with its general tenor, is gravely brought forward as a proof that a man, otherwise honest, deliberately intended to use 'simony' as a bait to tempt a divine to what both parties *knew* to be 'perjury.'
>
> "If Mr. Macaulay were Crown counsel arguing for Penn's conviction before a common jury, such a 'point' would be too gross even for the license of the Old Bailey. But if this be admitted as a canon, not of the venal advocate, but of the grave historian, who, by virtue of his function, is bound to judicial soberness and impartiality, God help the characters of all honest men."*

Before dismissing this subject, it may be remarked that, from Doct. Hough's account of the transaction, it appears he had little hopes from Wm. Penn's interference, because "he appeared very solicitous to clear Lord Sunderland of suspicion, and to throw the odium upon the chancellor," the violent and unprincipled Jefferies. Is there not reason to suppose that Penn was right in this opinion? But even if mistaken, his conclusion very naturally grew out of his friendship for Sunderland, with whom he had long been acquainted.

Another remark was evidently not pleasing to Doct. Hough; "for my part," said Penn, "I have always declared my opinion that the preferments of the church should not be put into any other hands, but such as they at present are in; but I hope you would not have the two Universities such invincible bulwarks for the church of England, that none but they must be capable of giving their children a learned education." This intimation that the bounty of the state should not be restricted, so as to prevent Dissenters from sharing its benefits, though evidently a just sentiment, could not have been agreeable to a zealous churchman, who probably suspected him of a desire to subvert the established church. Notwithstanding this prejudice on the part of Doct. Hough, his relation of the interview affords no foundation for the charges of Macaulay, and "it would be hard to find any other history where the very virtues of a man are thus twisted into grounds for the most injurious attacks upon his character."*

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* Tablet, March 10, 1849.

In the first paragraph quoted from Macaulay, he takes occasion to remark concerning Penn, that "titles and phrases against which he had often borne his testimony, dropped occasionally from his lips and his pen." No proof of this assertion has been offered, nor is there any writing of his, nor any cotemporary evidence, known to the public, by which it can be substantiated. The conclusion necessarily follows, that the charge is founded on the anonymous letter already quoted, *which Wm. Penn disowned;* and that Macaulay's inducement for attributing that letter to him was, to found upon it an argument for his insincerity.

The following remarks and anecdote from the pen of an elegant female historian, show that Wm. Penn, in his intercourse with his royal patron, did not depart from that plainness of address for which he suffered in early life.† "It was, after all, says Agnes Strickland, "James's greatest glory that his name should have been associated with that of the benignant founder of the Utopia of the new world, Pennsylvania. That the royal admiral with his passion for naval glory, the despotic monarch with his stately ideas of 'the divinity that hedges in a King,' and all the hot zeal of a convert to Romanism about him, could enter with sympathy and delight into the enlightened views of that pure-minded Christian philosopher, William Penn, is an interesting fact, and not less strange than true. James once condescended to use a playful reproof to the peculiarity of the Quaker, who, the first time he entered his presence after he became King, did so with his hat on.

"James immediately took off his own. 'Friend James,' said Penn, 'why dost [thou] uncover thy head?' 'Because,' replied his majesty with a smile, 'it is the fashion here for only one man to wear his hat.' "‡

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* Foster.

† Queens of Eng., Mary Beatrice of Modena.

‡ Queens of Eng., Mary Beatrice of Modena.

It is related by an American writer, that "the King asked Wm. Penn to explain the difference between their religions, the Roman Catholic and that of the Quakers, he answered, by comparing the one to the hat then worn by himself, which was plain; the other to that of the king, which was adorned with feathers and ribands. 'The only difference,' said he, 'lies in the ornaments which have been added to thine.'"*

If, in his intercourse with the king, he adhered to his plain, unceremonious address, can we suppose he would depart from it in his converse with persons of less exalted rank?

The Memoir of Lawton, quoted in the preceding chapter, gives a most satisfactory view of the manner in which Penn employed his influence at court;—soliciting a free pardon for religious Dissenters and political offenders,—advising the recall of the fugitives from Holland,—remonstrating against the arbitrary proceeding of the king towards the corporations and the church,—and beseeching him to liberate the bishops from the Tower: but the infatuated monarch, deluded by his priests and betrayed by his counsellors, neglected, until too late, to profit by the advice of his best and wisest friend.

It is, nevertheless, asserted by Macaulay, that "his enthusiasm for one great principle, sometimes impelled him to violate other great principles which he ought to have held sacred."

This general accusation must fall to the ground, if the specific charges on which it is founded have been fully disproved, and it may be sufficient to adduce William Penn's indignant denial, addressed to "A Nameless Author," who had published a similar aspersion.

This author had charged him with "showing an intemperate zeal for a boundless liberty of conscience." "Not more intemperate," says Penn, "in the reign that favored it, than in the reign I contended with, that did not favor it: and no man but a persecutor, which I count a beast of prey, and a declared enemy of mankind, can, without great injustice or ingratitude, reproach the part I had in King James's court. For I think I may say, without vanity, upon this provocation, I endeavored at least to do some good at my own cost, and would have been glad to have done more: I am very sure I intended, and I think I did, harm to none, neither parties, nor private persons, my own family excepted; for which I doubt not this author's pardon, since he shows himself so little concerned for the master of it."*

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* J. F. Fisher, in Mem. P. Hist. Soc., Vol. iii. Part ii.

The only point remaining of sufficient importance to be noticed here, is the assertion of Macaulay concerning Penn, that "his own sect looked coldly on him and requited his services with obloquy."† This remark relates to that part of his life which was passed near the court; but if he was innocent of the faults imputed to him, as has been clearly shown, the point of the remark will be directed, not against him, but against the members of his Society, who failed to appreciate his merits and to sustain his exertions, made chiefly on their behalf. This, if it were true, would only add another to the many instances on record, showing that the greatest benefactors of the human race have not been rewarded with the gratitude they deserved. But although there were, doubtless, individuals among the Friends whose confidence in him was shaken by the popular clamor, there is no evidence that the Society, as a body, or any considerable part of it, "looked coldly on him or rewarded his services with obloquy." Macaulay's authority for this assertion is probably Gerard Croese, who, not being a member of the Society, could not have been so well acquainted with the sentiments of the body, as their own accredited historians, Besse, Sewell, and Gough, who always speak of Wm. Penn in terms of unqualified approbation. In the autobiography of Ellwood, and the journals of Story, Richardson, and other members who were cotemporaries with Penn, he is always mentioned with affection and esteem. "It may be confidently stated," says W. E. Forster, "that Mr. Macaulay would not be able to find, either on the records of the Society of Friends, or in the journals of any of its leading members, any passage which would support his insinuation."‡

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* Penn's Select Works, in folio, 692.

† Macaulay, i. 163.

‡ In Dixon's Life of Penn, this sentiment is corroborated. He says, "the statement [of Macaulay] is not, however, merely unsupported, but it is positively contradicted by the Devonshire House Records. These prove that at this time Penn

There is, however, a note in Clarkson's Life of Penn, intended to show that many of the Friends thought "he had meddled more with politics, or with the concerns of the government, than became a member of their Christian body, though they allowed that he took such a part often out of pure benevolence to others." This may be admitted without impeaching the character of Penn, or discrediting the gratitude of Friends. They had always discouraged their members from taking an active part in British politics. Before Wm. Penn became a member, Geo. Fox had issued a caution to Friends to "keep clear of all the commotions of the world, and not to intermeddle with the powers of the earth, but to let their conversation be in heaven." The same sentiment still prevailed in the society, and they seldom engaged in politics, except in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where the power being chiefly in their own hands, they thought it could be administered on Christian principles.

So far was the Society from rewarding him with obloquy, that we shall find, in the time of his deepest humiliation, when, after the revolution, he was falsely accused of treasonable correspondence,—a royal proclamation being issued for his apprehension,—and the public mind exasperated against him; he wrote a letter to Lord Romney, in which he says: "I do not only humbly offer my solemn promise of an inoffensive behavior, but the security of a Society of honest, sober people, that I dare believe will be the pledges of my peaceable living; than which no man can tender a greater to any government in a private case."* Can it be possible that he would offer such a pledge, if the Society looked coldly on him?

Having now examined and refuted all the charges preferred against his moral character in Macaulay's History of England, little more remains to be said; for the unprejudiced reader must have come to the conclusion, that how deep soever may be the learning and fascinating the style of that popular essayist; he lacks one indispensable quality of the historian, for the absence

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was in regular attendance at the monthly meetings, and was elected to the highest offices in the body." Page 340.

* Mem. Pa. Hist. Soc., vol. iv. part. i. 192.

of which, all his brilliant parts can never atone: and that is, scrupulous fidelity.

This conclusion is corroborated by the judgment of a British critic in the Westminster Review. "Induced," he says, "as we have been by the voice of the calumniator, to give the character of Penn a searching and uncompromising scrutiny, we rise from the task under the firm conviction that he was one of the best and wisest of men."

In order to estimate fairly the character of this great and good man, we must view him under all the phases of his changing fortunes. That part of his life which has been here passed in review, may be considered, by some, the brightest part of his career, for he was then the companion of princes, the dispenser of royal favors, the most admired legislator of the new world: but we shall find, as we proceed in tracing his history, that in the deep humiliations which ensued, his character shone with equal lustre. It was then, when forced by the malice of his enemies to seclude himself, for a time, from public view, that some of his most valuable works were written; for as the diamond, when taken into the dark, emits the light previously absorbed; so did his clear and well-stored mind, from the obscurity of his retreat, send forth its treasures of wisdom.

It has been remarked by Macaulay, that he was "not a man of strong sense," but if equanimity, both in prosperity and adversity,—if enlarged views on religion and government, beyond the most enlightened minds of his day,—if success in carrying his principles into practice without any compromise; do not entitle him to the credit of a vigorous intellect, as well as a noble and generous heart, then may we search in vain for these high qualities among the records of the past.

CHAPTER XXIII.

William Penn visits Whitehall with G. Latey; Clergy required to read the Declaration of Indulgence; Bishops sent to the Tower; Their Trial and Acquittal; William Penn opposed to their Commitment, but shares the odium of it; Elegant Letter of W. Popple, and William Penn's Answer; Landing of the Prince of Orange; Well received by the nation; Irresolution of the King; He is forsaken by his own children; withdraws to France; William and Mary Proclaimed; Effect of the Revolution on William Penn.

1688.

In one of William Penn's visits to Whitehall, in company with George Whitehead, they met with Gilbert Latey, another minister in the society of Friends, whom they asked if he would go with them to wait upon the King. He paused awhile to consider, and at length consented to go. The interview is thus related by Clarkson:

> "George Whitehead and William Penn, having spoken what they had to say, the King was pleased to ask Gilbert, whether he had not something to say, upon which he, in a great deal of humility, spake in the manner following: 'The mercy, favor and kindness which the King hath extended to us as a people in the time of our exercise and sore distress, we humbly acknowledge; and I truly desire that God may show him mercy and favor in the time of *his trouble and sore distress.*' To which the King replied, 'I thank you;' and so at that time they parted. But what was then spoken by Gilbert, lived with the King, who, some time after, when he was in Ireland, desired a Friend to remember him to Gilbert. 'Tell him,' said the King, 'the words he spake to me I shall never forget;' adding that one part of them had come true, (*the Revolution and sore distress thereby*), and that he prayed to God that the other might come to pass. Upon this, Gilbert caused it to be signified to him, that the second part of what he had said, was also, in a great measure, come to pass, for that the Lord had given him his life," (*alluding to the Battle of the Boyne*).

In the spring of the year 1688, the King issued his declaration for liberty of conscience and the suspension of the tests, accompanied with the assertion of his determination to put none into office who did not concur in it. At the same time an order of council was published, requiring the clergy to read the declaration in their churches immediately after divine service. This order was extremely offensive to the clergy of the established church—they disapproved of the measure as being, in their view, calculated to subvert the Protestant religion; but the chief ground on which they opposed it was, the unpopular prerogative claimed by the King, to dispense with or suspend the laws of the realm.

Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and six other bishops, presented a respectful petition to the King showing their reasons for declining to comply with his mandate. James was highly incensed; he affected to consider their petition, though delivered to him in private, a seditious libel, and the bishops refusing to give bail, he committed them to the Tower, and gave directions to the crown lawyers to prosecute them.

No act of his unpopular reign was more fatal to the stability of his throne. The proceedings were watched by the people with the utmost solicitude, and when they saw the venerated prelates conveyed to the Tower under the custody of a guard, they crowded around them in immense multitudes, imploring their blessing, and invoking the favor of heaven for their protection.

When they were conducted to trial, equal or greater crowds attended them, listened with intense anxiety for the result, and when they were acquitted, the air was rent with the triumphant shouts of the people.*

William Penn was not only "against this commitment, but the day the Prince of Wales was born he went to the King and pressed him exceedingly to set them at liberty."† Yet the public being unconscious of the wise council he gave, and regarding him only as a friend of the King, looked upon him with increasing suspicion. In addition to the odium he shared with his sovereign, he was rendered more unpopular by the discovery that he had been employed by the King on a mission to the

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* Hume, Clarkson, &c.

† Lawton's Memoir, before quoted.

Prince of Orange, for the removal of the tests, and that he was the author of the anonymous work, already noticed, called "Good Advice to the Church of England." That work, though now regarded as highly meritorious, being then far in advance of the age, subjected its author to public opprobrium

His friends, apprehensive that his reputation might be impaired by groundless reports and malicious slanders, felt desirous that he should take some public method to vindicate his character, and one of them, William Popple, Secretary to the Board of Trade and Plantations, sent him the following beautiful letter:

"To the Honorable William Penn, Esq.,
"Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania:

"Honored Sir—Though the friendship with which you are pleased to honor me, doth afford me sufficient opportunities of discoursing with you upon any subject, yet I choose rather at this time to offer unto you in writing some reflections which have occurred to my thoughts in a matter of no common importance. The importance of it doth primarily and directly respect yourself, and your own private concernments; but it also consequentially and effectually regards the King, his government, and even the peace and settlement of this whole nation. I entreat you, therefore, to bear with me, if I endeavor in this manner to give somewhat more weight unto my words than would be in a transient discourse, and leave them with you as a subject that requires your retired consideration.

"You are not ignorant that the part you have been supposed to have had of late years in public affairs, though without either the title, or honor, or profit of any public office, and that especially your avowed endeavors to introduce among us a general and inviolable liberty of conscience in matters of mere religion, have occasioned the mistakes of some men, provoked the malice of others, and in the end have raised against you a multitude of enemies, who have unworthily defamed you with such imputations as I am sure you abhor. This I know you have been sufficiently informed of, though I doubt you have not made sufficient reflection upon it. The consciousness of your own innocence seems to me to have given you too great a contempt of such unjust and ill-grounded slanders; for, however glorious it is and reasonable for a truly virtuous mind, whose inward peace is founded upon that rock of innocence, to despise the empty noise of popular reproach, yet even that sublimity of spirit may sometimes swell to a reprovable excess. To be steady and immovable in the prosecution of wise and honest resolutions, by all honest and prudent means, is indeed a duty that admits of no exception; but nevertheless it ought not to hinder that, at the same time there be also a due care taken of preserving a fair reputation. 'A good name,' says the Wise Man, 'is better than precious ointment.' It is a perfume that recommends the person whom it accompanies, that procures him everywhere an easy acceptance, and that facilitates the success of all his enterprises; and for that reason, though there were no other, I entreat you, observe, that the care of a man's reputation is an essential part of that very same duty that engages him in the pursuit of any worthy design.

"But I must not entertain you with a declamation upon this general theme. My business is to represent to you more particularly those very imputations which are cast upon yourself, together with some of their evident consequences; that, if possible, I may thereby move you to labor after a remedy. The source of all arises from the ordinary access you have unto the King, the credit you are supposed to have with him, and the deep jealousy that some people have conceived of his intentions in reference to religion. Their jealousy is, that his aim has been to settle Popery in this nation, not only in a fair and secure liberty, but even in a predominating superiority over all other professions; and from hence the inference follows, that whosoever has any part in the councils of this reign, must needs be popishly affected; but that to have so great a part in them as you are said to have had, can happen to none but an absolute Papist. That is the direct charge: but that is not enough; your post is too considerable for a Papist of an ordinary form, and therefore you must be a Jesuit: nay, to confirm that suggestion, it must be accompanied with all the circumstances that may best give it an air of probability; as, that you have been bred at St. Omer's in the Jesuits' College; that you have taken orders at Rome, and there obtained a dispensation to marry; and that you have since then frequently officiated as a priest in the celebration of the mass at Whitehall, St. James's, and other places. And this being admitted, nothing can be too black to be cast upon you. Whatsoever is thought amiss either in Church or State, though never so contrary to your advice, is boldly attributed to it; and, if other proofs fail, the Scripture itself must be brought in to confirm. 'That whosoever offends in one point (in a point especially so essential as that of our too much affected uniformity,) is guilty of the breach of all our laws.' Thus the charge of Popery draws after it a tail like the *et cætera* oath, and by endless *inuendoes* prejudicates you as guilty of whatsoever malice can invent or folly believe. But that charge, therefore, being removed, the inferences that are drawn from it will vanish, and your reputation will easily return to its former brightness.

"Now, that I may the more effectually persuade you to apply some remedy to this disease, I beseech you, sir, suffer me to lay before you some of its pernicious consequences. It is not a trifling matter for a person, raised as you are above the common level, to lie under the prejudice of so general a mistake in so important a matter. The general and long prevalency of any opinion gives it a strength, especially among the vulgar, that is not easily shaken. And as it happens that you have also enemies of a higher rank, who will be ready to improve such popular mistakes by all sorts of malicious artifices, it must be taken for granted that those errors will be thereby still more confirmed, and the inconveniences that may arise from thence no less increased. This, sir, I assure you, is a melancholy prospect to your friends; for we know you have such enemies. The design of so universal a liberty of conscience, as your principles have led you to promote, has offended many of those whose interest it is to cross it. I need not tell you how many and how powerful they are; nor can I tell you either how far, or by what ways and means, they may endeavor to execute their revenge. But this, however, I must needs tell you—that, in your present circumstances, there is sufficient ground for so much jealousy at least as ought to excite you to use the precaution of some public vindication. This the tenderness of friendship prompts your friends to desire of you; and this the just sense of your honor, which true religion does not extinguish, requires you to execute.

"Pardon, I entreat you, sir, the earnestness of these expressions; nay, suffer me, without offence, to expostulate with you yet a little further. I am fearful lest these personal considerations should not have their due weight with you, and therefore I cannot omit to reflect also upon some more general consequences of your particular reproach. I have said it already, that the King, his honor, his government, and even the peace and settlement of this whole nation, either are or have been concerned in this matter: your reputation, as you are said to have meddled in public affairs, has been of public concernment. The promoting a general liberty of conscience having been your particular province, the aspersion of Popery and Jesuitism, that has been cast upon you, has reflected upon his Majesty, for having made use, in that affair, of so disguised a personage as you are supposed to have been. It has weakened the force of your endeavors, obstructed their effect, and contributed greatly to disappoint this poor nation of that inestimable happiness, and secure establishment, which I am persuaded you designed, and which all good and wise men agree that a just and inviolable liberty of conscience would infallibly produce. I heartily wish this consideration had been sooner laid to heart, and that some demonstrative evidence of your sincerity in the profession you make had accompanied all your endeavors for liberty.

"But what do I say, or what do I wish for? I confess that I am now struck with astonishment at that abundant evidence which I know you have constantly given of the opposition of your principles to those of the Romish Church, and at the little regard there has been had to it. If an open profession of the directest opposition against Popery that has ever appeared in the world, since Popery was first distinguished from common Christianity, would serve the turn, this cannot be denied to all those of that society with which you are joined in the duties of religious worship. If to have maintained the principles of that society by frequent and fervent discourses, by many elaborate writings, by suffering ignominy, imprisonment, and other manifold disadvantages, in defence thereof, can be admitted as any proof of your sincere adherence thereunto; this, it is evident to the world, you have done already. Nay, further: if to have inquired, as far as was possible for you, into the particular stories that have been framed against you, and to have sought all means of rectifying the mistakes upon which they were grounded, could in any measure avail to the setting a true character of you in men's judgments, this also I know you have done. For I have seen, under the hand of a reverend dean of our English church (Dr. Tillotson), a full acknowledgment of satisfaction received from you in a suspicion he had entertained upon one of those stories, and to which his report had procured too great credit. And though I know you are averse to the publishing of his letter without his express leave, and perhaps may not now think fit to ask it; yet I am so thoroughly assured of his sincerity and candor, that I cannot doubt but he has already vindicated you in that matter, and will (according to his promise) be still ready to do it upon all occasions. Nay, I have seen also your justification from another calumny of common fame, about your having kidnapped one who had been formerly a monk, out of your American province, to deliver him here into the hands of his enemies; I say, I have seen your justification from that story under that person's own hand; and his return to Pennsylvania, where he now resides, may be an irrefragable confutation of it to any that will take the pains to inquire thereinto.

"Really it afflicts me very much to consider that all this does not suffice. If I had not that particular respect for you which I sincerely profess, yet I could not but be much affected, that any man, who had deservedly acquired so fair a reputation as you have formerly had, whose integrity and veracity had always been reputed spotless, and whose charity had been continually exercised in serving others, at the dear expense of his time, his strength, and his estate, without any other recompense than what results from the consciousness of doing good: I say, I could not but be much affected, to see any such person fall innocently and undeservedly under such unjust reproaches as you have done. It is a hard case; and I think no man that has any bowels of humanity can reflect upon it without great relentings.

"Since, therefore, it is so, and that something remains yet to be done—something more express, and especially more public, than has yet been done—for your vindication, I beg of you, dear sir, by all the tender efficacy that friendship, either mine or that of your friends and relations together, can have upon you; by the due regard which humanity, and even Christianity, obliges you to have to your reputation; by the duty you owe unto the King; by your love to the land of your nativity; and by the cause of universal religion, and eternal truth, let not the scandal of insincerity, that I have hinted at, lie any longer upon you; but let the sense of all these obligations persuade you to gratify your friends and relations, and to serve your King, your country, and your religion, by such a public vindication of your honor, as your own prudence, upon these suggestions, will now show you to be most necessary and most expedient. I am, with unfeigned and most respectful affection, honored sir, your most humble and most obedient servant, WILLIAM POPPLE.

"London, Oct. 20, 1688."

William Penn's answer was in a style of corresponding elegance, being as follows:

"WORTHY FRIEND—It is now above twenty years, I thank God, that I have not been very solicitous what the world thought of me: for since I have had the knowledge of religion from a principle in myself, the first and main point with me has been to approve myself in the sight of God through patience and well-doing: so that the world has not had weight enough with me to suffer its good opinion to raise me, or its ill opinion to deject me. And if that had been the only motive or consideration, and not the desire of a good friend in the name of many others, I had been as silent to thy letter as I used to be to the idle and malicious shams of the times: but, as the laws of friendship are sacred with those that value that relation, so I confess this to be a principal one with me, not to deny a friend the satisfaction he desires, when it may be done without offence to a good conscience.

"The business chiefly insisted upon is my Popery, and endeavors to promote it. I do say, then, and that with all sincerity, that I am not only no Jesuit, but no Papist; and which is more, I never had any temptation upon me to be it, either from doubts in my own mind about the way I profess, or from the discourses or writings of any of that religion. And, in the presence of Almighty God, I do declare, that the King did never once, directly or indirectly, attack me or tempt me upon that subject, the many years that I have had the advantage of a free access to him; so unjust, as well as sordidly false, are all those stories of the town.

"The only reason that I can apprehend, they have to repute me a Roman Catholic, is my frequent going to Whitehall, a place no more forbid to me than to the rest of the world, who yet, it seems, find much fairer quarter. I have almost continually had one business or other there for our Friends, whom I ever served with a steady solicitation through all times since I was of their communion. I had also a great many personal good offices to do, upon a principle of charity, for people of all persuasions; thinking it a duty to improve the little interest I had for the good of those that needed it, especially the poor. I might add something of my own affairs too, though I must own, if I may without vanity, that they have ever had the least share of my throughts or pains, or else they would not have still depended as they yet do.

"But because some people are so unjust as to render instances for my Popery, or rather hypocrisy, for so it would be in me, 'tis fit I contradict them as particularly as they accuse me. I say, then, solemnly, that I am so far from having been bred at St. Omers, and having received orders at Rome, that I never was at either place, nor do I know anybody there; nor had I ever a correspondence with anybody in those places: which is another story invented against me. And, as for my officiating in the King's chapel, or any other, it is so ridiculous as well as untrue, that, besides that nobody can do it but a priest, and that I have been married to a woman of some condition above sixteen years, which no priest can be by any dispensation whatever, I have not so much as looked into any chapel of the Roman religion, and consequently, not the King's, though a common curiosity warrants it daily to people of all persuasions.

"And once for all, I do say that I am a Protestant Dissenter, and to that degree such, that I challenge the most celebrated Protestant of the English church, or any other, on that head, be he layman or clergyman, in public or in private. For I would have such people know, 'tis not impossible for a true Protestant Dissenter to be dutiful, thankful, and serviceable to the King, though he be of the Roman Catholic communion. We hold not our property or protection from him by our persuasion, and, therefore, his persuasion should not be the measure of our allegiance. I am sorry to see so many, that seem fond of the reformed religion, by their disaffection to him recommend it so ill. Whatever practices of Roman Catholics we might reasonably object against, and no doubt but such there are, yet he has disclaimed and reprehended those ill things by his declared opinion against persecution, by the ease in which he actually indulges all Dissenters, and by the confirmation he offers in Parliament for the security of the Protestant religion and liberty of conscience. And in his honor, as well as in my own defence, I am obliged in conscience to say, that he has ever declared to me it was his opinion; and on all occasions, when Duke, he never refused me the repeated proofs of it, as often as I had any poor sufferers for conscience sake to solicit his help for.

"But some may be apt to say, 'Why not anybody else as well as I? Why must I have the preferable access to other Dissenters, if not a Papist? I answer, I know not that it is so. But this I know, that I have made it my province and business; I have followed and prest it; I took it for my calling and station, and have kept it above these sixteen years; and which is more (if I may say it without vanity or reproach), wholly at my own charges too. To this let me add the relation my father had to this King's service, his particular favor in getting me released out of the Tower of London, in 1669, my father's humble request to him upon his death-bed to protect me from the inconveniences and troubles my persuasion might expose me to, and his friendly promise to do it, and exact performance of it from the moment I addressed myself to him; I say, when all this is considered, anybody, that has the least pretence to good nature, gratitude, or generosity, must needs know how to interpret my access to the King. Perhaps some will be ready to say, 'This is not all, nor is this yet a fault; but that I have been an adviser in other matters disgustful to the kingdom, and which tend to overthrow the Protestant religion and the liberties of the people.—A likely thing, indeed, that a Protestant Dissenter, who from fifteen years old has been (at times) a sufferer in his father's family, in the University, and by the government, for being so, should design the destruction of the Protestant religion! This is just as probable as it is true that I died a Jesuit six years ago in America—will men still suffer such stuff to pass upon them?—Is any thing more foolish, as well as false, than that because I am often at Whitehall, therefore I must be the author of all that is done there that does not please abroad?—But supposing some such things to have been done, pray tell me, if I am bound to oppose any thing that I am not called to do; I never was a member of council, cabinet, or committee, where the affairs of the kingdom are transacted. I have had no office, or trust, and consequently, nothing can be said to be done by me; nor for that reason, could I lie under any test or obligation to discover my opinion of public acts of state; and, therefore, neither can any such acts, or my silence about them, in justice be made my crime. Volunteers are blanks and cyphers in all governments. And, unless calling at Whitehall once a day, upon many occasions, or my not being turned out of nothing (for that no office is), be the evidence of my compliance in disagreeable things, I know not what else can, with any truth, be alleged against me. However, one thing I know, that I have everywhere most religiously observed, and endeavored, in conversation with persons of all ranks and opinions, to allay heats, and moderate extremes, even in the politics. It is below me to be more particular; but I am sure it has been my endeavor, that if we could not all meet upon a religious bottom, at least we might upon a civil one, the good of England, which is the common interest of King and people; that he might be great by justice, and we free by obedience; distinguishing rightly, on the one hand, between duty and slavery; and on the other, between liberty and licentiousness.

"But, alas! I am not without my apprehensions of the cause of this behavior towards me, and in this I perceive we agree—I mean my constant zeal for an impartial liberty of conscience. But if that be it, the cause is too good to be in pain about. I ever understood that to be the natural right of all men; and that he that had a religion without it, his religion was none of his own. For what is not the religion of a man's choice is the religion of him that imposes it: so that liberty of conscience is the first step to have a religion. This is no new opinion with me. I have writ many apologies within the last twenty years to defend it, and that impartially. Yet I have as constantly declared that bounds ought to be set to this freedom, and that morality was the best; and that as often as that was violated, under a pretence of conscience, it was fit the civil power should take place. Nor did I ever think of promoting any sort of liberty of conscience for anybody, which did not preserve the common

Protestancy of the kingdom, and the ancient rights of the government: for, to say truth, the one cannot be maintained without the other.

"Upon the whole matter, I must say, I love England; I ever did so; and that I am not in her debt. I never valued time, money, or kindred, to serve her and do her good. No party could ever bias me to her prejudice, nor any personal interest oblige me in her wrong: for I always abhorred discounting private favors at the public cost.

"Would I have made my market of the fears and jealousies of the people, when this King came to the crown, I had put twenty thousand pounds into my pocket, and an hundred thousand into my province; for mighty numbers of people were then upon the wing: but I waived it all; hoped for better times; expected the effects of the King's word for liberty of conscience, and happiness by it: and, till I saw my friends, with the kingdom, delivered from the legal bondage which penal laws for religion had subjected them to, I could with no satisfaction think of leaving England, though much to my prejudice beyond sea, and at my great expense here, having in all this time never had either office or pension, and always refusing the rewards or gratuities of those I have been able to oblige.

"If, therefore, an universal charity—if the asserting an impartial liberty of conscience—if doing to others as we would be done by, and an open avowing and steady practising of these things, in all times, and to all parties will justly lay a man under the reflection of being a Jesuit, or Papist of any rank, I must not only submit to the character, but embrace it too; and I care not who knows, that I can wear it with more pleasure than it is possible for them, with any justice, to give it me. For these are corner-stones and principles with me; and I am scandalized at all buildings which have them not for their foundations. For religion itself is an empty name without them—a whited wall, a painted sepulchre, no life or virtue to the soul, no good or example to one's neighbor. Let us not flatter ourselves; we can never be the better for our religion, if our neighbor be the worse for it. Our fault is, we are apt to be mighty hot upon speculative errors, and break all bounds in our resentments; but we let practical ones pass without remark, if not without repentance: as if a mistake about an obscure proposition of faith were a greater evil than the breach of an undoubted precept. Such a religion the devils themselves are not without; for they have both faith and knowledge: but their faith doth not work by love, nor their knowledge by obedience. And, if this be their judgment, can it be our blessing? Let us not, then, think religion a litigious thing, nor that Christ came only to make us good disputants, but that he came also to make us good livers: sincerity goes further than capacity. It is charity that deservedly excels in the Christian religion; and, happy would it be if, where unity ends, charity did begin, instead of envy and railing, that almost ever follow. It appears to me to be the way that God has found out and appointed to moderate our differences, and make them, at least, harmless to society: and, therefore, I confess, I dare not aggravate them to wrath and blood. Our disagreement lies in our apprehension or belief of things; and, if the common enemy of mankind had not the governing of our affections and passions, that disagreement would not prove such a canker, as it is, to love and peace, in civil societies.

"He that suffers his difference with his neighbor about the other world, to carry him beyond the line of moderation in this, is the worse for his opinion, even though it be true. It is too little considered by Christians, that men may hold the truth in unrighteousness; that they may be orthodox, and not know what spirit they are of. So were the Apostles of our Lord: they believed in him, yet let a false zeal do violence to their judgment, and their unwarrantable heat contradict the great end of their Saviour's coming, love.

"Men may be angry for God's sake, and kill people too. Christ said it, and too many have practised it. But what sort of Christians must they be, I pray, that can hate in His name who bids us love, and kill for His sake, that forbids killing, and commands love, even to enemies?

"Let not men, or parties, think to shift it off from themselves. It is not this principle, or that form, to which so great a defection is owing, but a degeneracy of mind from God. Christianity is not at heart; no fear of God in the inward parts; no awe of his Divine omnipresence. Self prevails, and breaks out, more or less, through all forms, but too plainly, (pride, wrath, lust, avarice,) so that, though people say to God, Thy will be done, they do their own; which shows them to be true heathens, under a mask of Christianity, that believe without works, and repent without forsaking; busy for forms, and the temporal benefits of them; while true religion, which is to visit the fatherless and the widow, and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world, goes barefoot, and, like Lazarus, is despised. Yet, this was the definition the Holy Ghost gave of religion, before synods and councils had the meddling with it and modelling of it. In those days bowels were a good part of religion, and that to the fatherless and widow at large. We can hardly now extend them to those of our own way. It was said by Him that could not say amiss, 'Because iniquity abounds, the love of many waxeth cold.' Whatsoever divides man's heart from God, separates it from his neighbor; and he that loves self more than God can never love his neighbor as himself. 'For,' as the Apostle said, 'if we do not love him whom we have seen, how can we love God, whom we have not seen?'

"O that we could see some men as eager to turn people to God as they are to blow them up, and set them one against another! But, indeed, those only can have that pure and pious zeal, who are themselves turned to God, and have tasted the sweetness of that conversion, which is to power, and not to form; to godliness, and not to gain. Such as those do bend their thoughts and pains to appease, not increase heats and animosities; to exhort people to look at home, sweep their own houses, and weed their own gardens. And in no age or time was there more need to set men at work in their own hearts than this we live in, when so busy, wandering, licentious a spirit prevails; for, whatever some men may think, the disease of this kingdom is sin, impiety against God, and want of charity to men. And, while this guilt is at our door, judgment cannot be far off.

"Now this being the disease, I will briefly offer two things for the cure of it:—

"The first is David's clean heart and right spirit, which he asked and had of God: without this we must be a chaos still: for the distemper is within; and our Lord said, all evil comes from thence. Set the inward man right, and the outward man cannot be wrong; that is the helm that governs the human vessel; and this nothing can do but an inward principle, the light and grace that came by Christ, which, the Scripture tells us, enlightens every one, and hath appeared to all men. It is preposterous to think that He who made the world, should show least care of the best part of it, our souls. No: He that gave us an outward luminary for our bodies, hath given us an inward one for our minds to act by. We have it; and it is our condemnation that we do not love it; and bring our deeds to it. 'Tis by this we see our sins, are made sensible of them, sorry for them, and finally forsake them. And he that thinks to go to heaven a nearer way, will, I fear, belate his soul, and be irrevocably mistaken. There are but goats and sheep at last, whatever shapes we wear here. Let us nct, therefore, dear friends, deceive ourselves. Our souls are at stake; God will not be mocked; what we sow we must expect to reap. There is no repentance in the grave; which shows that, if none there, then no where else. To sum up this divinity of mine: It is the light of Jesus in our souls that gives us a true sight of ourselves, and that sight that leads us to repentance; which repentance begets humility, and humility that true charity that covers a multitude of faults, which I call God's expedient against man's infirmity.

"The second remedy to our present distemper is this: Since all of all parties profess to believe in God, Christ, the Spirit, and Scripture; that the soul is immortal; that there are eternal rewards and punishments; and that the virtuous shall receive the one, and the wicked suffer the other: I say, since this is the common faith of Christendom, let us all resolve in the strength of God to live up to what we agree in, before we fall out so miserably about the rest in which we differ. I am persuaded, the charge and comfort which that pious course would bring us to, would go very far to dispose our nature to compound easily for all the rest, and we might hope yet to see happy days in poor England, for there I would have so good a work begun. And how is it possible for the eminent men of every religious persuasion, especially the present ministers of the parishes of England, to think of giving an account to God at the last day, without using the utmost of their endeavors to moderate the members of their respective communions towards those that differ from them, is a mystery to me.

"But this I know, and must lay it at their doors; I charge also my own soul with it; God requires moderation and humility from us; for he is at hand, who will not spare to judge our impatience, if we have no patience for one another. The eternal God rebuke, I beseech him, the wrath of man, and humble all under the sense of the evil of this day; and yet, unworthy as we are, give us peace for his holy name's sake.

"It is now time to end this letter, and I will now do it without saying any more than this: Thou seest my defence against popular calumny; thou seest what my thoughts are of our condition, and the way to better it; and thou seest my hearty and humble prayer to Almighty God to incline us to be wise, if it were but for our own sakes. I shall only add, that I am extremely sensible of the kindness and justice intended me by my friends on this occasion, and that I am for that, and many more reasons, thy obliged and affectionate friend,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"Teddington, October 24, 1688."

Within a fortnight from the date of this letter, the King's son-in-law, William, Prince of Orange, landed at Torbay with an army, having been invited over by many of the most influential among the nobility and gentry. He proposed to come, not as a conqueror, but as a protector of the Protestant religion, and in order to secure the liberties of the subject against the illegal exercise of the royal prerogative. He was joined by persons of the highest rank—part of the King's army, led by Lords Cornbury and Churchill, deserted to his standard—the popular feeling of the nation was strongly manifested in his favor; Prince George of Denmark, residing in England, and even Anne his wife, the daughter of King James, took sides with the invader.

The King had, in earlier life, proved himself a courageous man, he had been an able and successful commander, by land and by sea, his firmness amounted even to obstinacy; but now he was agitated and unnerved by this universal defection; it fell upon him, blow after blow, with accumulated force, and when the last stroke came, in the desertion of his favorite daughter, being overwhelmed with grief, he exclaimed, "God, help me; my own children have forsaken me."

The sequel is well known, he seemed to lose his self-possession, and after making a few ill-directed and irresolute efforts, he sent away his Queen and the infant Prince, and soon after followed them to France.

The convention having declared the throne vacant, the Prince and Princess of Orange were crowned as joint sovereigns, under the title of William and Mary.

We can readily conceive that this sudden revolution, must have had for a time a melancholy influence on the feelings and prospects of William Penn.

In James he lost a friend and patron, to whom he was bound by the ties of gratitude and affection. He was not blind to the King's faults, but he attributed many of his worst measures to the bigotted priests and sordid courtiers by whom he was surrounded.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Progress of the Colony: Letter of William Penn about the caves at Philadelphia; An Indian alarm; C. Pusey and others visit the old chief; T. Lloyd wishes to retire from office; Letter of William Penn to him; Appointment of Gov. Blackwell; William Penn examined before the King and Council; Required to give Bail; Letter to Friends in Pennsylvania; Letter to Lord Shrewsbury; William Penn is cleared; Act of Toleration; William Penn determines to return to Pennsylvania; Gov. Blackwell resigns; T. Lloyd again in office; William Penn's Letters to Council; Directs a Public School to be instituted in Philadelphia.

1688–89.

While the continent of Europe was the theatre of desolating wars, and England was shaken by political convulsions, the colonists of Pennsylvania were quietly and successfully pursuing their industrial occupations. The woodman's axe was felling the primeval forest; the commodious farm-house had succeeded to the hunter's wigwam; orchards were blooming, and wheat and corn were waving, where lately the wild beast had made his lair. In the city new streets were opened or extended, dwellings, warehouses and public edifices were erected, and numerous vessels discharging at the wharves enlivened the scene, or, being laden, spread their canvass for foreign climes. But although the inhabitants were blessed with general prosperity and happiness, there were among the few engaged in public affairs some disturbing influences, and among the lower classes in the city, some disorders, which being reported to the proprietary in England, called forth his paternal admonitions.

In a letter addressed to the magistrates in 1688, he alludes to reports which had reached him concerning excesses committed in the caves at Philadelphia. These excavations in the banks of the Delaware had been made by the first settlers for temporary homes, but were now occupied by disorderly persons. He reminds them that those caves were his property and could not be used for such purposes, but must be reserved for the accommodation of poor immigrants. He further instructs them to reduce the number of ordinaries or drinking-houses, and to punish the offenders according to law.*

The colonists had lived on terms of the most cordial friendship with the neighboring Indian tribes, and each party had performed many kind offices for the other, but in the year 1688, an alarm was spread in the vicinity of Chester and Philadelphia, that an attack upon the whites was meditated by the natives. It was first communicated by an Indian woman of West Jersey to an old Dutch resident of Chester, and was soon after corroborated by another rumor that three families about nine miles from that place, had actually been destroyed. When these alarming reports reached Philadelphia the council was in session, and Caleb Pusey, one of its members, who was a Friend in high standing, from Chester County, offered to go to the place, where the Indians were said to be assembled, provided the council would appoint five others to go with him *unarmed*.† This being agreed to, they immediately proceeded thither on horseback, but instead of meeting five hundred warriors, as was reported, they found the old King quietly lying on his bed, the women at work in the fields, and the children at play. When they entered the wigwam, the King asked them "what they came for?" They related to him the report which the Indian woman had raised, and asked him if he had anything against the English. He seemed much displeased at the report, and said "the woman ought to be burned to death; they had nothing against the English," adding, "'tis true there are about fifteen pounds yet behind of our pay for the land William Penn bought, but as you are still on it and improving it to your own use, we are not in haste for our pay; but when the English come to settle it, we expect to be paid." This the messenger assured him should be done, and as they were about to leave he said, "As God has given you corn, I advise you to get it in (it being then harvest-time), for we intend you no harm."* The return of the messengers dispelled the fears of the people, and the result evinced the wisdom of the policy uniformly pursued by the friends of William Penn.

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* Proud's Hist. i. 296.

† Ibid, 337.

Thomas Lloyd, a minister of the Society of Friends, and a man of excellent character and abilities, had for some years been performing the executive functions of the government, first, as President of the Council, and afterwards as Chairman of the Commissioners appointed by the proprietary; but becoming weary of public affairs, he requested to be released from the burden, to which William Penn, by a letter written in 1687, reluctantly consented. A suitable person to supply his place not being readily found, the proprietary wrote to him in the year 1688 as follows: "No honor, interest, or pleasure in this part of the world shall be able to check my desire to live and die among you, and though my stay is yet prolonged on private and public accounts, yet depend upon it Pennsylvania is my worldly delight, and end of all places on earth.

"Now, though I have, to please thee, given thee a *quietus* from all public business, my intention is to constitute thee Deputy Governor, and two in the character of assistants, either of whom and thyself to be able to do all as fully as I myself can do, only I want thy consent to the employment, of which advise me. By all that is reverent, tender and friendly, I beseech thy care, condescension and help for that poor province. I am here serving God and Friends and the *nation*, which I hope God will reward to mine and you."†

As Thomas Lloyd still persisted in his desire to retire from the cares of government, and no other Friend, properly qualified, was found willing to accept the office of Deputy Governor, William Penn appointed to that station Captain John Blackwell, who had formerly held an important trust under the British government, and was highly recommended for his virtue and fidelity.

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* Proud, i. 335.

† Ibid, i. 334.

In his letter notifying the commissioners of this appointment, he states, that the change "was not because he was dissatisfied with their care and service;" and adverting to the character of Blackwell, he says, "for your ease, I have appointed one that is not a Friend, but a grave, sober, wise man. He married old General Lambert's daughter, was treasurer to the commonwealth's army in England, Scotland and Ireland: I suppose independent in judgment. Let him see what he can do awhile. I have ordered him to confer in private with you, and square himself by your advice. If he do not please you, he shall be laid aside. I desire you to receive him with kindness, and let him see it, and use his not being a Friend to Friends' advantage. He has a mighty repute of all sorts of honest people where he has inhabited, which, with my own knowledge, has made me venture upon him.

"I have rough people to deal with about my quit-rents, that yet cannot pay a ten pound bill, but draw, draw, draw still upon me. And it being his talent to regulate and set things in method easy and just, I have pitched upon him to advise therein."*

In his letter of instructions, dated in September, 1688, he directs Gov. Blackwell to send him a copy of the laws, which he had often requested before, but in vain; to be careful that speedy and impartial justice be done; to see that the widow, the orphan, and the absent be particularly regarded in their rights, to have a special care that the sheriffs and clerks of the peace impose not upon the people, and finally, "to rule the meek meekly, and those that will not be ruled, rule with authority." Captain Blackwell being in New England when appointed, did not reach Pennsylvania and assume his office until the following spring.

Soon after the revolution in England, the situation of William

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* Clarkson.

Penn became critical in the extreme; the influence he had possessed in the late reign was now turned against him; he was regarded by many as being disaffected to the government, a Jesuit in disguise, and an enemy to the Protestant cause.

To withdraw to Pennsylvania, where he knew his presence was needed, would subject him to the imputation of having fled to escape punishment, and thus give color to the aspersions of his enemies. To remain was hazardous, but honorable, and therefore he determined to stay and pursue his usual avocations.

On the 10th of December, (then 10th month, O. S.) 1688, as he was walking in Whitehall, he was sent for by the Lords of the Council then sitting. In reply to their questions, he assured them, "he had done nothing but what he could answer before God and all the princes in the world; that he loved his country and the Protestant religion above his life, and never acted against either; that all he ever aimed at in his public endeavors, was no other than what the Prince himself had declared for, that King James was always his friend and his father's friend, and in gratitude he was the King's, and did ever, as much as in him lay, influence him to his true interest."*

Although nothing appeared against him, he was required to give sureties for his appearance the first day of the next term.

While under bail for his appearance, he wrote the following letters:

TO FRIENDS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

"My Dear Friends and Brethren—If it be with you, as I can say it is with me, in the presence of God, then are we one in Him: for neither length of days, nor distance of place, nor all the many waters between us can separate my heart and affection from you. * * * *

"Great revolutions have been of late, in this land of your nativity; and where they may period the Lord knows. It can be no new thing for us to meet with exercises. Europe looks like a sea of trouble—wars all over it like to be this summer—I strongly desire to see you, before it be spent, if the Lord will; and I can say in his sight, that, to improve my interest with King James, for tender consciences, and that a Christian liberty might be legally settled, though against my own interest, was that which separated me from you chiefly—I desire your remembrance before the Lord; as you are not, and cannot be, forgotten in my addresses and approaches to him; who rest in his unchangeable love, dear friends and brethren, yours unalterably, in the communion of the blessed truth.

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* Life prefixed to his works.

"WILLIAM PENN.*

"The 2d of the first month, 1689."

TO THE LORD SHREWSBURY.

"I thought it would look rather foolish than innocent to take any notice of popular fame, but so soon as I could inform myself that a warwant was out against me, (which I knew not till this morning) it seemed to me a respect due to the government, as well as a justice to myself, to make this address, that so my silence might neither look like fear nor contempt: for as my innocence forbids the one, the sense I have of my duty will not let me be guilty of the other.

"That which I have humbly to offer is this:—I do profess solemnly in the presence of God, I have no hand or share in any conspiracy against the King or government, nor do I know any that have; and this I can affirm without directing my intention equivocally. And though I have the unhappiness of being very much misunderstood in my principles and inclinations by some people, I thought I had some reason to hope this King would not easily take me for a plotter, to whom the last government always thought me too partial. In the next place, as I have behaved myself peaceably, I intend by the help of God to continue to live so, but being already under an excessive bail, (where no order or matter appeared against me) and having, as is well known to divers persons of good credit, affairs of great consequence to me and my family now in hand that require to be despatched for America, I hope it will not be thought a crime that I do not yield up myself an unbailable prisoner, and pray the King will please to give me leave to continue to follow my concerns at my house in the country, which favor, as I seek it by the Lord Shrewsbury's mediation, so I shall take care to use it with discretion and thankfulness.

"I am his affectionate real friend, to serve him,

"WM. PENN.†

"March, (1st mo.) 1689."

At the next term his case was continued on the same security to the Easter term following, when nothing being laid to his charge, he was cleared in open court.‡

His manly avowal of his continued friendship for the exiled

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* Proud, i. 341

† Mem. H. S. P iv. i. 100..

‡ Proud, i. 347

King, who had been his own and his father's friend, was in strict accordance with his candid and noble character, but in striking contrast with the conduct of some who frequented the court of the reigning monarch.

In the year 1689 the Act of Toleration was passed by Parliament and approved by the King. This act provided, that none of the penal laws should be construed to extend to those Dissenters who should take the oaths to the present government, and a clause was inserted for the relief of the society of Friends, accepting from them, instead of the oaths, a solemn promise to be faithful to the King and Queen. So great had been the progress of public sentiment, that a bill abolishing the tests was, in conformity with the King's wishes, passed by the House of Commons, but rejected by the Peers by a large majority.*

The Papists, though not comprehended in the Act of Toleration, were by the King's clemency, allowed the benefit of the toleration. Although this act did not remove the tests by which Dissenters were excluded from Parliament, and from many offices under government, it was a great step towards a perfect liberty of conscience, and as such, must have been hailed with delight by William Penn, who for twenty years had been endeavoring to promote it.

There can be no doubt that the sufferings of Friends and other Dissenters, were instrumental in preparing the minds of the people for this salutary change in the policy of the government; but to Penn, more than to any other man, must it be attributed, for his numerous publications in its favor, while the liberal policy of his own government, and the remarkable prosperity of his province, must have exerted a considerable influence on the public mind.

One of the main objects of his stay in England being now accomplished, in the passage of this act, he determined to return to Pennsylvania as soon as the requisite preparations could be made. His presence in the province was rendered the more necessary as his deputy governor, from whom he had hoped so much, did not fulfil his expectations. Governor Blackwell met the Assembly, in the third month, 1689, but by reason of some misunderstanding or dissension between him and some of the Council, the public affairs were not transacted in harmony, and but little business was done during his administration, which lasted only till the twelfth month (February), when, by the advice of Penn, he resigned and returned to England. One cause of the disagreement was, the governor's attempt to raise a militia; another, that he undertook to inquire into the legality of the provincial trade with foreign countries, and, against the sense of the Council, declared such trade inadmissible under the royal charter, but finally he agreed to refer this question to the decision of the proprietary.* He appears to have been guilty of arbitrary and illegal proceedings against the members of the Council and Assembly, by whom they were firmly resisted.

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* Smollet's Cont. of Hume.

In the following fragment of a letter, from Penn to one of his friends, he gives his reasons for the appointment: "The reason I appointed Capt. Blackwell was, that Friends refused, (especially Thomas Lloyd, to whom I offered it,) and Capt. Blackwell, here, is of high repute as a wise and virtuous man, and yet, though treasurer, in the Commonwealth's time, to the army in England, Scotland and Ireland, a place in which he might have gained many thousands by the year, he was remarkably just, and refused all perquisites and a great place, in King Charles's and King James's time, in Ireland, because it depended upon them; besides, he was pregnant, experienced, and had formerly commanded men. I thought I had a treasure in him, and being not a Friend, could better deal with those that were not and stop their mouths, and be stiff with our neighbors upon occasion. This was my motive to have him, and so thou mayst tell others."†

On Blackwell's resignation, the executive duties again devolved on the Council, and Thomas Lloyd not being willing to refuse his assistance in this emergency, acted again as president. The following letter was at this time addressed by the proprietary:

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* Gordon.

† W. Penn's MS. Letters, Am. Ph. Soc. Phil.

TO THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL.

"London, 12th of 6th mo., 1689.

"Friends—I heartily wish you all well, and beseech God to guide you in the ways of righteousness and peace. I have thought fit upon my further stop in these parts, to throw all into your hands, that you may all see the confidence I have in you, and the desire I have to give you all possible contentment. I do earnestly press your constant attendance upon the government, and the diligent pursuit of peace and virtue; and God Almighty strengthen your hands in so good a work. I also recommend to you the particular discipline of that town you meet in; that sobriety and gravity be maintained, and authority kept in respect. As it comes in your way, countenance my officers in collecting my small revenue. Let the laws you pass, hold so long only as I shall not declare my dissent; that so my share may not be excluded, or finally concluded, without my notice; in fine, let them be confirmable by me, as you will see by the commission I left, when I left the province. And if you desire a deputy governor, rather name three, or five, and I shall name one of them; so as you consider of a comfortable subsistence, that the government may not go a begging. I do not this to lay a binding precedent, but to give you and the people you represent, the fullest pledges I am able, at this distance, of my regard to them. Whatever you do, I desire beseech, and charge you all to avoid factions and parties, whisperings and reportings, and all animosities; that putting your common shoulders to the public work, you may have the reward of good men and patriots; and so I bid you farewell. WILLIAM PENN."

As an evidence of his paternal care and regard for the colony, another letter to the same Board is here inserted:

TO THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL.

"Hammersmith, the 30th of the 10th mo., 1689.

"Dear Friends—I cannot slip this opportunity, but send you the endeared salutations of my love, that, in the truth, gives me frequent occasion to remember you, and earnestly desire your preservation to God, as well as your comfort and prosperity in outward things; about which have a care, that they grow not too fast upon you, nor too many for you—I mean as to the care and concerns that attend them, in the exercise of your spirits; for it is a blessed state to enjoy and use of the world, in the dominion of his life and power, that has quickened us by his light and spirit a people to himself; for in this stands all our peace and blessedness, that God be eyed in the first place, that we set him on our right hand; that we set him continually before our eyes; and that our eye be directed towards him, in all things, as the eye of a handmaid to her mistress; that we may be able to say, in truth and righteousness, we have none in Heaven but him, nor any on earth besides him. This it is, that keeps God's people every where; for hereby they put on Christ, in all his blessed teachings and leadings, and make no provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof. Friends, *these are deep words*, and *deeper things*. I know you understand me, and I hope you feel me, who have your eyes to the mark, and look to the joy before you, that is above all joys in this momentary, troublesome, busy world. And now, Friends, I have a word more to you, and that is this: that faith, hope, and charity, are the great helps and marks of true Christians; but, above all, charity is the love of God, or divine love; blessed are they that are come to it, and hold the Truth in it, and work and act in it; for they are poor indeed in spirit of their own, but rich in God's; they are meek, they inherit. All other states are a brangle in comparison: but this enjoys, this possesses, this reigns. Oh, come into this love more and more, for to this shall all gifts and operations give place, and they do so in the hearts of those that are come to know charity greatest in them. It will preserve peace in the church, peace in the State, peace in families, aye, and peace in particular bosoms. God Almighty draw, I beseech him, all your hearts into this heavenly love, more and more, that the work of it may shine out to God's glory, and your comfort. For matters here, as to myself, I am well and free; and for the church of God, liberty continues. But in the nations of Europe, great wars and rumors of wars, such as have not been, almost from the beginning; suns are turned into darkness, and moons into blood, for the notable day is at the door. It could be borne from some of you when you went for America, that such a day would come; but come and coming it is, for almost every eye sees it, and tongue says it, and some thousands, alas! have already felt it. Sanctify, therefore, the Lord in your hearts; be satisfied in him, and in your lot; and walk worthy of his daily mercy and attendance upon you, and care over you. And the Lord keep you to the end.

"I am, in the truth that makes us near to God, and one to another,
"Your faithful friend and brother, WM. PENN."

In a letter to Thomas Lloyd, President of the Council, written this year, Penn instructed him to set up a public Grammar School in Philadelphia, which he promised to incorporate at a future time.*

This gave rise to the "Friends' Public School," which was incorporated in 1697, confirmed by a fresh patent in 1701, and by another charter in 1708, whereby the corporation was forever thereafter to consist of fifteen discreet and religious persons of the people called Quakers, by name of "The Overseers of the Public School, founded in Philadelphia, at the request, cost and charges of the people called Quakers." But its last and present charter from William Penn, confirming the other charters and enlarging its privileges, is dated 29th of November, 1711, by which the election of the overseers is vested in the Corporation." In this excellent institution, the poor were taught gratuitously, others paid a proportion of the expense incurred in their children's education, and it was open on the same terms to all religious persuasions.*

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* Clarkson.

The first teacher was George Keith, a classical scholar, then a prominent minister among Friends, but afterwards a noted schismatic.

This institution affords evidence that William Penn and the early settlers of Pennsylvania appreciated the importance of a good education, and wished to see its advantages extended to all. The corporation still exists, and has under its charge a number of flourishing schools.

CHAPTER XXV.

William Penn Arrested; His manly and candid Defence; Required to give Bail: Is Cleared and makes preparations to go to Pennsylvania; Proclamation for his Arrest; He is Imprisoned; Death of George Fox; William Penn Accused by Fuller; Another order for his Arrest; He goes into Retirement; Writes an Epistle General to Friends; Letter to Lord Romney; Letter to T. Lloyd.

1690–91.

In the year 1690 William Penn was arrested and brought before the Lords of Council on a charge of holding a treasonable correspondence with the late King James. He desired to be taken before King William in person, which was granted, and the King, attended by his council, proceeded to examine him:

"A letter was then produced, which had been written to him by James, and which had been intercepted by government on its way, in which he (James) 'desired him (Penn) to come to his assistance, and to express to him the resentments of his favor and benevolence.' The question first put to William Penn was, why King James wrote to him? He answered, that it was impossible for him to prevent the King from writing to him, if he, the King, chose it. He was then questioned as to what resentments these were, which James seemed to desire of him. He answered, he knew not, but he supposed the King meant that he should endeavor his restoration. Though, however, he could not avoid the suspicion of such an attempt, he could avoid the guilt of it. He confessed he had loved King James, and, as he had loved him in his prosperity, he could not hate him in his adversity; yes, he loved him yet for the many favors he had conferred on him, though he could not join with him in what concerned the state of the kingdom. He owned again, that he had been much obliged to the King, and that he was willing to repay his kindness by any private service in his power; but that he must observe, inviolably and entirely, that duty to the state, which belonged to all the subjects of it; and, therefore, that he had never had the wickedness even to think of endeavoring to restore him that crown which had fallen from his head, so that nothing in that letter could, in anywise, fix guilt upon him."*

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* Proud, i. 344.

This manly and ingenuous defence had so much weight with the King that he was willing to discharge him, but some of the Council objecting, he, to please them, ordered him to give bail to appear at the next Trinity term; which being complied with, he was then allowed his personal liberty.

The foregoing account is derived from Clarkson, whose authority is Gerard Croese. It is corroborated by an extract from Picart's "Religious Customs and Ceremonies of Nations," in which, after alluding to James's letter, the author adds that "Penn was strictly examined concerning this correspondence. His *answer was noble, generous and wise;* but party animosity made it be looked upon in the hurry of spirits, at that time, as a barefaced espousing of King James's cause."

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* Clarkson.

At the time appointed, he appeared at court, but no one appearing against him, he was again honorably discharged. He now resumed his preparations for a voyage to America, but was soon involved in still greater trouble. During the summer of 1690, King William passed over to Ireland with an army to oppose the French and Irish forces under James, who had possession of that island. The French fleet was hovering on the English coasts, and the whole nation was in a state of alarm and excitement.

Queen Mary, being left at the helm of government, exerted herself with great vigor; and being apprehensive that the friends of the late King, her father, might seize this opportunity to raise a rebellion, she issued a proclamation for the arrest of eighteen persons supposed to be disaffected to the government. They were mostly noblemen and military officers, but William Penn, from his well-known friendship to James, was included among them. He was again apprehended and lodged in prison to await his trial. On the last day of Michaelmas term, he was brought before the court of the King's Bench, Westminster, but there being no sufficient evidence against him, he was again discharged.*

Being now at liberty, he issued printed proposals for a second settlement in Pennsylvania, which probably was designed to be on the Susquehannah. "He had so far prepared for his transportation that an order for a convoy was granted him by the Secretary of State,"† when his voyage was prevented by a fresh accusation. He had been attending at the death-bed of his loved and honored friend George Fox, who finished his course in London the 13th of the 11th month (January), 1690–91. The duty of communicating this mournful event to the widow, who was then in Lancashire, devolved upon William Penn: "I am," he says, "to be teller to thee of sorrowful tidings, in some respect, which is this: that thy dear husband, and my beloved and dear friend, finished his glorious testimony, this night, about half an hour after nine, being sensible to the last breath.

"O! he is gone, and has left us in the storm that is over our heads, surely in great mercy to him, but as an evidence to us of sorrow to come." In alluding to his powers as a minister of the Gospel, he says, "A prince indeed is fallen in Israel to-day." "He died as he lived a lamb, minding the things of God, and his church to the last, in our universal spirit."*

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* Life prefixed to his works.

† Ibid.

William Penn attended the funeral, and preached to the large concourse assembled, when he narrowly escaped being taken by officers, who were sent for that purpose, but mistaking the hour, came too late.

He subsequently learned that only two days previously, an infamous wretch named William Fuller, who the Parliament afterwards declared was "*a cheat* and a notorious imposter," had under oath accused him to the government, and that a warrant was issued for his apprehension.† This vexatious proceeding deranged all his plans; for to leave England while he was under suspicion and subject to arrest, would be construed by his enemies as an evidence of his guilt, and if, on the other hand, he gave himself up for trial, he would probably be subjected to danger from the oaths of a profligate villain, and even an acquittal, as he had frequently experienced, was no security against fresh accusations. In this sad dilemma, feeling like one hunted for his life, he concluded to defer his cherished purpose of returning to Pennsylvania; he allowed the vessels to depart without him, and having taken private lodgings in London, he lived in seclusion.

Here he devoted himself to study, to writing, and religious meditation, being also frequently visited by his friends, among whom was John Locke, and others eminent for their worth.

About this time, he addressed to the members of his own religious society, a letter which affords an interesting view of his state of mind and a touching evidence of his humility and resignation. It is found among the Penn MSS., in the archives of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, and appears to have been written by an amanuensis, but the interlineations and one entire paragraph are in his own handwriting, viz.:

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* Clarkson.

† Ibid.

AN EPISTLE GENERAL TO THE PEOPLE OF GOD, CALLED QUAKERS, BY THEIR FRIEND AND BROTHER WILLIAM PENN.

"Containing, 1st.—A testimony to the holy truth and way of God.

"2d.—An exhortation to the people of God to walk in it.

"3d.—A vindication of himself from the slanders of wicked men.

"Dearly beloved friends and brethren, to whom my soul wisheth the increase of grace, mercy, and peace from God our father and our Lord Jesus Christ:—

"It is now about 22 years since I embraced the testimony of the blessed truth and the fellowship of it amongst you, which is Christ the light of the world in us, the hope of the glory which is to come. I cannot repine, notwithstanding the many sorts of troubles and afflictions I have met withal on that account, whether they came from my near relations, or the governments of the world, or my neighbors, or my enemies, or my false friends, above all considerations I bow my knee to the God and father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory, with holy thanks and humble praises, that he has given me the knowledge of himself by the light and grace of his Son in my heart, unto which I turned in my youthful days by that *spiritual* and Gospel ministry that God has raised up amongst you, that reached the conscience in word and doctrine. And though I have been compassed about with manifold difficulties in my time and service, yet I can say my desire has been to serve him in the Gospel of his Son, for the exultation of his own glorious name and truth, according to the gift I received from him, from whom every good and perfect gift comes, who is the great *Father of lights and spirits*. By him alone it has been that I have been enabled to speak well of his name from the experience I have had of the goodness he has shown to my soul, both in his judgments and mercies; and I can say that his mercies endure forever; and they that will try, shall find, that *there is mercy with him, that he may be feared*. His word of light, grace and truth in the heart will cleanse the young man's ways, and guide the old man in the path he should walk, to peace. I found that from the revelation of this word in the soul, springs the true conviction and knowledge of God and a man's self, and by nothing else can man be convicted and born again. Further, I perceived that in this living, revealing word, standeth the true ministry and all acceptable private devotion—religion without this being an empty sound, an insipid thing, an image or picture of a living thing, but it is without real life and motion. To know the convincing, converting, and redeeming power of this word, and to be acquainted with the needful and excellent graces of it; for 'tis a word of faith, reconciliation and patience, meekness and regeneration,' I found there must be a sincere retirement of the soul from all self-love, and the lusts and vanities of the world, and an humble and steady waiting for its inward holy monitions and illuminations in the soul, and a resignation to the holy doctrine it teacheth, be it never so cross to our vain desires and carnal inclinations and customs, which unfolded to me the discipline of the *true cross of Christ*, and what it was to take it up daily and follow him that bore it, for the love of him, and that there was no other way to follow Jesus fully, and attain to the glory that shall hereafter be revealed, and that crown which never fades away. Now, friends, here you are, for God has brought you hither to this sense, knowledge, and experience of his new covenant work, which is the glory of the latter days, and though sown in clouds, yet you need not that any one should now teach you, saying, know the Lord, for I know you know him, and where he dwells, and how to approach him—and therefore here keep, and in the feeling and guidance of this divine word and oracle, abide. If any should call upon you, lo here! and lo there! go not forth, for if it were possible for an angel from heaven to come with another Gospel than this word of light and grace in the heart, let him be accursed. Whither should you, or can you go for true satisfaction, when this word hath the words of eternal life? and it cannot be otherwise, since in this word is life, and that light is the life of men, and this is the condemnation of the world that it has this light, and yet men will not bring their deeds to it; but the reason is plain, because they love darkness rather than light, and the cause of that is, because their deeds are evil, and will not bear the discovery of that blessed day dawning upon the soul.

"Wherefore, dear friends, that you may be new Covenant Children, true Jews, Circumcision in Spirit, Christians of Christ's christening, and making, by fire and by the Holy Ghost, by the holy water of the word of regeneration, that washes the inside and takes out the spots of the soul, and is called the *laver* of the word; I beseech you in the bowels of Christ Jesus to love this word, and hide it in your hearts, wait upon it and commune with it, that you may know it to be your holy oracle, to inspire, guide and order you through the whole course of your pilgrimage, till you shall have fought out the good fight of faith, and finished your course, and shall arrive at the rest of God, reserved by him for his people that endure to the end.

"And now, my friends, as concerning the present tossings and revolutions of things that are in the world, *let your eye be to God; believe not every spirit, nor lay hands suddenly on persons or things*, but be humble and sober, and do to others as you would that they should do to you, and stand still that you may see the salvation of God come in His own way, for so you are to receive it and share in it. And for those *clamors* that have almost darkened the air against *me*, your suffering friend and brother, be neither troubled nor captivated by them, but keep your minds chaste in the dwellings of truth, and possess your souls in patience, and in this true frame of spirit remember me as I have never forgotten you. But of one thing be assured, *I am innocent* both of the imputation of Jesuitism, Popery, and plots, and my God will in his good time confound their devices that trouble you and me with their false things, though I beseech him to forgive the authors of them as I desire mercy for my own soul. I have *little deserved* this measure and usage from any of the people of this nation. The Lord God Almighty knows I have universally sought the liberty and peace of it, and that nothing may take place to spoil or hinder that good work, nor can any upon earth justly task me with advancing any one thing that unbecomes a Christian and an Englishman; neither blood, popery, money, nor slavery, can be laid at my door. I wrought as well as I could with the strength and instruments I had, for a general good. If some things were done that were not well done and pleased not, it was no fault of mine, and that is well known to many persons of unquestionable truth.

"*I never accepted of any commission but that of a free and common Solicitor for sufferers of all sorts and in all parties*, which made my conversation very general. I thought that charity, which gave me that office, should know no man after the flesh, nor suffer bounds to any that needed it, nor do I find in my conscience that doing what good one can under any government is a sin or a fault, for which a man ought to be stigmatized or evilly entreated. I acknowledge I was an instrument to break the jaws of persecution; to that end I once took the freedom to remember King James of his frequent assurances in favor of liberty of conscience, and with much zeal used my small interest with him to gain that point upon his ministers that he told me were against it. That so the doors of our prisons and meeting houses, until that time cruelly shut against us, might be opened, and the poor and the widow, and the orphan, might come forth and praise God in the use of a just freedom. This and personal good offices were my daily business at Whitehall, of which I can take the righteous God of heaven and earth to witness. Nor can I yet see that providence of liberty and peace which we enjoyed under him, was such *a trick or snare* as some have represented it. Harm is to them that harm think; we sought but our just and Christian privilege, and I heartily wish that they that thought so may do better and answer that great expectation that has been raised in the people's minds about it. One thing I know—could I have apprehended that the good days we had during his reign, were a trick to introduce evil ones, all obligations would have ceased with me, and no man have more earnestly and cheerfully engaged after my manner against his government than myself. For, alas! what did I seek, or what have I got! what I have spent and lost is much harder to tell. But I leave that with a just and good God to reprize me and mine in his own way and time, as I do to vindicate my opprest innocency against my implacable adversaries, of whom with David I can say, 'they have hated me without a cause,' and as he expresses himself, Psalms 109, v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 'Hold not thy peace, O God of my praise, for the mouth of the wicked and the mouth of the deceitful are opened against me—with a lying tongue have they compassed me about, also with words of hatred; and fought against me without a cause; for my love they are my adversaries, but I give myself to prayer; and they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love.'

"The Lord God Almighty rebuke the wrath and wickedness of man, and look down from heaven upon this broken and sinful nation in his great mercy, and heal it of all its distempers, that we, notwithstanding the judgments of God that seem to gather over our heads as a dark cloud, may yet see righteousness and peace break forth in this land, as the sun in the fulness and strength of his glory. And for you, my dear brethren, in whose cause, and for whose sakes I have been as one killed all the day long, have your conversation, let me entreat you, according to the Gospel, in sobriety and humility, in patience and brotherly kindness. Be steadfast and immovable in every good word and work, that in all things you may walk as becometh the true disciples of Christ, whose kingdom is not of this world, and who teacheth his followers how to live in it as they ought to do, rather than how to get it, that so your Heavenly Father may be glorified by you, who is worthy, with the Son, to receive all glory and praise, with obedience and reverence, now and for ever.

"I am, in the sufferings and patience of the kingdom of Christ which yet remain, your faithful friend and brother, WM. PENN."

He had been little more than six weeks in retirement, when another proclamation was issued for his apprehension and that of Doctor Turner, Bishop of Ely, and James Graham, founded on the accusation of Fuller, that they were engaged in a conspiracy with the Earl of Clarendon, Viscount Preston, and others to send intelligence to King James the Second, and invite him back to England."*

If the government had been anxious for William Penn's apprehension, doubtless the officers could readily have found him at his private lodgings in London, but it appears probable that the King and Queen were satisfied of his innocence, and only permitted his name to be inserted in the proclamation for effect, in compliance with the wishes of some members of the cabinet, and to satisfy the clamors of the public.

The odium to which he was subjected now became greater than ever. His enemies reiterated the old charges of Jesuitism and Popery; the arbitrary and unpopular measures of King James were attributed to him, and he was everywhere held up as an object of public reprobation. With the exception of Dr.

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* Clarkson.

Tillotson and a few others, the clergy of the established Church felt great animosity against him for the part he had taken in promoting religious liberty, and even among the Dissenters, whose cause he had always espoused, many, misled by slanderous reports, branded him with opprobrious epithets. There is no reason to believe that he lost the esteem of his own religious society, but it appears that a few of its members allowed the popular clamor to influence their judgments concerning him.

The Yearly Meeting of Friends being assembled in London, he addressed them, from his retreat, the following touching and affectionate letter:

"3d mo. 30th, 1691.

"My Beloved, Dear, and Honored Brethren—My unchangeable love salutes you, and though I am absent from you, yet I feel the sweet and lovely life of your heavenly fellowship, by which I am with you, and a partaker amongst you, whom I have loved above my chiefest joy. Receive no evil surmisings: neither suffer hard thoughts, through the insinuations of any, to enter your minds against me, your afflicted, but not forsaken friend and brother. My enemies are yours, and, in the ground, mine for your sakes; and that God seeth in secret, and will one day reward openly. My privacy is not because men have sworn truly, but falsely, against me; '*for wicked men have laid in wait for me*, and *false witnesses have laid to my charge things that I knew not;*' who have never sought myself, but the good of all, through great exercises; and have done some good, and would have done more, and hurt no man; but always desired that truth and righteousness, mercy and peace, might take place amongst us. Feel me near you, my dear and beloved brethren, and leave me not, neither forsake, but wrestle with Him, that is able to prevail against the cruel desires of some; but we may yet meet in the congregations of His people, as in days past, to our mutual comfort. The everlasting God of His chosen, in all generations, be in the midst of you, and crown your most solemn assemblies with His blessed presence, that His tender, meek, lowly and heavenly love and life, may flow among you, and that He would please to make it a seasoning and fruitful opportunity to you, desiring to be remembered of you before Him, in the nearest and freshest accesses, who cannot forget you, in the nearest relation.

"Your faithful friend and brother, WILLIAM PENN."

In order that the King's mind might be disabused of the false impressions made by his accusers, Penn addressed to his friend, Henry Sidney, the following letters, viz:

TO THE LORD ROMNEY, TO SHOW KING WILLIAM.

"I thought I owed it to the King, to my friends, and to myself, to make this address, which is with all humility, and the respect that becomes me and my very afflicting circumstances, which I take the liberty by my friend's hand to recommend to the King's justice and goodness. To his justice, that he would not let himself be prevailed with to entertain such hard things of me, as the ignorance of some, and art and prejudice of others have suggested against me, for in those respects I am extremely injured—but if I am not to be believed, I can never hope to be justified in the opinion of the King, or of those that have been told ill things of me, against the current and designs of some people. To his goodness—To allow me to live quietly anywhere, either in this kingdom or in America, and that the King may be secured that I will make no ill use of his favor, I do not only humbly offer my solemn promise of an inoffensive behavior, *but the security of a society of honest, sober people, that I dare believe, will be the pledges of my peaceful living;* than which no man can tender a greater to any government in a personal case.

"My old and good friend, let me say with decency to the King, he owes thee as great a favor, and I will only add, that the King shall never have cause to repent of granting this request, but hope in some little time to convince him his favor is not flung away, if he pleases to bestow it. To conclude, if I am not worth looking after, let me be quiet; if I am of any importance, I am worth obliging, and it will perhaps, serve the King more than making me and my poor family unhappier than we are. Pray him to reflect on what passed the last time I saw him, and whatever anybody tells him, I am neither more culpable, nor less sincere and candid than he was pleased to think me at that time.

"I will not now make my complaints, but he neither knows nor can approve of the hardships I have undergone these two last years—enough to have provoked, it may be, a better man to a less peaceable and submissive conduct. Lay my case before him—I can leave it with him—and God Almighty dispose him to regard me and mine, under our present great and pressing difficulties, for I confess I can by no means think him so prejudiced or implacable as some represent him in my affair, and, therefore, I have refused all other offers of future safety or accommodation.

"Make the best use of this, and yet allow the old style of

"Thy affectionate faithful friend, WILLIAM PENN.

"22d. A. 91."

ANSWER.

"The King took it so, as I should not have been displeased to have heard it."*

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* Mem. Hist. Soc. Pa. iv. i. 192-4.

TO LORD ROMNEY.

"Let me be believed, and I am ready to appear, but when I remember how they began to use me in Ireland upon corrupt evidence before this business, and what some ill people have threatened here, besides those under temptation, and the providences that have successively appeared for my preservation under this retirement, I cannot, without an unjustifiable presumption, put myself into the power of my enemies. Let it be enough, I say, and that truly, I know of no invasions or insurrections, men, money, or arms, for them, or any juncto or consult for advice or correspondency in order to it. Nor have I ever met with those named as the members of this conspiracy, or prepared any measures with them, or any else for the Lord's [Sunderland?] to carry with him as one sense or judgment, nor did I know of his being sent for up for any such voyage. If I saw him a few days before by his great importunity, as some say, I am able to defend (myself) from the imputations cast upon me, and that with great truth and sincerity. Though in rigor, perhaps, it may incur the censure of a misdemeanor, and therefore I have no reason to own it without an assurance that no hurt should ensue to me. Noble friend, suffer not the King to be abused by lies to my ruin: My enemies are none of his friends—I plainly see the design of the guilty is to make me so, and the most guilty thinking dirt will best stick on me—to which old grutches, as well as present conveniences to others, help not a little. Let me go to America, or be protected here, and it will oblige," &c. &c.

ANSWER.

"The King's hurry was so great, he could not do anything in that nor in the whole Scotch business that pressed him, but on the way and in Holland, he would move him in it, where I had fewer ill wishers."*

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"A letter to the Lady Renelagh to the same effect, to speak to Queen Mary, a grave, religious, and wise woman—what else can I do? I know false witnesses are rife against me, both here and in Ireland."†

That his friends in Pennsylvania might understand the cause of his detention in England, and be encouraged to increased exertions on his behalf, he wrote the following letter:

TO THOMAS LLOYD, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.

"London, 14th of 4th mo., 1691.

"Dear Friend—My love in the unchangeable truth, salutes thee and thine, and the friends and family of God, in those parts, desiring your temporal and everlasting welfare, with an unfeigned affection.

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* Mem. H. S. Pa. iv. i. 194–5.

† Proud i. 348.

"By this time thou wilt have heard of the renewal of my troubles, the only let of my return, being in the midst of my preparations, with *a great company of adventurers*, when they fell upon me. The jealousies of some, and unworthy dealing of others, have made way for them; but under and over it all, the ancient rock has been my shelter and comfort; and I hope yet to see your faces, with our ancient satisfactions. The Lord grant, if it be for his glory, whose I desire to be, in all conditions; for this world passeth away and the form and beauty of it fadeth; but there are eternal habitations for the faithful; amongst whom I pray that my lot may be, rather than amongst the princes of the earth. I hope I need not urge my circumstances to excite thy love, care and concern for me and my suffering interest, in the country. I know thou hast better learned *Christ* and *Cato*, if I may so say, and wilt embrace such an opportunity to choose to express thy friendship and sincerity; nor is uncertainty and changeableness thy fault; wherefore I will say no more, but desire that my afflictions may cease, if not cure, your animosities or discontents, within yourselves, if yet they have continued; and that thou wilt both in government and to my commissioners of property, yield thy assistance all thou canst. *By all this God may prepare me to be fitter for future service* even to you there. I ask the people forgiveness for my long stay; but when I consider how much it has been my great loss, and for an *ungrateful generation*, it is punishment!—It has been £20,000 to my damage in the country, and above £10,000 pounds here, and to the province, 500 families; but the wise God that can do what he pleases, as well as see what is in man's heart, is able to requite all; and I am persuaded all shall yet work together for good in this very thing, if we can overlook all that stands in the way of our views, Godward, in public matters. See that all be done prudently and humbly, and keep down irreverence and looseness, and cherish industry and sobriety. The Lord God Almighty be with you, and amongst you, to his praise and your peace. Salute me to John Simcock, R. Turner, A. Cook, T. Janney, Ph. Pemberton, S. Richardson, W. Yardly, the Welch Friends and Plymouth Friends, indeed to all of them.

"Thou hast heard of our great loss of dear John Burnyeat, and Robert Lodges, one in Ireland, and t'other in England, in about the same week; and Robert Barclay, Th. Salthouse and dearly beloved George Fox, since. He died at Henry Goulney's, by Gracious street meeting-house, where he preached his farewell the first day, and departed the third, at night, between nine and ten. I was with him, he earnestly recommended to me his love to you all, and said, '*William, mind poor Friends in America.*' He died triumphantly over death; very easily foresaw his change; he was buried on the sixth day;—like a general meeting;—2000 people at his burial—Friends and others. I was never more public than that day; I felt myself easy; he was got into his Inn, before the storm that is coming overtook him, and that night, very providentially, I escaped the messenger's hands. I shall add only, that Friends have had an extraordinary time this General Meeting, so that God supplied that visible loss with his glorious presence. R. Davis there, but not thy brother. In sincere love I bid thee, thy wife and family and friends, farewell.

"Thy true friend, WILLIAM PENN."

CHAPTER XXVI.

Dissension between the Province and Territories; Members of Council from the latter Withdraw; William Penn reluctantly consents to their Separation; Markham made Governor of the Territories; Letter of William Penn; Religious Controversy with George Keith; His Separation and disownment; He is Prosecuted and Fined; Goes to England and becomes an Episcopal Minister; Letter of William Penn to R. Turner, about Keith's Views; William Penn's Government superceded by the appointment of Fletcher; His troubles increased by his Wife's Illness; Letters of William Penn to Friends and to Lord Rochester.

1692-3.

While the proprietary of Pennsylvania was compelled, by false accusations to forego his cherished purpose of returning thither, as his permanent home, the affairs of the colony were suffering for want of his paternal care.

In order to promote the prosperity of the province and the three lower counties, called the territories (now constituting the State of Delaware), he had united them under one government, allowing the territories a suitable number of representatives in the Council and General Assembly, and further to conciliate them he had sometimes convened the Assembly at New Castle.

During his absence some jealousies had crept in between the members of the territories and those of the province: they were originally balanced in power, there being three counties in each, with an equal number of representatives; but the province was large, its population was rapidly increasing, and it must have been manifest to all that the balance of power would soon preponderate in its favor. For this reason, probably, some of the inhabitants of the territories began to think they had distinct and even conflicting interests, which led to a misunderstanding.

After the resignation of Governor Blackwell, the disagreement between these parties continued to increase, and six members of Council from the territories proceeded, in an illegal manner, to appoint and commission judges, without the concurrence of the Board or of Thomas Lloyd, their president. This illegal measure was protested against by the Council in the latter part of the year 1690, but in the following year, the members for the territories proceeded to still greater extremes.

It appears that Penn, in order to gratify the colonists, had given them the option of three different modes for the exercise of the executive power, that of the council, of five commissioners, or of a deputy governor. The province was in favor of a deputy governor, and was satisfied with Thomas Lloyd, but the members of Council from the territories drew up a protest, in 1691, stating that this "was to them the most grievous of any, on account of the choice of all officers being placed in a single person, and the expense or charge of his support," therefore, they would not agree to it, but they would submit to the government of the Council, though they would prefer the five commissioners. Much pains were taken to reconcile them, but without success. They withdrew from the Council and returned home, after which Thomas Lloyd sent a deputation to New Castle to confer with them, and wrote them a letter promising that no part of the charge for his services should fall upon the territories unless by their voluntary offer.

These efforts at reconciliation proving unavailing, the proprietary, with much reluctance, submitted to the separation, and commissioned Thomas Lloyd as governor of the province; and William Markham, who appears to have gone with the seceders, was placed over the territories as their executive, "under certain restrictions."* Penn was much grieved at these dissensions. Writing to a friend, in the summer of 1692, he says, "I left it to them to choose either the government of the council, or five commissioners, or a deputy: what could be tenderer? Now I perceive, Thomas Lloyd is chosen by the three upper, but not by the three lower counties; and sits down with this broken choice. This has grieved and wounded me and mine; I fear the hazard of all! Whatever the morals of the lower counties are, it was embraced as a mercy, that we got and united them to the province; and a great charter ties them. * * * * I desire thee to write to them, which they will mind more now than on the spot; and lay their union upon them; for else the governor of New York is like to have all, if he has it not already. The Lord forgive them their unspeakable injury to me and mine. I have sent, six months ago, to J. Goodson a commission, if my letter prevails not, that was to unite them; that Thomas Lloyd be governor above, and Capt. Markham below, under such and such restrictions, &c." "I was going in the second month at farthest, all things preparing, as Friends of London know, when this trouble broke out upon me, in the eleventh; and such have been my hardships, I could not get clear without snares, &c., so wait God's time, who has a hand in all this, and I believe, in the end, every way for good."

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* Proud, i. 357.

His dissatisfaction with Thomas Lloyd for accepting a partial commission, was soon removed by a letter from the Council, exculpating him entirely from being accessory to the separation, showing that instead of his being a gainer by the office of deputy governor, he had impaired his estate by his attention to public affairs; that he was a lover and promoter of concord, and that he "never accepted that commission but by the importunity of his friends, or at the earnest request of the province."

Although the proprietary had consented with great reluctance to this arrangement, it answered beyond his expectations in restoring harmony; and as both parties were sensible that he had been grieved by their dissensions, they endeavored to relieve his mind by a joint letter, from the two Deputy Governors and the members of Council, expressive of their affection and of their earnest desire for his return to the province.

About the time that these changes were effected in the province and territories, dissensions of a far more painful and exciting tendency sprung up among the colonists in relation to the religious doctrines of Friends. The dispute originated with George Keith, a prominent minister and an author of several religious works.* He was by birth a Scotchman, but had lived much in England, had travelled with Penn on the continent, and was employed for one year as the principal teacher in the public school at Philadelphia. He possessed considerable literary attainments, and being quick of apprehension and logical in argument, he had been regarded as an able champion for the faith he professed; but unhappily he was too fond of disputation, and finding his brethren in religious profession could not unite in all his theological views and nice distinctions, he became sour and censorious. He had been much respected, but now appeared ambitious of greater distinction as a leader in the society, proposing and urging new regulations in its discipline, complaining that there was "too great a slackness therein," and accusing some of its most valued ministers of preaching, "*false doctrine*," although it was thought they preached the same views he had formerly advocated in his writings.

Another objection urged by him against some of the most influential members, was the part they took in the government of the province, alleging that by acting as magistrates and executing the penal laws against malefactors, they violated their principles. The last of these charges had reference principally to the course pursued in arresting a privateer, named Babbit, who took a sloop from the wharf at Philadelphia, proceeded down the river and committed several robberies. A warrant being issued for his apprehension, Peter Boss, with some others, pursued him in a boat and took him and his crew without any warlike weapon.

At length, George Keith having set up a separate meeting in Philadelphia, and being in the practice of defaming the characters of Friends, the meeting of ministers disowned him, which act was confirmed by the yearly meetings of Burlington and London. He and Thos. Budd were presented by the Grand Jury of Philadelphia, for defaming Samuel Jennings, a provincial judge, and being found guilty, were fined five pounds each. These fines, however, were never exacted.†

The meetings set up by Keith and his adherents, threatened to make a formidable schism in the society, but he having gone to England, joined the Episcopal church, was ordained by the Bishop of London, and returned to Pennsylvania as a clergyman in orders. This conduct so disgusted his followers, that many of them returned to the society, and the schism was finally healed.

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* Gough's Hist. of Quakers, vol iii.

† Smith's Hist. of Pa, Hazard's Reg. vol. yi.

The dissensions that led to this separation being reported to Penn during his retirement in London, contributed to increase the burden of his cares. One of his intimate friends, Robt. Turner, a member of the council, and formerly one of the provincial judges, having joined the seceders, wrote him a letter on the subject, to which he returned an answer characteristic of his wisdom and charity: viz.

"London, 29th of 9th mo., '92

"Dear Robert Turner.*—My love in the Lord salutes thee and thine, and the Lord's people thereaway, and the inhabitants also: much wishing your preservation in this perilous day, both inwardly and outwardly.

"Thine I have by T. H., and presented thine to G. W. &c., and as to the difference among Friends, my heart is bowed under it, chiefly on Truth's account, for I never felt a thought of interest stir in several days after it came to me. But it has helped me into a fever that has attended me about five weeks, of which I am now, through mercy, better. I see this difference is more in spirit than in words or matter, an unbearing, untravailing frame [of mind,] for one another, not considering how much and how far, they should have borne for his sake that has borne so much for us all. * * * * *

"My soul's travail is, in that which is of God and leads to Him, and keeps in Him; that G. K., would in the ancient meekness and tenderness, in which he was right worthy to me, let fall his separate meeting, and that now they meet together as before, for I hope peace would follow. For as to believing in Christ's manhood, it is Friend's principle, he is like unto us in all things, sin excepted, and that manhood is not vanisht; though out of our sight, it is somewhere, and wherever it is, it must be in a glorified state, but what that state is, or where it is, or how to frame ideas of either in our minds, are intrusions or curiosities above what is written or convenient. Can we hope our manhood shall be glorified and deny his to be so, that made way with his, within the vail, for ours? He is glorified for us, as our common head, and we shall, with him, be glorified too, as his members, if we through patience and tribulation overcome also.

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*The original of this letter is in the archives of the Am. Phil. Society at Philadelphia,—some parts of it are almost illegible.

"Wherefore, dear Robert, urge this on George; but now when this is said, that Christ came in our nature and has glorified it as an eternal temple to himself, yet he is to be known nearer (than so without us) and that is, in us. Thus Paul knew him and preached him as the riches of the glory of the Christian day, the mystery hid from ages and generations and then revealed, 'Christ in them the hope of glory.' He makes it the character and discrimination of a Christian, 2 Cor. xiii, 5, and Christ taught himself that it was expedient he went, as outwardly, that he might send them that which would be better for them, and what was that but his own appearance in spirit, 'I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you,' and 'he that was with them should be in them,' John xiv. So that tho' the nature and transactions of Christ are reverently believed, and are more than historical, looking back to the beginning of the world and forward to the end of it; yet the immediate object of our mind and requisite and profitable exercise thereof, is the spiritual appearance of Christ in us, which is a step nearer to us than our natural without us, because it is being in us; this is what God has turned our minds unto and what knowledge we had before we counted as dross comparatively. Here it was we came to know God aright, sensibly and virtuously to our souls, and by obeying this manifestation we came to read Scripture edifyingly, and to our comfort, and to value aright God's love in all former dispensations, more especially that of his Son as the crown of them; but then our religion stood, and must stand, as the living work of God in us, in our conformity to his will, death to self, entirely, as the passage to life, in him who is our life. This sweet, this blessed knowledge and fellowship is what we have been led to press and prefer as bringing things home, and the work to our own doors and houses, which is, to me, the glory and excellency of our dispensation; so it is, I know, to the many thousands of Israel.

"O, let this still be our holy care, love and business, and great shall be our reward, when the Rewarder comes to judge the world. Thus much for these things.

"Now, for government,—what shall I say?

"A day of temptation is coming over you as a just exercise from the Lord for your animosities and divisions in which blessed are they that are clear and innocent. The Lord reach you with his love, and tender you and bring you into that union I left you, both in civils and spirituals. You are threatened, I hear, with French Indians; if it should prove true your union in civils might have covered Friends, that now stand in the province more exposed than before, because they only are in power, and so must have the part alone to act, both as to that, and also as to standing upon their patent against the commission of the Governor of New York, to be yours during the war and my absence. So that they that took it so ill, I ever employed any but Friends, may see it had been better they had been of another mind, for I expect a firm adherence to the patent,—my freehold and inheritance, and so intimate to them in authority, as I did to S. J. &c., before, by the last ships. If upon your reasons against his executing of his commission, he desist not, then draw up your exceptions discreetly and fully, and lay them before the Lords of the Plantations here, and Friends concerned in the province here, who will appear for the province, and if that don't do, Westminster Hall, and if that fail, the House of Lords will do us right.

"But I hope my liberty may put an end to that.

* * * *

"Thy true friend,
"WILLIAM PENN."

About a month previous to the date of the foregoing letter, a commission had been granted by the sovereigns, William and Mary, to Benj. Fletcher, Governor of New York, directing him to take under his jurisdiction the province of Pennsylvania and the territories annexed. This step was urged by the enemies of the proprietary, as necessary for the safety of the colony. It was said that the French and Indians threatened the frontier settlements, that no defence had been provided by the colonial government, and that the province and the territories being at variance, no efficient administration of the laws could be expected. They did not fail to adduce the religious dissensions among Friends as another reason why they were unfit to govern, and the prosecution against George Keith being misrepresented by his party, was triumphantly held up as an evidence that the Quakers, as well as others, could persecute for religion.

William Penn was sorely tried, his troubles seemed to increase and press upon him with accumulated weight. Cast down from a high and honored station in society,—accused of being an enemy to the government and a traitor to the Protestant cause,—living in close retirement to avoid arrest and imprisonment,—impoverished by expenditures for his province—and now that province, the object of his hopes, withdrawn from under his government,—there was needed but one drop more to fill the measure of his afflictions. That drop too was added. His wife, one of the loveliest and best of women, was visibly sinking in health, and her decline was attributed to intense anxiety, induced by her husband's calamities.* But although perplexed with care, and burdened with grief, he was not forsaken; having the solace of an approving conscience, and an abiding trust in the Providence of God, who often permits his servants to be tried in the furnace of affliction, in order to perfect their refinement,—who removes from them the attractions of the world, in order to draw them nearer to himself, and when they have relinquished all other dependence, manifests that the arm of his power is sufficient to uphold them, and to cause "all things to work together for their good."

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* Clarkson.

In the following letter, without an address, written about this time, he describes, with much feeling, the wrongs to which he was subjected:

> "I cannot bring myself to think, if the King or Queen could believe I had no correspondence abroad, nor were busy against them at home, and would sequester myself out of the way of having it in my power, if I had the will, to offend them, that they would distinguish me in so particular a manner to my prejudice. But how to gain that belief in them, against the insinuations of my enemies, is the difficulty I labor under. In this case I can only say, I am free of the first, and solemnly promise the last, and call upon those that know me to vouch. If this will not do, and that all that is said must be believed against me, and that I must be the price of some people's ease, and a sacrifice to the malice of others, and that I, only, of all the men of the kingdom must be undone; to the good and merciful God I commit myself and family, that has hitherto preserved us, and believe the time will come when those that are pleased to think so hardly of me now, will allow me to be a most abused and most oppressed man. But let me use a little freedom. I have been above these three years hunted, up and down, and could never be allowed to live quietly in city or country, even then when there was hardly a pretence against me, so that I have not only been unprotected, but persecuted by the government. And before the date of this business which is laid to my charge, I was indicted for high treason in Ireland before the Grand Jury of Dublin, and a bill found upon the oaths of three scandalous men—Fuller, one Fisher, and an Irishman whom I know not, and the last has not been in England since the Revolution, nor I in Ireland these twenty years, nor do I so much as know him by name, and all their evidence upon hearsay, too. It may be, it is the most extraordinary case that has been known; for that law by which Englishmen are tryable, absent, here or there, is, because a subject of these dominions may commit treason abroad, where he cannot be tried; but that an Englishman in England, walking about the streets, should have a bill of high treason found against him in Ire-

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* Clarkson.

land for a fact pretended to be committed in England, when a man cannot legally be tried in one county in England for a crime committed in another. And the others are at ease that were accused for the same fault, and that Fuller is nationally staged and censured for an imposter, that was the chief of my accusers; my estate in Ireland is, notwithstanding, lately put up among the estates of outlaws to be leased for the crown, and the collector of the hundred where it lies ordered to seize my rents and lease it in the name of the government, and yet though I am not convicted or outlawed.

"But though I am the sufferer, and in more things than this, I would not exceed the bounds of moderation in my reflection; but I hope I may say that thirty years wont show such a case in these kingdoms, and I hope the government will find an interest, as well as justice and goodness, to put an end to my many miseries. I am made able that I may be rendered guilty, and my obligations to be so are aggravated to render it more credible, that would rather call for allowances; so that my virtue, if gratitude be one, is to be put in the scale to give weight enough to my faults to destroy me.

"I know my enemies, and their true characters and history, and their intrinsic value to this or other governments. I commit them to time, with my own conduct and afflictions."*

Notwithstanding the loss of his government, he still cherished the hope of going to America, but being embarrassed in his circumstances, he could not command the requisite funds, which induced him to write as follows:

TO FRIENDS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

"London, 4th of 12th mo, '93.

"Dear Friends—Considering how things stand, and may stand with you, and the visible necessity the province is under, as well as my own interest and my earnest inclinations that I speedily return, I have a proposal to make, in which, if you answer me, I shall be able to make my stay safe from the government, easy to myself, just to my friends here, and this in reason I ought to desire. In consideration, therefore, of my very great expenses in King James's time, known in some measure to J. H., and my great losses in the King's time, the one being at least £7000 and the other above £4000 sterling, and £450 pr. ann. totally wasted in Ireland, as J. H. can inform you; by which means I cannot do what is requisite to bring me among you without the time here which may injure our joint interests or your helps to shorten it. I do propose that a hundred persons in town, if able, or town and country, do send me free of interest, each of them, one hundred pounds for four years, or each of them more or less, as able, so that it reach the sum, and I will give you my bond to repay it to each of you in four years' time, or if not paid in that time, a sufficient interest for the whole that remains unpaid at four years' end, from that time forward till paid. I shall take it so kindly from you, that if you gave me more at another time, it should not equally please me, and it could not be done more reasonably for yourselves and the whole province; for depend upon it, and you have it under my hand, God giving health for it, I will not stay six months; no, not three months, if I can in that time get a passage to remove to you, with my family also. I hope to be more worth to you, and a great deal more to the province, for here my back is turned of many. Some hundreds, if not thousands, will follow, which will be your, as well as my advantage. You may be informed of the reason of this proposal more particularly by R. F. and J. H., if there be any need of it. Almighty God incline and direct you for the best; and determine quickly, for else my course will be, as you may hear by J. H., otherwise in solitude. My sincere love salutes you, and my wishes, in the will of God, are for all your happiness, whether I see you any more, which, under God, depends much upon your compliance with my proposal; and those that close with it shall ever be remembered by me and mine. So, with my love, farewell.

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* M. H. S. Pa., vol. iv., part i., page 198.

"Your assured friend, WILLIAM PENN."*

It does not appear how this application was received, nor is there any evidence of an effort being made to raise the sum required.

Although he was anxious to remove to his province, and had hopes of obtaining the King's permission, he was not willing to receive his liberty *on condition* that he should go, for this would place him in the attitude of a banished exile. This sentiment is expressed in a letter he wrote to a nobleman who had interceded for him, viz.:

TO THE LORD ROCHESTER.

"I own it is a great misfortune to lie under such strong prepossessions in a King, but it is some comfort that they have been raised by such as have less deserved his protection or credit, but I will not be so vain as to hope I can move him to believe me, and desire to forgive those that at any rate served their turns upon me. But I own with great respect and thankfulness the intercession of Lord Rochester whatever be the event of it,—and to that which he would know of me in reference to my going to

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* M. H. S. Pa., vol. iv., part i., 202.

America, I humbly say, that thither I intend and must go, if God and the King please. My concerns there suffer beyond imagination, by a constrained absence, but because my incumbrances here are known to too many to be great in divers respects as to fortune and family, and in Ireland bad enough, whither I must go to settle my almost ruined estate, as well as to take off the prosecution begun against me upon Fuller's evidence, and such another gentleman of his acquaintance, which, as I expressed in my last, will make it next spring before I can possibly be ready, at which time I intend as afore to set forward, and in the mean time follow my own occasions in as private and inoffensive a manner as I can. I would not say all this, nor use the precautions I do, but for the most cruel and injurious characters some have loaded me with, (whom God forgive,) that have deserved better of a base world, never hurting any, and obliging many. But there will be another judgment than private and prejudicated breasts, where I cannot appear so black, nor such a pole-cat as I am rendered, who am not only made the abler to be the more guilty, but lest my fault should not be sufficient, my virtues (gratitude to excess) must be aggravated to heap weight in the scale against me. To conclude,—to America I was going in April '91, if this misfortune had not hindered the January before, which is known to a hundred honest and substantial people in the city, and I had printed an intelligence to all concerned, and made a proposition to others therein, to that effect, ready to have engaged with me in a new settlement. And the like I purpose now, with God's help. But as I am not to trifle with the government that can so easily see whether I do or not, I desire it understood that *I will not receive my liberty to go as a condition to go there, and be there as here looked upon as an articled exile.* This I am sure the Lord Rochester understands, and can best improve, to whose goodness and management I refer myself, begging that neither King nor Queen will look upon me with that severe eye, as I have been told they have done, above every body else; since whatever are my faults, falsehood and revenge are none, nor do I desire their hurt, tho' those that have incensed them against me must have designed my ruin. Pardon this length and the impertinencies of the afflicted, that are always big with their own unhappiness, and believe me yet to be what I have ever professed.

"WILLIAM PENN."

CHAPTER XXVII.

"Just Measures" relating to Friends' Discipline and Women's Meetings; "Key" concerning Friends' Doctrines; "Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe;" "Fruits of Solitude;" The Preface to it; Wm. Penn cleared by King William; Letter on the occasion to T. Lloyd and others; Death of his Wife; her Character; his Memorial concerning her; Letter to R. Turner.

1692-3.

During Penn's seclusion from the world, which continued nearly three years, his vigorous and active mind was not unemployed. Deprived of the privilege he so highly prized, of attending the established meetings of Friends, he did not neglect the duty of private devotion, and being restrained from the exercise of his gift in the Gospel ministry, he employed his pen in advocating and enforcing the sacred truths of religion. His excellent Preface to Robert Barclay's Works, and another to those of John Burnyeat, were written in 1691, and in the following year he published a tract called "Just Measures," which was addressed to those members of the Society of Friends who were dissatisfied with the rules of church discipline established among them.

In order to give the reader a just conception of his views on this important subject, it must be premised that the Society, by the advice of Geo. Fox, established Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings, for the administration of church discipline, to promote purity of life and conversation, to provide for the necessities of the poor, the orderly accomplishment of marriages, and in general to secure the harmony and peace of the body.

In these meetings all members had an equal right to speak their sentiments, and clerks were appointed to record their decisions, which were not determined by majorities, but by unanimity and general consent.

As they held that women, as well as men, might be called to the Gospel ministry, so they believed that females ought not to be excluded from a share in the government of the church. Accordingly, women's meetings for discipline were established, in which, with some few exceptions, the same kind of business was transacted in relation to their own sex, as that which claimed the attention of the men with regard to theirs. It was found that women could conduct their church affairs with judgment and propriety, and in order that they might do it without interference from men, they met in separate apartments. In many cases the two branches acted in concert by joint committees, in order to prepare business in which both were equally interested.

This beautiful order, so well adapted to develope the powers of the female mind, and to elevate woman to the rank in society she was designed to fill, was not satisfactory to some of the male members, and to satisfy or convince these was the object of Penn's treatise. "That there is a difference," he says, "is but too plain, for it has in some parts proceeded to a separation, as well as to places of worship, as in matters of discipline. The ground of this dissatisfaction you say is, requiring your compliance with some practices relating to discipline, particularly women's meetings about marriages, before they are permitted to be solemnized among us, some of you thinking that there is no service for women's meetings at all, others that there is no service in their being distinct from men's meetings, and therefore no necessary compliance to be required, but every one left to their liberty in Christ, lest imposition and formality should prevail among us." Having thus stated their objections, he proceeds to show that the matters complained of did not relate to *faith or worship*, but merely to the method pursued in the transaction of church business, and therefore no imposition upon conscience could result from it. For the preservation of order, the healing of differences, the care of the poor, &c., some method must be adopted; that which existed was recommended by experienced elders, and generally agreed to, therefore it could not be called an infringement of Christian liberty. "But it is asked, why should women meet apart? We think for a very good reason, the church increaseth, which increaseth the business of the church, and women, whose bashfulness will not permit them to say or do much as to church affairs before the men, when by themselves, may exercise their gifts of wisdom and understanding in a discreet care for their own sex, at least, which makes up not the least part of the business of the church, and this while the men are upon their proper business also. So that as men and women make up the church, men and women make up the business of the church." "I am as much for liberty as any man. I ever was so, and hope I ever shall be for it, but we must refer it to a proper object, or we shall abuse what we so much prize, and pervert one of the greatest privileges we can pretend to."

His next publication is entitled the "New Athenians no noble Bereans," being an answer to aspersions cast upon the Society of Friends in a paper called the Athenian Mercury. In the same year he wrote a work entitled, "A Key opening the Way to every capacity, how to distinguish the Religion professed by the people called Quakers, from the Perversions and Misrepresentations of their Adversaries." This treatise was so highly valued by the Society, that it reached the twelfth edition during the life of the author.

It is divided into thirteen sections, in each of which, after stating one of the perversions complained of, a concise and lucid account is given of the principle as held by Friends.

Penn produced at this time another work of great value and importance, entitled "An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe.

This work was intended to show the "desirableness of peace, and the truest means of it; to wit, justice, and not war." It proposes that the states or nations of Europe should send deputies to a "General Diet," or Congress of Nations, where all their differences might be settled on equitable terms, without recourse to arms.

It is worthy of note that a copy of this remarkable work, supposed to be the same that Penn presented to Queen Anne, was produced at the Peace Convention held within a few years at Paris, where it was received by the members with great interest as the fore-shadowing of their present plans.

Among the most valuable works of our author, produced in this season of retirement, is one published in 1693, entitled, "Some Fruits of Solitude in Reflections and Maxims relating to the conduct of Human Life." This work embraces a compendium of practical wisdom, that has seldom been equalled in the same compass, being the result of much experience in the affairs of life, and deep reflection on its cares and vicissitudes.

In the Preface, he alludes, in the spirit of a true Christian, to his seclusion from the world.

> "Reader—This enchiridion I present thee with is the fruit of solitude, a school few care to learn in, though none instructs us better. Some parts of it are the results of serious reflection, others the flashing of lucid intervals, written for private satisfaction, and now published for an help to human conduct.
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> "The author blesseth God for his retirement, and kisses that gentle hand which led him into it; for, though it should prove barren to the world, it can never do so to him.
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> "He has now had some time he could call his own—a property he was never so much master of before—in which he has taken a view of himself and the world, and observed wherein he has hit or missed the mark; what might have been done; what mended, and what avoided in human conduct; together with the omissions and excesses of others, as well societies and governments as private families and persons. And he verily thinks, were he to live over his life again, he could not only, with God's grace, serve him, but his neighbor and himself, better than he hath done, and have seven years of his time to spare. And yet, perhaps, he hath not been the worst or the idlest man in the world, nor is he the oldest. And this is the rather said, that it might quicken thee, reader, to lose none of the time that is yet thine.
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> "There is nothing of which we are apt to be so lavish as of time, and about which we ought to be more solicitous, since, without it, we can do nothing in the world. Time is what we want most, but what, alas! we use worst, and for which God will certainly most strictly reckon with us when time shall be no more!"

The overruling care of Divine Providence, who "from seeming evil still educes good," is well illustrated in these fruits of Penn's seclusion, for, being forced to retire from public view, he improved the time by the production of works that may be read with instruction and delight for ages yet to come.

In the latter part of the year 1693, through the intercession of some noblemen who had long been his friends, his case was again brought before King William, who, being satisfied of his innocence, signified his wish that he should consider himself entirely at liberty. This pleasing change in his affairs is thus related in a letter to Thomas Lloyd and others in Pennsylvania:

"Hodson, 11th of 10th mo., 1693.

"FRIENDS—This comes by the Pennsylvania Merchant, —— Harrison, commander, and C. Saunders, merchant. By them and this know, that it hath pleased God to work my enlargement, by three Lords representing my case as not only hard, but oppressive: that there was nothing against me but what impostors, or those that are fled, or that have, since their pardon, refused to verify, (and asked me pardon for saying what they did) alleged against me; that they had long known me, some of them thirty years, and had never known me to do an ill thing, but many good offices; and that for not being thought to go abroad in defiance to the government, I might and would have done it two years ago; and that I was, therefore, willing to wait to go about my affairs, as before, with leave; that I might be the better respected in the liberty I took to follow it.

"King William answered, 'That I was his old acquaintance, as well as theirs; and that I might follow my business as freely as ever; and that he had nothing to say to me,'—upon which they pressed him to command one of them to declare the same to the Secretary of State, Sir John Trenchard, that if I came to him, or otherwise, he might signify the same to me, which he also did. The Lords were Rochester, Ranelagh, and Sidney; and the last as my greatest acquaintance, was to tell the Secretary; accordingly he did; and the Secretary, after speaking himself, and having it from King William's own mouth, appointed me a time to meet him at home; and did with the Marquis of Winchester, and told me I was as free as ever; and as he doubted not my prudence about my quiet living, for he assured me I should not be molested or injured in any of my affairs, at least while he held that post. The Secretary is my old friend, and one I served after the D. of Monmouth and Lord Russel's business; I carried him in my coach to Windsor, and presented him to King James; and when the Revolution came, he bought my four horses that carried us. It was about three or four months before the Revolution. The Lords spoke the 25th of November, and he discharged me on the 30th.

"From the Secretary I went to our meeting, at the Bull and Mouth; thence to visit the sanctuary of my solitude; and after that to see my poor wife and children; the eldest being with me all this while. My wife is yet weakly; but I am not without hopes of her recovery, who is of the best of wives and women. * * * *

"Your real friend, WILLIAM PENN."

His wife, who had tenderly sympathized with him in all his trials, was permitted to see him again restored to liberty; but in the following month she was removed by death, and he was again plunged into a depth of affliction, which could be alleviated only by the consolations of religion and the lenient hand of time.

From the accounts that have come down to us concerning this excellent woman, she appears to have been possessed of extraordinary graces, both of person and mind. In Thomas Ellwood's autobiography, a circumstance is mentioned, showing the high estimation in which she was held by her neighbors. One of his publications being offensive to the magistrates, two of them, Thomas Fotherly and Sir Benjamin Tichborn, sent a summons for him to appear before them on a certain day. Before the day came, Gulielma Penn, whose husband was then in America, being taken very ill, sent for Ellwood to come and see her. As she resided at some distance, he could not go without neglecting the summons of the magistrates, he, therefore, waited upon them immediately, and stated the difficulty in which he was placed. They, at first, received him coldly, but when he told the occasion of his coming before the time appointed, they relented, and said they felt extremely sorry for Madam Penn's illness, whose virtues and worth they esteemed so highly, that for her sake they excused his appearance entirely. In the life of Mary Beatrice, the consort of James II., written by Agnes Strickland, there is a statement which appears somewhat remarkable, concerning the attachment of Gulielma Penn to the exiled monarch and his Queen. She says, "every year Mrs. Penn, the wife of James's former protegé, the founder of Pennsylvania, paid a visit to the Court of St. Germans, carrying with her a collection of all the little presents which the numerous friends and well-wishers of James II. and his Queen could muster. Mrs. Penn was always affectionately received by the King and Queen, although she maintained the undeniable fact that the *Revolution was indispensable*, and what she did was from the inviolable affection and gratitude she personally felt towards their majesties."*

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* The author refers to Carstair's State papers.

William Penn has left an affectionate tribute to her worth in the following memorial:

"AN ACCOUNT OF THE BLESSED END OF MY DEAR WIFE, GULIELMA MARIA PENN.

'*The memory of the just is blessed.*'—Prov. x. 7.

"My dear wife * * * departed this life the 23d of the 12th month. 1693–4, in the fiftieth year of her age; being sensible to the very last. During her illness she uttered many living and weighty expressions upon divers occasions, both before and near her end. Some of which I took down for mine and her dear children's consolation.

"At one of the many meetings held in her chamber, we and our children, and one of our servants, being only present, in a tendering and living power she broke out as she sat in her chair, 'Let us all prepare, not knowing what hour or watch the Lord cometh. O, I am full of matter! Shall we receive good, and shall we not receive evil things at the hands of the Lord? I have cast my care upon the Lord. He is the physician of value. My expectation is wholly from him. He can raise up, and he can cast down.'

"Awhile after she said, 'Oh! what shall be done to the unprofitable servant?' At another meeting, before which much heaviness seemed to lie upon her natural spirits, she said, 'This has been a precious opportunity to me; I am finely relieved and comforted. Blessed be the Lord.' At another time, as I was speaking to her of the Lord's love and witness of his Spirit that was with her to give her the peace of well doing, she returned to me, looking up, 'For,' said she, 'I never did, to my knowledge, a wicked thing in all my life.'

"To a friend, aged seventy-five years, that came to see her, she said, 'Thou and I, to all appearance, are near our ends.' And to another, about sixty-five years old, that came also to see her, she said, 'How much older has the Lord made me, by this weakness, than thou art! But I am contented; I do not murmur; I submit to His holy will.' In the strength of her fits and vapors, she said, 'It is the great goodness of the Lord that I should be able to lie thus still. He is the physician of value to me; can I say:—Let my tongue set forth His praise, and my spirit magnify Him, whilst I have breath. Oh! I am ready to be transported beyond my strength. God was not in the thunder, nor in the lightning, but He was heard in the still voice.'

"She did, at several times, pray very sweetly, and in all her weakness manifested the most equal, undaunted, and resigned spirit, as well as in all other respects. She was an excellent person, both as wife, child, mother, mistress, friend, and neighbor.

"She called the children one day, when weak, and said, 'Be not frightened, children. I do not call you to take my leave of you, but to see you; and I would have you walk in the fear of the Lord, and with His people, in His holy truth,' or to that effect.

"Speaking at another time solemnly to the children, she said, 'I never desired any great things for you, but that you may fear the Lord, and walk in his truth among his people to the end of your days.'

"She would not suffer me to neglect any public meeting, after I had my liberty, upon her account, saying, often, 'Oh! go, my dearest; do not hinder any good for me. I desire thee go; I have cast my care upon the Lord: I shall see thee again.'

"About three hours before her end, a relation taking leave of her, she said, 'I have cast my care upon the Lord; my dear love to all Friends;' and lifting up her dying hands and eyes, prayed the Lord to preserve and bless them.

"About an hour after, causing all to withdraw, we were half an hour together, in which we took our last leave, saying all that was fit upon that solemn occasion. She continued sensible, and did eat something about an hour before her departure, at which time our children and most of our family were present. She quietly expired in my arms, her head upon my bosom, with a sensible and devout resignation of her soul to Almighty God. I hope I may say she was a public as well as private loss; for she was not only an excellent wife and mother, but an entire and constant friend, of a more than common capacity, and greater modesty and humility; yet most equal, and undaunted in danger; religious, as well as ingenuous, without affectation; an easy mistress and good neighbor, especially to the poor; neither lavish nor penurious; but an example of industry, as well as of other virtues: therefore, our great loss, though her own eternal gain."

Soon after his wife's decease he wrote the following letter.*

TO ROBERT TURNER.

"Hodson, 27th of 12th mo, 1693.

"LOVING FRIEND.—My extreme great affliction for the decease of my dear wife, makes me unfit to write much, whom the great God took to himself from the troubles of this exercising world the 23d inst. In great peace and sweetness she departed, and to her gain, but our incomparable loss, being one of ten thousand, wise, chaste, humble, plain, modest, industrious, constant and undaunted; but God is God, and good—and so I hope, tho' afflicted, not forsaken. I do beseech thee by our ancient acquaintance, by thy gravity and age in the truth, thy love for the poor country, and above all, for the truth's sake, to be the means of a better understanding among you thereaway, both as to church and state. The more I hear of your animosities, the sad effects of them upon the place, the contempt it brings upon the country, and the irreparable injury it is to me, and my poor children, yea, upon yourselves and posterity, methinks should prevail. I can say no more, only my love to thee and thine, and son and daughter, and entreat George Keith with my love, by the same motives, in my name, to the same end and purpose; and God Almighty modify and dispose all hearts to the ancient tender, blessed unity, that his peace may be with you, and your enemies may not, as now they do, triumph over you all, and the holy profession you make. I am the more earnest with you, because I am thought by several to have too much encouraged your George Keith, &c., by my letters. I am for patience, forbearance, long suffering, and all true moderation, but I abhor contention, doubtful disputations, divisions, &c. Oh! that the spirit of God may rule and overrule our spirits, or all we have to say for God can never glorify him,—it is his own that praise and serve him. I could wish my own concerns there, were in a better way, but of that no more now. I yet hope in the Lord to see you again, and that not long first.—Farewell. Thy real well-wishing friend.

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*M. H. S. Pa. Vol. IV. part I.

"WILLIAM PENN."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Col. Fletcher's administration; Requisition for men and money; The Assembly assert their privileges, but grant a money bill; The government restored to William Penn; He appoints W. Markham his deputy; Death of Thomas Lloyd: His character and services; Markham's administration: The Assembly's powers enlarged; Peace and prosperity of the colony; William Penn writes "Rise and Progress of the people called Quakers;" Address to House of Commons; Travels in the ministry; Present at a public discussion; Marries his second wife; Death of his oldest son; His memorial.

1693–6.

The executive authority in Pennsylvania having been withdrawn from the hands of the Proprietary, was as before related, transferred to Col. Benjamin Fletcher, Governor of New York, by a royal commission, dated October 21st, 1692, being the fourth year of the reign of William and Mary. In the spring of 1693 Col. Fletcher notified Gov. Lloyd, of Pennsylvania, that he intended to assume the reins of government, and accordingly he came to Philadelphia for that purpose, attended by a military retinue.

Notwithstanding the separation of the territories from the province, he summoned the representatives of both to meet him in Philadelphia. In his writ, the charter and laws of Pennsylvania were disregarded, the number of delegates being diminished, and the time and form of the election changed.* On the assembling of the Legislature, the greater part of the members refused, from conscientious scruples, to take the oaths tendered to them, on which the governor allowed them to be qualified by subscribing the declaration and tests provided by the act of Parliament, for liberty of conscience, but he told them this was an indulgence that must not be drawn into a precedent.

The first business proposed to the Assembly by the governor, was a requisition from the Queen for aid, in men and money, to defend the frontiers of New York against the incursions of the French and Indians. The war then existing between France and England, growing out of the accession of William and Mary to the throne, had extended its ravages to their colonies in North America, and the French commanders in Canada had resorted to the barbarous expedient of subsidizing the Indians and inciting them to butcher their English neighbors. A predatory warfare ensued, in which the colonies of New England and New York were chiefly engaged in repelling the savages, who surprised and destroyed Schenectady and some other frontier settlements. The alliance of the Mengwe or Five nations (Iroquois) was sought by both parties, and finally secured by the English, at great expense, to defray which, in part, was the object of the subsidy now demanded.

The Assembly, before they answered the governor's demand, took into consideration their own rights and privileges which he had invaded, and resolved unanimously, "that the laws in force before the arrival of the governor, were still in force, and that the Assembly had a right humbly to move the governor for a confirmation thereof." They maintained that the charter of Pennsylvania had not been abrogated, but the executive only changed on account of the absence of the Proprietary. The governor replied that "they were very much mistaken, as the absence of the Proprietary was the least cause mentioned in their majesties' letters patent, there being reasons of greater moment, as the neglects and miscarriages in the late administration; the want of necessary defence against the enemy, and the danger of being lost from the crown." "The constitution of their majesties' government," said he, "and that of Mr. Penn are in direct opposition, one to the other, if you will be tenacious of stickling for this, it is a plain demonstration that you decline the other."* This produced a remonstrance on the part of the Assembly, stating that "their desires were not grounded on mistakes, in relation to the Proprietary's absence;" and as to the other reasons assigned they were founded on "*misinformations*," for the courts were open and justice duly executed; nor was there any danger of the province "being lost to the crown, although the government was in the hands of some whose principles were not for war." Having asserted their privileges they proceeded to pass several bills, and among them an Act imposing a tax of a penny per pound on the clear value of real and personal estate, and a poll tax of six shillings a head, which they presented to the King and Queen, with a request that "one half thereof might be allowed to the governor." Fletcher at first refused the bill because nothing was granted for the defence of New York, and he even threatened to annex Pennsylvania to that province, but finally he approved this, as well as other bills that were presented him, and confirmed the laws before existing in the colony. He then dissolved the Assembly by their own advice, and having appointed William Markham, Lieutenant-governor, departed for New York.† We see by these proceedings that the colonists soon felt the difference between the paternal administration of William Penn and the rigorous sway of their military governor. Yet they were induced to vote him a supply far beyond any they had ever granted to the founder of the colony.

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* Proud and Gordon.

Although they yielded to necessity in laying a tax on the province, their firm and manly assertion of their political rights, was worthy of a people, ever jealous of the smallest encroachment on their liberties.

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* Proud i. 389.

† Ibid, 391.

The following year 1694, Governor Fletcher made another requisition for aid to New York, but having found by experience, that it was in vain to expect military supplies from men who were conscientiously opposed to war, he requested of them means to clothe and feed the Indians, in order to secure their continued friendship to the provinces. The Assembly laid a tax similar to that imposed the previous year, which amounted to seven hundred and sixty pounds, but they stipulated for the payment of two hundred pounds each, to Thomas Lloyd and William Markham, for their services while acting as deputies of the Proprietary, and the remainder to be appropriated to the general expense of the government. "Fletcher rejected this bill, and the Assembly asserting their right to appropriate their money at their pleasure, was dissolved." It is said, the Proprietary blamed the Assembly for not complying with the Governor's request.*

Soon after this the government was restored to William Penn, by a patent from the King and Queen, dated August, 1694. His application to be reinstated had been warmly seconded by some of his friends among the nobility, who represented to the King and council that the disorders charged upon the province had been greatly exaggerated by report, and even so far as true, had been occasioned by the Proprietary's absence. He was now earnestly desirous of removing to the province, but the situation of his domestic affairs, and probably the state of his finances, obliged him to defer it.

In the autumn of 1694 he appointed Capt. William Markham his Lieutenant-governor, Thomas Lloyd his former deputy having died a few months previously.

In the death of Thomas Lloyd the colony lost one of its most beloved and honored citizens. He was a native of Wales, born of highly respectable parents, and possessed of good natural abilities, which were improved by a liberal education at Oxford.

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* Gordon 107.

He was early in life reached by the power of Divine truth, under the influence of which, he declined the honors of the world, and having joined in membership with Friends, became an approved minister of the Gospel. Being subjected in his native country to unmerited reproach and persecution, he removed to Pennsylvania among the first settlers, and was one of William Penn's most intimate friends. From the foundation of the government to near the time of his death, he was generally much employed in public affairs: as president of the Council, as chairman of the State Commissioners, and as Deputy Governor, he exercised an important and salutary influence in the government of the province. He was one of the few, who, being qualified by abilities and virtue for the highest stations in society, yet through modesty or humility, decline them until urged by the public voice and called by a sense of duty to accept the post of trust and honor.

It will be seen as we advance in the history of the province, that among the many deputies employed by William Penn, Thomas Lloyd was the only one whose administration gave satisfaction to both the Proprietary and the people. Having been, both in public and private life, a bright example of Christian virtue, he was called from works to rewards, in the 45th year of his age, testifying, immediately before his departure, that having "fought the good fight and kept the faith, which stands not in the wisdom of words but in the power of God, he laid down his head in peace."*

Governor Markham, disregarding the laws of Pennsylvania, pursued Fletcher's plan of calling the Assembly, and having, without their consent, dissolved both the Council and Assembly, they, at their next meeting, in 1696, made a spirited remonstrance against his encroachments, and succeeded in obtaining his consent to a "bill of settlement," whereby the power of the Assembly was increased, being authorized to originate bills, to adjourn and re-assemble at pleasure, and to be indissoluble during the time for which it was elected. In return for these concessions, they passed a bill to raise 300 pounds for the support of government, and the relief of the distressed Indians in New York.

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* Proud's History, and Book of Memorials.

The bill of settlement, though never formally sanctioned by the Proprietary, was considered an amendment to the constitution, and continued in force until the year 1700.*

In Gordon's History of Pennsylvania it is stated, that Markham's assent to this bill "may be ascribed to his wish of redeeming the pledge which the Proprietary had given to the King, that his province should contribute to the general defence of the colonies." No authority for this is cited by the historian; and if it be founded in fact, we may reasonably conclude that Penn promised nothing more than to use his influence with the Assembly in favor of a tax to raise such sums as might be demanded by the King. These subsidies were sometimes granted, though reluctantly, by the Assembly, either in the form of donations to the crown, or as contributions for the support of government.†

From the time William Penn was reinstated in his government, until his arrival in the province in 1699, a period of five years, there are no incidents of importance on record concerning the colony. During this period the paucity of materials for history may be considered an evidence of domestic tranquillity, and there is reason to believe that the colonists of Pennsylvania then enjoyed a degree of prosperity and happiness that seldom falls to the lot of humanity.

After Penn's acquittal and restoration to his proprietary rights, in the summer of 1694, there was in the public mind a reaction in his favor, and he rose higher than ever in the estimation of his friends.‡ There is now extant a small volume of his sermons, delivered at different meeting-houses in London, about this time, which having been taken in short-hand and published, afford evidence that he had again become an object of public interest. In the autumn and winter of the same year, "he travelled in the work of the ministry, in the counties of Gloucester, Somerset, Devon and Dorset, having meetings almost daily in the most considerable towns, and other places in those counties at which the people flocked in abundantly, and his testimony to the truth answering to that of God in their consciences, was assented to by many."* We have in the memoirs of John Whiting a more particular account of a small portion of this journey. He says:

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* Proud and Gordon.

† In Dixon's Life of Penn, a similar pledge is mentioned as having been made by the Proprietary, when his government was restored to him. The authorities cited are, "Privy Council Registers, WRIII. 445. Privy Council Office, and Pennsylvania papers, Aug. 3 State Paper Office."

‡ Clarkson says, "at this time took place a complete reconcilation with his own religious society." But I can find no evidence that he had ever been at variance with it. See chap. 22 of this work.

> "This year, in the ninth month, William Penn came down to Bristol, and to Chew, and had a great meeting at Clareham, and came to my house at Wrington, that night with several other Friends. And next day, we went with him on board the Bengal ship, in Kingroad, to dinner; and afterwards, by Westbury to Bristol, on seventh day night, where, on first day, were very large meetings. And about two weeks after, he went westward, and had large meetings in most of the great towns in our county, as also in Devonshire and Dorsetshire. I met him at Wells, and went with him to Somerton, where it was some time before we could get a place large enough for the meeting—the Market-house, where the meeting began, though large, not being big enough to hold it; and at last, we were glad to go out into the fields; and a great gathering there was. I met him again at Bridgewater, where he had a great meeting in the Town Hall, as he had in most places, which the Mayors generally consented to for the respect they had to him, few places else being sufficient to hold the meetings. On the twenty-seventh of tenth month he came again to Wrington, and had a large meeting in the Court Hall."

The journal of George Fox being prepared for publication, Penn wrote, in the year 1694, a beautiful and elaborate preface for it, which was afterwards published in a separate form, under the title of "A Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers, in which their fundamental principles, doctrines, worship, ministry and discipline, are plainly declared." The testimony he bears to the character of George Fox, is very remarkable; the concluding part of it is as follows:†

> "And truly I must say, that though God had visibly clothed him with a Divine preference and authority, and indeed his very presence expressed a religious majesty, yet he never abused it; but held his place in the Church of God with great *meekness*, and a most engaging *humility* and *moderation*. For, upon all occasions, like his blessed Master, he was a

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* Life prefixed to his Works.

† Works, p. 777.

servant to all; holding and exercising his eldership in the invisible power that had gathered them, with reverence to the head, and care over the body; and was received only in that spirit and power of Christ, as the first and chief elder in this age: who, as he was therefore worthy of double honor, so, for the same reason, it was given by the faithful of this day; because his authority was inward and not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the love of God, and power of an endless life. I write by knowledge, and not report, and my witness is true; having been with him for weeks and months together, on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature; and that by night and by day, by sea and by land, in this and in foreign countries: and I can say, I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service or occasion.

"For in all things he acquitted himself like a man, yea, a strong man, a new and heavenly-minded man, a divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been surprised at his questions and answers in natural things; that whilst he was ignorant of useless and sophistical science, he had in him the grounds of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it every where. Civil, beyond all forms of breeding, in his behavior; very temperate, eating little and sleeping less, though a bulky person.

"Thus he lived and sojourned amongst us: and as he lived, so he died; feeling the same eternal power that had raised and preserved him in his last moments. So full of *assurance* was he, that he triumphed over death; and so even in his spirit to the last, as if death were hardly worth notice, or a mention. Recommending to some of us with him, the dispatch and dispersion of an Epistle, just before given forth by him, to the Churches of Christ throughout the world, and his own books. But, above all, Friends, and of all Friends, those in Ireland and America, twice over saying, 'Mind poor Friends in Ireland and America.' And to some that came in and inquired how he found himself, he answered, 'Never heed, the Lord's power is over all weakness and death; the seed reigns, blessed be the Lord.'"

In 1695 Penn again travelled in the work of the ministry, and was present at a public discussion at Melkham, in which John Plympton assailed some of the doctrines of Friends. From Melkham he proceeded to Warminster and Wrington, and thence to Wales, where his reception is thus related by Clarkson:

"Here some arrangement was necessary; for the Bishop was then there, and some of the magistrates were unfriendly. Accordingly John Whiting, accompanied by Robert Holder, went to the Bishop to solicit his permission to assemble the people for the occasion. The Bishop, at this time, was Richard Kidder, the author of that excellent work, which appeared afterwards, 'A Demonstration of the Messiah.' The Bishop asked Whiting, after the latter had opened his business to him, why he desired to have a meeting there, seeing there were no Quakers in the town. Whiting told him, to declare the truth. He then asked what the Quakers had to preach more than they. Whiting replied, the Grace of God. The Bishop said, they preached the Grace of God also. Whiting replied they might do so now and then, but not, he apprehended, as the Quakers did: that is, they did not direct their people to it as to that which bringeth salvation and hath appeared unto all men, and would teach them to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world. Soon after this the Bishop, who conducted himself with much good temper, left them to do as they pleased.

"Finding no opposition from the Bishop, they applied for the Market-house, as the fittest place to hold the auditors. They were promised the use of it the next day; but when the time came they were forbidden to enter it; for some of the opposite party in the town who had been drinking Colonel Berkley's election ale the day before, had turned the clerk of the market against them. They resolved, therefore, with the consent of the landlord, to make use of the Crown Inn where they had put up, which had a large room and balcony facing the Market-place. But finding, on looking over the late Act of Toleration, that it was necessary to have a certificate that they intended to hold a religious meeting there, they drew up the same, and the same persons went with it to the Bishop as before. He received them, as before, in a friendly manner. John Whiting informed him of what the act required. The Bishop said he would look at the act; and if it really required, he would certainly send them a certificate.

"By this time the Market-house was full of people, who had broken into it; but John Whiting and others desired them to come out of it, and to place themselves before the balcony of the inn in the street. This they did to the number of between two and three thousand. The Quakers, in the mean time, occupied the great room in the inn. After this arrangement William Penn came forward to the balcony and began to preach; but, in the midst of his discourse, a constable and other officers came with a warrant signed by Matthew Baron (Mayor), and William Salmon (Justice), and, breaking through the people, forced their way into the great room of the inn and then into the balcony, and seized William Penn, whom they hurried away before the magistrates. These, however, did not detain him long; for finding, upon examination, that the house had been certified by the Bishop, and that, by disturbing a lawful assembly, they had overshot their mark, they excused themselves as well as they could, and dismissed him.' 'After this the Friends hired a house at Wells', and having obtained a license according to law, William Penn preached without further interruption."

In the spring of 1696, he again entered the married state. He chose for his second wife, Hannah, the daughter of Thomas Callowhill, and grand-daughter of Dennis Hollister, both eminent merchants of Bristol, and members of the Society of Friends.

She proved to be a true help-meet for him, being a woman of superior understanding and great prudence.

About five weeks after this event, he experienced another vicissitude from joy to grief, in the loss of his eldest son, who died of consumption, in the 21st year of his age.

During his son's sickness, he was his faithful nurse and comforter, he received his dying head on his bosom, and watched his parting breath with all the tenderness of parental affection. In the following memorial, he has given a touching account of his son's early virtues and pious resignation.

SORROW AND JOY IN THE LOSS AND END OF SPRINGETT PENN.

"My very dear child, and eldest son, Springett Penn, did from his childhood manifest a disposition to goodness, and gave me hope of a more than ordinary capacity; and time satisfied me in both respects. For, besides a good share of learning and mathematical knowledge, he showed a judgment in the use and application of it much above his years. He had the seeds of many good qualities rising in him, that made him beloved and consequently lamented: but especially his humility, plainness, and truth, with a tenderness and softness of nature, which if I may say it, were an improvement upon his other good qualities. But, though these were no security against sickness and death, yet they went a good way to facilitate a due preparation for them. And indeed the good ground that was in him showed itself very plainly some time before his illness. For more than half a year before it pleased the Lord to visit him with weakness, he grew more retired, and much disengaged from youthful delights, showing a remarkable tenderness in meetings, even when they were silent; but when he saw himself doubtful as to his recovery, he turned his mind and meditations more apparently towards the Lord, secretly, as also when his attendants were in the room, praying often with great fervency to him, and uttering very many thankful expressions and praises to him, in a very deep and sensible manner. One day he said to us, 'I am resigned to what God pleaseth. He knows what is best. I would live if it pleased him, that I might serve him; but, O Lord, not my will, but thine be done!'

"A person speaking to him of the things of this world, and what might please him when recovered, he answered, 'My eyes look another way, where the truest pleasure is.' When he told me he had rested well, and I said it was a mercy to him, he quickly replied upon me with a serious yet sweet look, 'All is mercy, dear father; everything is mercy.' Another time when I went to meeting, at parting he said, 'Remember me, my dear father, before the Lord. Though I cannot go to meetings, yet I have many good meetings. The Lord comes in upon my spirit. I have heavenly meetings with him by myself.'

"Not many days before he died, the Lord appearing by his holy power upon his spirit, when alone, at my return, asking him how he did, he told me, 'O I have had a sweet time, a blessed time! great enjoyments! The power of the Lord overcame my soul: a sweet time indeed!'

"And telling him how some of the gentry, who had been to visit him, were gone to their games and sports and pleasures, and how little consideration the children of men had of God and their latter end, and how much happier he was in this weakness to have been otherwise educated and preserved from those temptations to vanity, he answered, 'It is all stuff, my dear father: it is sad stuff. O that I might live to tell them so!'—'Well, my dear child,' I replied, 'let this be the time of thy entering into secret covenant with God, that, if he raise thee, thou wilt dedicate thy youth, strength, and life to him and his people and service.' He returned, 'Father, that is not now to do, it is not now to do,' with great tenderness upon his spirit.

"Being ever almost near him, and doing anything for him he wanted or desired, he broke out with much sense and love, "My dear father, if I live I will make thee amends:" and speaking to him of divine enjoyments, that the eye of man saw not, but the soul made alive by the Spirit of Christ plainly felt, he, in a lively remembrance, cried out, 'O, I had a sweet time yesterday by myself! The Lord hath preserved me to this day. Blessed be his name! My soul praises him for his mercy. O Father, it is of the goodness of the Lord that I am so well as I am.' Fixing his eyes upon his sister, he took her by the hand, saying, 'Poor Tishe, look to good things! Poor child, there is no comfort without it! One drop of the love of God is worth more than all the world. I know it. I have tasted it. I have felt as much or more of the love of God in this weakness than in all my life before.' At another time, as I stood by him, he looked up upon me, and said, 'Dear father, sit by me! I love thy company, and I know thou lovest mine; and, if it be the Lord's will that we must part, be not troubled, for that will trouble me.'

"Taking something one night in bed just before his going to rest, he sat up and fervently prayed thus: 'O Lord God! Thou whose Son said to his disciples, Whatever ye ask in my name ye shall receive, I pray thee in his name bless this to me this night, and give me rest, if it be thy blessed will!' And accordingly he had a very comfortable night, of which he took a thankful notice before us the next day.

"And when he at one time more than ordinarily expressed a desire to live, and entreated me to pray for him, he added, 'And, dear father, if the Lord should raise me, and enable me to serve him and his people, then I might travel with thee sometimes, and we might ease one another, (meaning in the ministry). He spoke this with great modesty; upon which I said to him, 'My dear child, if it please the Lord to raise thee, I am satisfied it will be so, and if not, then, inasmuch as it is thy fervent desire in the Lord, he will look upon thee just as if thou didst live to serve him, and thy comfort will be the same. So either way it will be well: for, if thou shouldst not live, I do verily believe thou wilt have the recompense of thy good desires, without the temptations and troubles that would attend if long life were granted to thee.'

"Saying one day thus, 'I am resolved I will have such a thing done,' he immediately corrected himself, and fell into this reflection with much contrition, 'Did I say I will? O Lord, forgive me that irreverent and hasty expression! I am a poor weak creature, and live by Thee, and therefore I should have said, if it pleaseth Thee that I live, I intend to do so. Lord, forgive my rash expression!'

"Seeing my present wife ready to be helpful and to do anything for him, he turned to her and said, 'Do not thou do so. Let them do it. Don't trouble thyself so much for such a poor creature as I am.' And taking leave of him a few nights before his end, he said to her, 'Pray for me, dear mother! Thou art good and innocent. It may be the Lord may hear thy prayers for me; for I desire my strength again, that I may live and employ it more in his service.'

"Two or three days before his departure he called his brother to him, and, looking awfully upon him, said, 'Be a good boy, and know that there is a God, a great and mighty God, who is a rewarder of the righteous, and so he is of the wicked, but their rewards are not the same. Have a care of idle people and idle company, and love good company and good Friends, and the Lord will bless thee. I have seen good things for thee since my sickness, if thou dost but fear the Lord; and if I should not live (though the Lord is all-sufficient), remember what I say to thee, when I am dead and gone. Poor child, the Lord bless thee! Come and kiss me!' which melted us all into great tenderness, but his brother more particularly.

"Many good exhortations he gave to some of the servants and others that came to see him, who were not of our communion, as well as to those who were, which drew tears from their eyes.

"The day but one before he died he went to take the air in a coach, but said on his return, 'Really, father, I am exceeding weak. Thou cans't not think how weak I am,'—'My dear child,' I replied, 'thou art weak, but God is strong, who is the strength of thy life.'—'Aye, that is it,' said he, 'which upholdeth me.' And the day before he departed, being alone with him, he desired me to fasten the door, and looking earnestly upon me, said, 'Dear father! thou art a dear father; and I know thy Father. Come, let us two have a little meeting, a private ejaculation together, now nobody else is here. O my soul is sensible of the love of God!' And indeed, a sweet time we had. It was like to precious ointment for his burial.

"He desired, if he were not to live, that he might go home to die there, and we made preparation for it, being twenty miles from my house; for so much stronger was his spirit than his body, that he spoke of going next day, which was the morning he departed, and a symptom it was of his greater journey to his longer home. The morning he left us, growing more and more sensible of his extreme weakness, he asked me, as doubtful of himself, 'How shall I go home?' I told him in a coach. He answered, 'I am best in a coach;' but, observing his decay, I said, 'Why, child, thou art at home every where.' 'Aye,' said he, 'so I am in the Lord.' I took that opportunity to ask him, if I should remember his love to his friends at Bristol and London. 'Yes, yes,' said he, 'my love in the Lord, my love to all friends in the Lord, and relations too.' He said, 'Aye, to be sure.' Being asked if he would have his ass's milk or eat anything, he answered, 'No more outward food, but heavenly food is provided for me.'

"His time drawing on apace, he said to me, 'My dear father, kiss me! Thou art a dear father. I desire to prize it. How can I make thee amends?'

"He also called his sister, and said to her, 'Poor child, come and kiss me!' between whom seemed a tender and long parting. I sent for his brother, that he might kiss him, too, which he did. All were in tears about him. Turning his head to me, he said, softly, 'Dear father! hast thou no hope for me?' I answered, 'My dear child! I am afraid to hope, and I dare not despair, but am and have been resigned, though one of the hardest lessons I ever learned.' He paused awhile, and, with a composed frame of mind, he said, 'Come life, come death, I am resigned. O, the love of God overcomes my soul!' Feeling himself decline apace, and seeing him not able to bring up the matter that was in his throat, somebody fetched the doctor; but, as soon as he came in, he said, 'Let my father speak to the doctor, and I'll go to sleep;' which he did, and waked no more; breathing his last on my breast, the tenth day of the second month, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning, 1696, in his one-and-twentieth year.

"So ended the life of my dear child and eldest son, much of my comfort and hope, and one of the most tender and dutiful, as well as ingenious and virtuous youths I knew, if I may say so of my own dear child, in whom I lose all that any father could lose in a child, since he was capable of any thing that became a sober young man, my friend and companion, as well as most affectionate and dutiful child."

"May this loss and end have its due weight and impression upon all his dear relations and friends, and upon those to whose hands this account may come, for their remembrance, and preparation for their great and last change, and I have my end in making my dear child's thus far public.

"WILLIAM PENN."

CHAPTER XXIX.

"Primitive Christianity Revived;" "More Work for George Keith;" Interview with Peter, Czar of Muscovy; Lasting Impression Produced on the Czar; "A Caution concerning the Bill against Blasphemy;" Letter to his Agents in Pennsylvania; Religious Visit to Ireland; Half Year Meeting at Dublin; Great Crowds attend to hear Penn; Controversy with Plympton; "Gospel Truths;" William Penn's Horse Seized under an Act against Papists; His Clemency towards the Offenders; T. Story's Account of William Penn's Eminent Services in the Ministry; Interview with a Bishop; William Penn's Return Home; Writes "A Defence of Gospel Truths;" T. Story Embarks for America; His Parting Interview with William Penn; William Penn Prepares for a Voyage to America; Letter of Advice to his Children; Farewell Sermon; Letter to Friends in England; He Embarks.

1696–99.

It was the practice of William Penn, when prevented from going abroad by domestic afflictions, to improve the time by writing on religious subjects, and soon after the death of his eldest son he produced a treatise entitled "Primitive Christianity Revived in the Faith and Practice of the People called Quakers." This work was intended to show that the principles of Friends are the same as those of the primitive church, and that the life and power of religion, when received in faith and obeyed without reserve, will produce the same fruits of holiness as in the morning of the Gospel day.

"At this time George Keith, who had been disowned by Friends for his contentious and disorderly behavior, kept up a meeting, with some of his adherents, at Turner's Hall, where, under the name of religion, he fostered strife and debate, sending challenges to Friends to dispute with them, and making quotations from their books, such as he himself formerly could candidly interpret, and had successfully vindicated against other opposers."* To check his contentious spirit, Penn wrote a small work, consisting, in part, of quotations from Keith's own writings, in which the very objections he now raised, were answered by himself. This tract was entitled, "More Work for George Keith."

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* Life prefixed to his works.

In the year 1697, Penn had an interview with the Czar of Muscovy, since celebrated in history as Peter the Great. This enterprising monarch, in order to inform himself concerning the arts and manufactures of nations more civilized than his own, spent some time in Holland and England, where he desired to remain incognito, and even wrought with his own hands as a ship carpenter.

While he was in London, Thomas Story and another Friend went to his residence with the intention of presenting him some religious books.

He conversed with them through an interpreter, and among other questions he asked them, "Of what use can you be in any kingdom, seeing you will not bear arms or fight?" Thomas Story replied, "Many of us had borne arms in times past, but when it pleased God to reveal in our hearts the life and power of Jesus Christ, his Son, who is the Prince of Righteousness and Peace, whose commandment is love, we were then reconciled unto God, one unto another, unto our enemies, and to all men. And he that commanded us to love our enemies, hath left us no right to fight and destroy, but to convert them." He further explained that they were useful citizens, under any government, for their religious principles prohibited idleness; and being engaged in husbandry, manufactures, and merchandising, they contributed to public prosperity. And, moreover, they felt bound to pay the taxes or assessments laid upon them by government, in conformity with the example of the Lord Jesus Christ, who wrought a miracle to pay a tax to the Roman emperor." The Friends then presented to the Czar two copies of Barclay's Apology in Latin, for which he wished to pay an equivalent, but they declined receiving it.

It being ascertained that the Czar did not understand Latin, nor indeed any other language than Russian and German, William Penn, accompanied by some other Friends, waited on him at Deptford, where he was at work, in order to present him with some books, in German, explanatory of Friends' principles. They met with a cordial reception, and Penn being able to converse fluently in German, the interview was satisfactory on both sides.

The Czar became so much interested in Friends, that he sometimes attended their meetings at Deptford, behaving as a private person, and being very social.

The impression produced upon him by this intercourse with Friends in England, appears to have been lasting; for fifteen years afterwards, being in the City of Frederickstadt in Holstein, with an army to assist the Danes against the Swedes, he inquired if there were any Quakers there? One of the Burgomasters told him there were a few, he then asked if they had a meeting, and being answered in the affirmative, he desired that officer to inform them, that if they would appoint a meeting he would attend it. The Burgomaster replied that there were 30 soldiers quartered in the meeting-house. The Czar ordered them to be removed immediately, and the house to be put in order; which being done, the meeting was appointed and he attended with a number of his officers. Philip Defair preached, to which they all paid great attention, and the Czar being better acquainted with the language than the rest, interpreted for them, observing at the close of the meeting that, "whoever could live according to that doctrine would be happy."*

There being at this time depending in the House of Lords a bill against blasphemy, William Penn presented to the House "A caution requisite in its consideration, wherein he showed the necessity of so explaining the word blasphemy, that no ambiguous interpretation might enable malicious persons to prosecute under that name, whatsoever they should be pleased to call so." After which the House thought proper to drop the bill.†

In the year 1697, he removed with his family to Bristol, and in the spring of the following year, he set out for Ireland, intending to visit his valuable estates in that island; but the main object of his journey appears to have been to labor as a minister of the Gospel, in which he was joined by his friends, Thomas

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* Story's Journal, 126 and 494.

† Life prefixed to his works.

Story and John Everot. All that we know of this visit, is found in the journal of Thomas Story, from whose diffuse narrative the following condensed account is taken.

They arrived at Dublin the 6th of the third month (May,) and attended the Half-year Meeting there. This meeting is described by T. Story, as being remarkably harmonious, and he adds, "great was the resort of people of all ranks and professions to our meetings, chiefly on account of our friend, William Penn, who was ever furnished by the Truth with matter fully to answer their expectations. Many of the clergy were there, and the people, with one voice, spoke well of what they heard. And of the clergy, the Dean of Derry was one, who being there several times, was asked by his bishop, whether he heard anything but blasphemy and nonsense; and whether he took off his hat in time of prayer? He answered that, 'he heard no blasphemy nor nonsense, but the everlasting truth, and did not only take off his hat at prayer, but his heart said amen to what he heard.'"

In the interval between the meetings, William Penn visited "the Lords Justices of Ireland and the chief ministers of government," not only to pay his respects to those officers, but to secure their favor and protection to Friends. At Dublin he again encountered John Plympton the Baptist disputant, whom he had met at Melkham three years before. Plympton had just published an abusive paper against Friends in general, and William Penn in particular, which the Baptists of that city disapproved and disowned. He also issued a paper, entitled "The Quaker no Christian," which William Penn answered by a tract under the title of "The Quaker a Christian," and he further vindicated his principles by a tract called "Gospel Truths," which was signed by himself and three others.

From Dublin they went to Wexford, and thence to Lambstown, where they wrote an epistle to the Yearly Meeting of London, signed by William Penn, John Everot and Thomas Story, which relates to their labors in the ministry of the Gospel, and the state of the society in that nation.

They next proceeded to Waterford in company with a number of Friends, and on their way, when about to cross a river, their horses were seized by six dragoons, who were acting under orders from their officers. This seizure was made under a tyrannical law of the Irish Parliament, which prohibited any Papist from keeping a horse above the value of five guineas, and directed that all should be regarded as Papists who declined to take the oaths prescribed.

William Penn's horse and that of his son, with two others, being the most valuable in the company, were seized, and had to be recovered by a replevin. On reaching Waterford, he wrote to "the Lords Chief Justices of Ireland," complaining of the abuse, and they issued an order under which the officers were confined to their chambers for some weeks, until released by the intercession of Penn, who, believing them to be sensible of their error, evinced his wonted clemency by forgiving them.

After attending a large and satisfactory meeting at Waterford, they went to the Barony of Imokelley, where lay a great part of William Penn's Irish estates, including the Castle of Shangarry. Thence, they proceeded "to the Barony of Ibaune and Barryroe, to view the rest of his estates in those parts."

At Cork and Brandon they had good meetings, attended by large numbers of all ranks and professions. Here they were informed, by letters from England, that some members of their society had, during William Penn's absence, made a base attack upon his character, even in the Yearly Meeting of London, which had just been held. "But this," says Thomas Story, "was done by a shameless and implacable party, being moved by envy at the honor and dignity which the Most High had been pleased to confer on him." He adds, that soon after receving these tidings, they had another large and crowded meeting at Cork, where all who had heard of "those evil suggestions made at London, might be assured that they spring from a false and evil root, for the Lord was pleased to clothe William that day with majesty, holy zeal and divine wisdom, to the great satisfaction of Friends and the admiration and applause of the people." After attending meetings at Charlymill, Limerick, Birr, Mount Mellick, Edenderry, Lurgen and Dublin, they came to Cashel. Here they had a meeting attended by a great concourse of all ranks and persuasions.

Soon after it was opened, and while John Vaughton was preaching, the Mayor and constable came, by direction of the Bishop, and in the King's name, commanded them to disperse. John Vaughton informed him that he had an interview with the King, before he left England, who was pleased to say, "That if any persons disturbed them in the exercise of their religious liberties, to make it known to him, and he would protect them." "Thou art," he said, "disturbing our meeting; but whether we should obey thee without law, or believe the King's word, let all that hear judge." The people kept their places, and Thomas Story then commenced speaking, when the Mayor attempted to pull him down, but could not reach him by reason of the crowd. At this juncture, William Penn, who was in an adjoining apartment, sent for the Mayor, whom he treated with the respect due to his station, but desired him to retire and let the Bishop know that he would see him at his own house after meeting was over, desiring the Bishop's patience till then, which the Mayor did accordingly. William Penn then went into the meeting, which was held to general satisfaction, and after it was ended, he waited on the Bishop to expostulate with him for his unkind and illegal interference. The Bishop could not justify what he had done, but said, by way of excuse, that he went that morning to church to perform his office as usual, and when there, he had nobody to preach to but the Mayor, church-wardens, some of the constables, and the walls—the people being all gone to the Friends' meeting, "which, I confess," said he, "made me a little angry, and I sent the Mayor and constables with that message, in hope, by that means, to have a greater auditory, though I have no ill will to you, or those of your profession."

After this conversation, they parted in seeming friendship; but the Bishop, in order to justify his unlawful proceedings, wrote to the Earl of Galloway and the other Lords Justices of Ireland, stating that "Mr. Penn and the Quakers had gathered together in that place so many armed Papists, and such a vast multitude of people, that it struck a terror into him and into the town, and not knowing what might be the consequence of such an appearance, he had sent the Mayor and the magistrates to disperse them." This letter was shown by the Earl to William Penn, when he afterwards visited Cork, which gave him an opportunity to relate the circumstances, and set the Bihsop's conduct in its true light.

Having been more than three months in Ireland, chiefly engaged in religious services, Penn and his companions embarked for England, and returned to his residence in Bristol, "with thankful hearts to the Lord and giver of all our mercies."*

During some months after his return, he was engaged in writing a treatise in defence of Friends' principles. It is called "A Defence of a paper entitled Gospel Truths against the Exceptions of the Bishop of Cork's Testimony." When he was in Ireland, he made a friendly visit to that prelate, and believing him to be moderate and reasonable, he presented him with a copy of his declaration, called "Gospel Truths." The Bishop, soon after, published a severe criticism on it, wherein he says, "I must tell you the declaration of your faith comes so short of what is required from people to denominate them Christians, that except under each article you believe more than you have declared, you cannot be accounted Christians." Penn's defence is calm and respectful, but cogent and sometimes caustic, showing that the Bishop had made unjust inferences from the omissions in the paper called "Gospel Truths," which was not intended to be a full exposition of Friends' principles, but a brief declaration on a single sheet concerning some important points, on which their views had been misrepresented."†

Thomas Story having embarked for America in the latter part of autumn, 1698, many of his friends went aboard the ship, near Deptford, to take leave of him, and among them came William Penn, who, "after they had sat together in solemn silence, appeared in supplication for the well-being and preservation of all present, in reverent thankfulness for all the favors of God, and especially for the precious enjoyment of his Divine presence, which they then experienced."‡

The province of Pennsylvania had, for some years past, enjoyed a state of tranquillity and prosperity; but accounts had reached England that illicit trade was tolerated there, pirates harbored, and vice permitted to go unpunished. These exaggerated or unfounded reports being communicated by Penn to his agents in the province, called forth, in the year 1698, a proclamation from the Governor and Council, in which, after denying the accusations concerning illicit trade and harboring pirates, they admitted that the drinking houses in Philadelphia were too numerous, and they exhorted the magistrates to enforce the laws, and to suffer none to keep ordinaries or inns who would not observe order and discourage vice.*

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* T. Story's Journal, 127 to 146.

† Life prefixed to his works.

‡ T. Story's Journal.

In the same year, the Proprietary having drawn bills upon his agents in the province, for about £300, was informed that they remained unpaid, whereupon he wrote to them as follows:

"2d, 3d mo, '98.

"LOVING FRIENDS—I am surprised to hear my bills for three hundred and odd pounds should be refused. Is not my right by public obligation to six hundred pounds, in consideration of the law I relinquished of customs;† my expenses in coming over and prosecuting the dispute with Lord Baltimore, which held near a year; all my expenses in two years with-standing of Edward Randall, &c., at my great charge; and, last of all, my quit-rents, of which I have not seen for twelve years one sixpence: I say, are not all these credit enough to give a governor and proprietor, too, his bills acceptance, or honor at least, for three hundred and odd pounds? But in my own country to suffer that disgrace upon me, I cannot but think it hard and unworthy, and without example. These are, therefore, to desire you forthwith to call in my rents, and pay the said money, £318, and £157 ten shillings more, to the order of Philip Ford, who has assisted me here, and that with all the speed you can, I entreat you. It must be in English sterling. I hope this summer to be with you, and shall gladly acknowledge your love and care herein: so, with my love that changes not to you, I end.

"Your real friend, WM. PENN."

The society of Friends had now enjoyed for some years a respite from persecution, but they still had painful evidence that there were those among the clergy of the Established church, who envied them the enjoyment of their religious liberty.

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* Proud.

† This is supposed to refer to an obligation that had been executed to him by S. Carpenter, J. Songhurst, Gr. Jones and others, for £600, to be paid to him by the province as a consideration for his relinquishing certain imports or customs. This letter is copied from a lithographed *fac simile* done in Baltimore.

In the year 1699, a discussion was held at West Dereham, in Norfolk, between some clergymen and the Friends, in which the former, being foiled and disappointed of a triumph, grew angry, and being desirous to accomplish by the magistrate's sword what they could not achieve by argument, they published a pamphlet called "A Brief Discovery," in which they misrepresented the principles and practices of Friends. In order to counteract the indulgence they enjoyed, with others, under the Act of Toleration, the authors of this abusive work presented it formally to the King and Parliament. This called forth from William Penn the following brief reply, viz:

> "It does not surprise us to be evilly treated, and especially by those who have an interest in doing it; but, if conscience prevailed more than contention, and charity overruled prejudice, we might hope for fairer quarter from our adversaries.
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> "But such is our unhappiness, that nothing less will satisfy them than breaking in upon the indulgence which we enjoy, if they could persuade the government to second their attempts to a new persecution; in order to which, we perceive they have been hard at work to pervert our books, violate our sense, abuse our practice, and ridicule our persons; knowing very well with whom they have to do, and that the patience of our profession is their security in abusing it.
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> "However, if it has weight enough with our superiors to make them expect a fresh defence of our principles and practices, we shall with God's assistance, be ready, for their satisfaction, once more to justify both against the insults of our restless adversaries, who otherwise, we take leave to say, would not deserve our notice, since we have already repeatedly answered their objections in print, and think it our duty, as well as wisdom, to use the liberty the government has favored us with in as peaceable and inoffensive a manner as may be. WILLIAM PENN."

He now prepared to fulfil his long cherished purpose of removing with his family to Pennsylvania, for a permanent residence. Previous to his embarkation he composed a letter of advice to his children, "relating to their civil and religious conduct," which abounds with just and beautiful sentiments.

On the 13th of the sixth month (August, O. S.), he preached a "farewell sermon," at Friends' meeting-house, Westminster, which, being taken down and printed soon after, is still extant. The following extract may serve as a specimen. "He that made us, knows our frame. He that created us and formed and fashioned us after his own image, and gave us powers and faculties to glorify and serve him, that we may come to enjoy him forever, requires of no man or woman more than he hath given them power or ability to perform. It concerneth us all, therefore, to live in the exercise of that Divine gift, and grace and ability which our Lord Jesus Chris hath distributed and communicated to every member of his body, that we may come to shine as stars in the firmament of glory. We should do good in our several places and stations, according to our different powers and capacities. And as every member is, by the circulation of blood, made useful and beneficial in the natural body, so the Divine life and blood of the Son of God, circulates through his whole mystical body, and reaches life to every living member. Here is no obstruction through unfaithfulness or inordinate love of the world, or any temptation from without us, or corruption from within us. Here is a free channel, here is an open passage for life and quickening influences from Christ, our glorious head, in all his members. There is in Christ (in whom the fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily) a river, whose streams make glad the City of God, a fountain to supply and refresh the whole generation of the righteous that desire to be found in him (as the Apostle speaks), not having their own righteousness, but chothed with the robe of his righteousness, which is the garment of salvation."*

On the 9th of the 7th month (September, O. S.), 1699, he sailed from Cowes in the Isle of Wight, having two days previously addressed, from on board the ship, an epistle to the members of his own religious society, which concludes as follows: "I must leave you, but I can never forget you; for my love to you has been even as David's and Jonathan's, above the love of women: and suffer me to say, that, to my power, I have from the first endeavored to serve you (and my poor country), and that at *my own charges*, with an upright mind, however *misunderstood and treated* by some, whom I heartily forgive. Accept you my services; and ever love and remember, my dear friends and brethren, your old, true and affectionate friend, brother and servant in Christ Jesus, WILLIAM PENN."

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* "The Friend," published in London.

Previous to his embarkation, the Friends in England gave him three certificates addressed to the meetings of Friends in Pennsylvania, which may be seen in the first Book of Records of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting.

These documents show that he was in full unity with the meetings of his own society, and greatly beloved amongst them.

The first certificate is from "the Second-Day's Meeting of Ministering Friends" in London; which, after alluding to his eminent services in the Gospel ministry, his successful efforts in pleading the cause of the oppressed, his tribulations, arising from the malice of his enemies, and his meekness in forgiving them; concludes by stating, that he parted with their meeting in great love, and was in true unity as an approved minister of Christ.

The second, is from the "Men's Meeting of Friends in the City of Bristol," where he had been for some time residing. It expresses their great reluctance to part with him and their high esteem for him "as a man, a good Friend and a true Christian."

The third, being a full and beautiful expression of Christian fellowship, is here subjoined.

From our Monthly Meeting held at Horsham, 14th of 5th mo. 1699.

"Old England To the churches of Christ in Pennsylvania, and to all the faithful Friends and brethren unto whom this may come. In the covenant of life and fellowship of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the unity of the one Eternal Spirit of our God, we dearly salute you; most earnestly desiring your everlasting prosperity in the blessed Truth.

"Now, dear friends and brethren, whereas our worthy friend and elder, William Penn, did acquaint our Monthly Men's Meeting with his intended voyage into his province of Pennsylvania, and although we are right sensible that he needeth no letter of recommendation from us to pass into his own country, yet at his request, and for the good order's sake that God hath established in his church, and amongst his people, and for the sincere love we bear to our well esteemed friend, we could do no less than give this small token of our unity and communion with him, as a testimony for him and his service in the church of Christ; wherein he hath been a worthy and blessed instrument in the hand of the Lord, both in his ministry and conversation, and hath always sought the prosperity of the blessed truth, and peace and concord in the church of Christ; and hath walked amongst us in all humility, godly sincerity and true brotherly love, to our great refreshment and comfort: who hath, with much labor and great travail, on all occasions endeavored the defence of truth against its opposers, and the preservation of true unity and good order in the church of Christ. So in the unity of the one Eternal Spirit, which is the bond of true peace, we take our leave of him, with earnest breathings and supplications to the great God, whom the winds and seas obey, that he would mercifully be pleased to go along with him, and conduct him by the angel of His divine presence, to his desired port; and preserve him to the end of his days; and in the end, that he may receive an immortal crown, and be bound up in the bundle of life amongst them that have turned many to righteousness, who shine as the sun in the firmament of God's eternal power, forever and ever, amen."

CHAPTER XXX.

William Penn Lands at Chester; Sad Accident to a Young Man; William Penn's Charity; He Lands at Philadelphia; Yellow Fever in that City; Letter of J. Logan to William Penn, Jr.; Notice of J. Logan; Col. Quarry and David Lloyd; Residence in Philadelphia; His Employments; Meeting of Assembly; Speech to the Council; A New Charter Desired; Laws Proposed Concerning Marriages of Negroes, and Selling Rum to Indians; Col. Quarry's Charges against D. Lloyd: D. L. Excluded from Council; His Enmity to William Penn; Old Charter given up; Speech on the occasion.

1699-1700.

It was a joyful day to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania when the ship Canterbury was announced, bearing to their shores the illustrious founder of the colony; who, after an absence of fifteen years, had come with his family, intending to make it his permanent home.

After a tedious voyage of more than three months, the ship arrived at Chester, on the 1st day of the 10th month (December, O. S. 1699.) On the evening previous, William Penn came up in his barge to the house of Lydia Wade, near Chester, where he arrived after dark; and there, being met by his friend Thomas Story, they spent some time in social converse and lodged together.*

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* Story's Journal.

The next day they went over Chester Creek in a boat, and as the Governor landed, some young men, contrary to the express orders of the magistrates, fired a salute "with two small sea-pieces of cannon." On loading one of the guns a second time, one of the young men threw in a cartridge of powder before the piece was sponged, which taking fire, his left hand and arm were shot in pieces. A surgeon being sent for from on board a ship lying at anchor before the town, he found it necessary to amputate the arm.*

This untoward accident must have greatly marred the pleasure of the Governor's reception. So deeply was he interested for the sufferer, that he paid the expenses of surgical aid, and continued to advance money for his relief and support; as appears by entries on the Proprietary Cash Book, of various sums, paid "for B. Bevan of Chester, who lost his arm." The last of these entries shows the sad termination of this affair, it is on "April 20th, for his *funeral* charges."†

After exchanging salutations with his friends in Chester, the Governor again went on board, and the ship proceeded to Philadelphia, where he was greeted by the inhabitants with joy and respect. The city had lately been visited by that dreadful epidemic the Yellow Fever, which carried off many of the inhabitants and spread a general gloom over the community.

Thomas Story speaks of its effects in the following terms: "In this distemper had died, six, seven, and sometimes eight, a day, for several weeks, there being few houses, if any, free of the sickness. Great was the majesty and hand of the Lord! great was the fear that fell upon all flesh! I saw no lofty or airy countenance, nor heard any vain jesting to move men to laughter, nor witty repartee to move men to mirth; nor extravagant feasting to excite the lusts and desires of the flesh above measure. But every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled, and countenances fallen and sunk, as such that waited every moment to be summoned to the bar and numbered to the grave."

While the disease was most prevalent, the time arrived for

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* T. Story's Journal. † Mem. Hist. Soc. Pa. Fisher's Private Life of Penn.

Friends to hold their yearly meeting, and some wished to postpone it till a more healthy season, but the sentiment prevailed that there was no authority in individuals or subordinate meetings to change the time; and advices were issued that "such only should attend as were concerned in the service of the meetings, because of the great infection, and the incapacity of Friends and inns in town to lodge and entertain them." The meeting was held with great solemnity and power, the fear of contagion being much taken away, and the consolations of the Gospel abundantly experienced. It was remarked that "there was not one taken ill during the whole time of the meeting, either of those that came there on that account, or of the people of the town."*

Before the landing of William Penn and his family, the fever had ceased, and nothing could be better adapted to dispel the gloom that remained, than the long-desired arrival of their beloved and venerated governor. The circumstances attending his reception in Philadelphia are related in a letter from James Logan to William Penn, Jr., then in England, who was the only surviving son of the founder by his first wife. In order that the reader may fully understand this interesting letter, a brief account of the writer, and of two characters mentioned in it, Col. Quarry and Daniel Lloyd, appears to be requisite, more especially as they will be introduced frequently hereafter, in connexion with the affairs of the province.

James Logan was born at Lurgan, in Ireland, in 1674; his parents were from Scotland, where their valuable estates were confiscated under a charge of participation in the conspiracy of the Earl of Gowrie. His talents must have been early developed, for "he speaks of having attained a knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, before he was thirteen years of age, and also that in his sixteenth year, having met with a book of Laybourns on Mathematics, he made himself master of that science without any instruction."

His father, having gone to Bristol, was employed in teaching, where James, being his assistant in the school, continued to improve himself in the classics, and learned the French and Italian languages, as well as some Spanish. In the year 1698 he engaged in a trade between Dublin and Bristol; but William Penn having proposed to him to accompany him to Pennsylvania as his secretary, he accepted the offer, and came over with him in the ship Canterbury in 1699. He was Secretary of the Province, Commissioner of Property, for some time President of the Council, and afterwards Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. Notwithstanding his numerous employments, he found time to cultivate his taste for literature and science: he wrote some scientific works, corresponded with the literati of Europe, and received at his seat of Stenton all strangers of distinction who visited the province. He patronized men of genius and learning, and collected a valuable library, which he bequeathed to the Library Company of Philadelphia.

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* T. Story's Journal.

He was educated as a Friend, and highly esteemed for his virtues; but in one important point he differed from the Society, being an advocate for military defences.

His sagacity, prudence, and knowledge of business rendered him of great service to William Penn, to whom he was a wise counsellor and steadfast friend.

Their voluminous correspondence is still preserved at Stenton, and a copy of it, transcribed by the late Deborah Logan,* with her interesting annotations, has been placed in the archives of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia.

In personal appearance James Logan was tall and well proportioned, with a graceful yet grave demeanor. His manner was dignified yet kind and engaging.†

Col. Robert Quarry was for many years the determined opponent of the Proprietary interest, and gave much annoyance to William Penn.

He was a member of the Church of England and Judge of the Admiralty, a court established by the British government in her American colonies, for the adjudication of maritime causes, and with the purpose of enforcing her navigation laws, which prohibited a direct trade with foreign countries. The official station of Col. Quarry, and that of John Moore, advocate in the same court, rendered them independent of the Proprietary and of the colonial Legislature, whose views and interests it was their study to thwart in every possible way, but especially by complaints and exaggerated reports, transmitted to the board of trade in London.

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* Widow of Dr. George Logan, who died at Stenton in 1821.

† Logan, MSS. and Watson's Annals.

Before the arrival of Penn several of these injurious statements had been forwarded to the British government, charging the colonial authorities with harboring pirates, and tolerating illicit trade, as well as complaining that oaths were not exacted in the courts, nor military defences provided for the colony.

William Penn by his influence with "the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations," had succeeded in baffling their designs, and now, being desirous to promote the harmony and welfare of the province, he felt inclined to overlook past offences and to cultivate friendly relations with all.

David Lloyd was a Welshman by birth; he had been a captain in Cromwell's army, and was by profession a lawyer.

He emigrated to Pennsylvania at an early date, and was commissioned by Penn as attorney-general for the province, in the year 1686. He was a man of considerable abilities, and in private life bore a fair character, but in his public career he was a disturber that knew no peace himself, nor permitted any to others. Affecting to be the champion of popular rights, he had great influence with the people, whose confidence he abused by leading many of them into factious opposition to the government, and defeating some of the most salutary measures proposed by the Proprietary.*

He was not inimical to the interests of Penn, until about the year 1700, when, as stated in the following letter, he took some offence, and became ever after, his implacable adversary, although belonging to the same religious communion.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN, JR.

"Philadelphia, 7mo., 25th, 1700.

"The highest terms I could use would hardly give you an idea of the expectation and welcome that thy father received from the most of the honester party here: Friends generally concluded that after all their troubles and disappointments, this province now scarce wanted any thing more to render it completely happy. The faction that had long contended to overthrow the settled constitution of the government received an universal damp, yet endeavored what mischief they could by speaking whispers, that the Proprietary could not act as Governor, without the King's approbation, and taking an oath as obliged by act of Parliament, but that in a great measure soon blew over. Colonel Quarry, Judge, and John Moore, Advocate, of the Admiralty, the two ring-leaders went down to the water side among the crowd to receive the Governor at his landing, who not seeming to regard the very submissive welcome they gave him, and taking notice of an old acquaintance that stood by them, expected nothing but almost as open hostility from the Proprietary as they were at before with Col. Markham, especially having heard that copies of Col. Quarry's letters to the admiralty at home against the Governor were also brought over."

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* Proud, Watson, and Logan MSS.

"Directly from the wharf the Governor went to his deputy's, paid him a short formal visit, and from thence, with a crowd attending, to meeting, it being about three o'clock on first-day afternoon, where he spoke on a double account to the people, and praying, concluded it: from thence to Edward Shippens, where we lodged for about a month."

"For two or three days the Governor seemed to admire at Col. Quarry's distance, and perceiving that he was not like to come pay a civil visit as might be expected, sent me to him with an inviting compliment, with which he presently complied, and entered into a very familiar conversation with the Governor, who endeavored to make it appear that he would treat all parties with equal civility and regard in this province, that were not directly injurious to him, confessed he believed, there was occasion given for the complaint that went home; blamed the mal-administration of affairs in some particulars, relative to the King, and resolved to have a hearing of the whole matter before himself and council. The two persons chiefly struck at by Quarry, was the Lieutenant-Governor and David Lloyd, Attorney General; a man very stiff in all his undertakings, of a sound judgment, and a good lawyer, but extremely pertinacious and somewhat revengeful: he, at that time was one of the council, and those mighty wrongs that had been put on the King coming to be debated there, David resolutely defended all that had been done, and too highly opposed the Governor's resolution of composing all by mildness and moderation, and reconciling all animosities by his own intervention, which he thought the only advisable expedient to put an end to those differences that had cost him so much trouble. This soon created some small misunderstanding, several of the most noted Friends were involved more or less in David's business, and though troubled at his stiffness yet wished him in the right, because the most active enemy and assiduous counsellor against the other party, who on all occasions would be glad, they thought, of their utter ruin. His obstinacy the Governor could by no means brook; he could not but think there was more deference and consideration due to his character and station; the other knew not what it was to bend, he was engaged in the cause, and would stand or fall by it, offering to plead it at Westminster Hall, but the Governor who was most sensible of the pulse of the court and affairs in general at home, knew this course would never take, and therefore was sometimes warm enough to inveigh highly against past proceedings, not sparing several in express words that were concerned in them, and laying open in large discourse what would be the consequence, if they took not some more effectual ways to satisfy superiors at home, who, perhaps, would be very well pleased with any occasion by whatsoever hand administered to wrench the government out of the Proprietor's hands and throw it on the King."

"Friends' love to the Governor was great and sincere, they had long mourned for his absence and passionately desired his return. He, they firmly believed, would compose all their difficulties and repair all that was amiss."

It appears, from the foregoing letter, that the Governor and his family, with his secretary, James Logan, went, on their arrival, to lodge at Edward Shippens's, where they remained about a month. Penn then took a house known as the slate-roof house, on Second street, between Chestnut and Walnut, at the south-east corner of Norris's alley.* Here was born, about two months after they landed, his son John, the only one of his children born in this country, and therefore called "The American." The house is still standing, and though it presents a lowly appearance in comparison with the stately mansions since erected in its vicinity, it will ever be regarded with deep interest by the antiquarian. Who can look at this venerable building, humble and degraded as it now appears, without feeling the influence of cherished associations, which bring before the mind's eye the long-vanished images of former scenes, when the founder of Pennsylvania passed through these doors, entertained his friends in these apartments, or partook here, with his family, the comforts and enjoyments of domestic life.

From the Colonial Records, and the Journal of Thomas Story, we can trace the movements of Governor Penn during nearly the whole winter of 1699–1700. He landed at Chester on the 1st of 10th month, (December, O. S.) was probably at Philadelphia the next day, returned to Chester on the 15th to attend the Quarter Sessions, was with Thomas Story at various religious meetings in Pennsylvania and New Jersey during the winter months, and during the same season attended twenty-two meetings of the Provincial Council, besides meeting the Assembly in the 11th month, (January,) to obtain the passage of an act against piracy and illicit trade—a law considered necessary, in order to clear the colony of the injurious and mischievous reports that had been transmitted to the British government.

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* Watson's Annals.

An election for members of Council and Assembly having taken place agreeably to the provisions of the charter, the Council met in Philadelphia the 1st of the 2d month, (April) 1700, and having individually subscribed a declaration of fidelity to the King and the Proprietary, they were addressed by William Penn in the following speech:*

"Friends—Though this be a colony of nineteen years' standing, and not inferior to any of its age and establishing, yet we have much to do to make a free constitution and the courts of justice therein. There are in it some laws which may be accounted obsolete, others hurtful, others imperfect, that will need improvement; and it will be requisite to make some new ones. We cannot go too slowly to make them, nor too fast to execute them when made, and that with diligence and discretion. A few well made, and duly executed, will better answer the ends of government than a great bulk unexecuted. You, friends, are the people's choice and my Council. You will see what laws are fit to be left out, and what are fit to be made; and you, with me, are to prepare and propose them; I say this the rather, because of a false notion some have got, that because you are my Council, therefore, you are not the people's representatives. The ablest men have always been chosen to be of the Council to prepare the laws, and the Assembly are to consent to them. Though two bodies, yet are we but one power—the one prepares, the other consents. Friends, if in the constitution by charter there be anything that jars, alter it. If you want a law for this or that, prepare it; I advise you not to trifle with government: I wish there were no need of any: but since crimes prevail, government is made necessary by man's degeneracy. Government is not an end, but a means; he who thinks it to be an end, aims at profit, to make a trade of it; but he who thinks it to be a means, understands the true end of government. Friends, away with all parties, and look on yourselves, and on what is good for all as a body politic; first as under the King and Crown of England; and next as under me by letters patent from that Crown. At the late election in Philadelphia, I was grieved to hear some make it a matter of religion. It is merely a humane and moral thing relating to society, trade, traffic, and public good, consisting in virtue and justice; where these are maintained, there is government indeed. Study peace and be at unity. Provide for the good of all; and I desire to see mine no otherwise than in the public's prosperity. The last Assembly made two laws against piracy and forbidden trade. I hear they have not sat easy on the books of some; but I hope we having therein been careful, we shall have thanks for making them before we had orders so to do; and after so many calumnies and complaints we have been loaded with, I hope those two laws will, in some degree, wash us clean. What concerns myself I also leave it with you to consider. I have been now nineteen years your proprietor and governor, and have at my charge maintained my deputy, whereby I have much worsted myself and estate. I hope it will be no wonder to any here to hear me make this mention of it. Some say I come to get money and be gone, but perhaps they that say so, wish it so; I hope I or mine shall be with you while I or they live. The disasters of my absence have been mine as well as yours; and, as I am used, shall make suitable returns. I have lately two packets from Whitehall, an original and a duplicate; also one for my cousin Markham, and two from Secretary Vernon; and am commanded by the Lords Justices to make laws against piracy and unlawful trade. I am glad we have prevented their commands in doing it before they came."

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* Colonial Records, i., 568, and Mem. H. S. Pa., ii., part ii, 187.

After the delivery of the Governor's speech, a motion was made by a member of Council, that they might have a new charter; the Governor asked them, "whether they thought the old charter was living, dead, or asleep;" is it, said he, "vacated by the act of settlement, or what state is it in?" After some of the members had expressed their opinions that the fundamental principles of the old charter were still in force, the Governor said: "The act of settlement served till I came, now I am come it cannot bind me against my own act, the charter, it being my grant, and the people my witness by their acceptance of it, and tho' some violence cannot be resisted, yet when the violence is taken off the charter returns, and how can it return but by writ?" He then resolved all the members of Council into a grand committee, to meet in the afternoon "to read the "charter and frame of government, to keep what is good, in either, to lay aside what is inconvenient and burdensome, and to add to both what may best suit the common good."*

Among the measures proposed by the Governor, was one "about the marriages of negroes," and another to prohibit the sale of rum to the Indians.

These benevolent measures were agreed to by the Council but rejected by the Assembly.

At a meeting of Council in the spring of 1700, Col. Robert Quarry brought a charge against David Lloyd for irreverent speeches and gestures, "against the *broad seal of England and the King's picture*," and being required to reduce his charges to writing, he deposed that "the said David Lloyd, at a country court where the marshal produced his letters patent with the broad seal of the high court of Admiralty attached, and the said patent having on the frontispiece his most sacred majesty's effigy stampt; the said Daniel Lloyd in a most insolent manner, taking the said commission in his hand and exposing it to the people said, "what is this? do you think to scare us with a great box (meaning the seal in a tin box,) and a little baby," (meaning the picture or effigy as aforesaid,) "'tis true," said he, "fine pictures please children, but we are not to be frightened at such a rate," &c. He further accused D. Lloyd of contempt of the court of Admirality, in having advised the justices to force goods out of the King's warehouse in 1698.

Col. Quarry, having produced his witnesses to prove his charges, the Governor submitted to the vote of the council, whether what was exhibited and proved against D. Lloyd, a member of that body, was sufficient ground to suspend him from setting at the board. The members having answered in the affirmative, Joseph Growden was appointed to inform David Lloyd of his exclusion, until he should have his trial. This proceeding doubtless increased the enmity of David Lloyd towards the Proprietary, and prompted him to acts of unceasing hostility.

The Assembly and Council, not being able to agree upon the provisions of a new charter, and being dissatisfied with the old one, appointed a joint committee on the 7th of 4th month (June,) to deliver it up to the Proprietary, who accepted it at their hands, and made the following speech :*

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* Colonial Records, i. 570.

"FRIENDS—Since you were dissatisfied with the charter you had, and that you could not agree among yourselves about a new one, I shall be easy in ruling you by the King's letters patent and act of union, and shall in the ruling of you, consider my grant from the King and you that I am to rule, and shall from time to time endeavor to give you satisfaction. I advise you not to be easily displeased one with another; be slow to anger and swift to charity ; so I wish you all well to your homes."

CHAPTER XXXI.

Pennsbury Manor and Mansion; Furniture; William Penn's Mode of Travelling; Horses, Carriage, Barge; Anecdote of Rebecca Wood; Fairs and Indian Canticoes; Letter of J. Norris; Anecdote of H. Penn; Letters of William Penn and his Wife; Note of D. Logan; Letters of J. Logan; T. Story; William Penn Visits a Yearly Meeting in Md.; Visits Indians at Conastoga; Rural Occupations; Slaves formerly owned by him; Extracts from his Letters; Rise of the Testimony of Friends Against Slavery; William Penn's Efforts to Improve their Condition; Minute of Phila. Mo. Meeting; William Penn Liberates his Slaves.

1700-1.

While perusing the lives of illustrious men, we are not content to view them only in their public career, where their words and actions bear the impress of studied propriety; but we love to follow them into the quiet retreats of private life, to see them relaxing from the cares of business, laying aside the restraints of etiquette, and sustaining the more endearing domestic relations of the husband, the father, and the friend. With this purpose we will endeavor to follow William Penn and his family, to Pennsbury Manor, his favorite place of residence, to which he removed in the spring or summer of the year 1700.

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* Colonial Records, i. 588.

This beautiful estate was situated in Bucks county, four miles above Bristol, on the River Delaware. It comprised upwards of six thousand acres of fertile alluvial soil, mostly covered with majestic forests, and while in the possession of an Indian king, had borne the name of Sepassin.*

It extended about two miles on the River Delaware, lying between Governor's Creek and Welcome Creek, the latter of which, making a bend, nearly enclosed it in the rear; at high water, converting it into an island.

This may account for the singular description given by Clarkson, who says "it was a treble island, the Delaware running three times round it."†

The mansion was built in 1682-3, and, with the other improvements, cost £5000, a large sum, when we take into view that money, in that day, was far less abundant than now, and consequently more valuable. The traveller who passes up the Delaware, looks with deep interest at this venerated spot, associated with some of the happiest days of the great philanthropist. But scarcely anything remains as it was in the days of the Proprietary. The mansion is long since decayed and gone, a comfortable farm house occupies its site, and a wooden building, much decayed, called the "Brew-house," is all that is left of William Penn's improvements, save a few old cherry-trees, said to have been planted by his own hand.

Let us endeavor, with the materials that have been gathered by antiquarian researches, to delineate the scene as it was when the founder of Pennsylvania retired hither from the cares of government, and engaged in the employments of rural life.

"The principal mansion was about sixty feet in front, facing the river. It was two stories in height and of brick. Its appearance was, it is said, stately, and it was entered by a handsome porch and steps. On the first floor was a large hall, probably the whole length of the house, used on public occasions for the meeting of the Council and the entertainment of strangers and the Indians; a little hall and at least three parlors, all wainscotted, and communicating by folding doors. On the roof was a large reservoir for water, to the leakage of which is attributed, in part, the ruin of the mansion. The out-houses, which were uniform and facing in a line with the house, were, 1st. a kitchen and larder, 2d. a wash-house, 3d. a house for brewing and baking, and 4th. a stable for twelve horses; all these, one story and a half high.

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* Logan MSS.

† It is remarkable that Dixon in his Life of Penn, published since the above was written, should have fallen into the same mistake. He says, "affluents from the great river bending no less than three several times round it," p. 295.

"The mansion-house was seated on a moderate eminence. A broad walk through an avenue of poplars, led to the river, descending from the upper terrace to the lower grounds by a flight of steps. The house was surrounded by gardens and lawns, and the more distant woods were opened in vistas looking down the river and upwards to the falls. These woods had been laid out in walks, at the Proprietary's first visit, and the preservation of the trees is enjoined in several of his letters.

"The Proprietor sent out from England, walnuts, hawthorns, hazels, fruit-trees, and a great variety of the rarest seeds and roots; while in this country (as we learn from his Cash Book) he procured from Maryland several panniers of trees and shrubs, indigenous in that province, and he directed by his letters that the most beautiful wild-flowers should be transplanted into his gardens. On the whole, his directions indicate a love of nature and an elegance of taste, which are very remarkable."*

The furniture of the mansion was tasteful and substantial; probably a medium between that of the English gentry and the Pennsylvania farmers. Two papers were obtained some years since, by J. F. Fisher, from John Penn, the grandson of the founder, containing a list of the furniture at Pennsbury in 1701.

The following particulars extracted from it may interest some readers.†

"In the great hall was a long table, two forms, six chairs, a supply of pewter plates and dishes, with six vessels called cisterns, for holding water or beer. In the little hall, six leather chairs and five maps. In the best parlor, two tables, one couch, two large, and four small cain chairs, four cushions of satin and three of green plush. In the second parlor, one great leather chair, probably used by the Governor, one clock and a pair of brasses. The four chambers on the second floor were well supplied with beds, bedding, chairs, tables, &c. In three of them were suits of curtains, the first of satin, the second of camblet, and the third of striped linen. The garret chambers were furnished with four beds, and in one of the chambers were deposited three side-saddles and two pillions. In the closet were two silk *blankets* and two damask curtains for windows."

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* See J. F. Fisher's interesting discourse on the Private Life of William Penn. Mem. Hist. Soc. of Pa., iii. part ii., to which I am indebted for many particulars.

† Watson's Annals, ii. 106.

Although pewter plates and dishes were used on common occasions, it appears that there was also "a suit of Tunbridge-ware, besides blue and white china, some plate and a large supply of damask table-cloths and napkins. Mahogony was not then known, and the spider tables and high-backed chairs were of solid oak or of the darker walnut."*

These particulars may appear trivial to some readers, but they furnish a nearer view of the Proprietor's homestead, and serve to fill up and complete the picture which we all wish to see of his domestic arrangements.

The long tables and forms in the great hall were, doubtless, designed for the entertainment of his numerous guests on public occasions, among whom the Indians were not the least frequent. Tradition relates, that on one occasion when he made a feast for his red brethren, a long table was spread for them in the avenue leading to the house which was shaded by poplars, and among the viands provided, were one hundred turkies, besides venison and other meats.

The three side-saddles and two pillions warrant the inference that the female part of the family were accustomed to go abroad on horseback, which, on account of the badness of the roads was then the most pleasant mode of travelling.

The Governor was fond of horses and made frequent visits on horseback, to New York, to Maryland, or to the Susquehannah.

He very often visited the meetings of Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, when, we may reasonably suppose, that his wife and daughter sometimes accompanied him on horseback. On one of these visits, when going to Haverford, he overtook a little girl named Rebecca Wood, who was going afoot from Darby, to attend the same meeting; "on coming up with her," says the traveller Sutcliff, "he inquired where she was going, and being informed, he, with his usual good nature, desired her to get up behind him; and bringing his horse to a convenient place she mounted, and so rode away upon the bare back. Being without shoes or stockings, her bare legs and feet hung dangling by the side of the Governor's horse."

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* J. F. Fisher.

This incident though unimportant in itself, affords a pleasing evidence of that kindness and condescension which the Governor manifested towards all classes of society.

Although the Proprietor's family generally travelled on horseback, he had a coach, which was probably used in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, a calash in which he sometimes drove about to the country meetings, and a sedan chair, which Hannah Penn may have used while visiting in the city.*

Another mode of travelling, and the one generally adopted between Pennsbury and the city, was the Governor's barge, which was of considerable size, with a mast and probably six oars. This boat was an object of much interest to Penn, a taste probably imbibed from his father, the Admiral. In one of his letters to James Harrison, he says, "but *above all dead things*, *my barge*, I hope no body uses it on any account, and that she is kept in a dry dock, or at least covered from the weather."†

When passing in his barge between Philadelphia and Pennsbury, he frequently stopped at Burlington to see Governor Jennings of New Jersey, who was also an eminent minister among Friends. "On one occasion Jennings and some of his friends were enjoying their pipes, a practice which the gentlemanly Penn disliked.

"On hearing that Penn's barge was in sight they put away their pipes, that their friend might not be annoyed, and endeavored to conceal from him what they were about. "He came upon them however somewhat suddenly, and pleasantly remarked, that he was glad they had sufficient sense of propriety to be ashamed of the practice. "Jennings rarely at a loss for an answer rejoined, that they were not ashamed, but desisted to avoid hurting a weak brother."*

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* J. F. Fisher.

† Pemberton MSS.

Among the recreations of the Governor and his family, was the occasional attendance of "a fair, or an Indian *cantico*," of both which his Cash Book, kept by James Logan, gives evidence such as this:—"By my mistress at the fair, £2 0*s*. 8*d*. By expenses given to Hannah Carpenter for a fairing, 8 shillings. By ditto to two children for comfits per order, 1*s*. 6*d*. By the Governor going to cantico, £1 18*s*. 4*d*."

In his intercourse with the Indians the Governor is said to have shown his condescension not only by partaking of their venison, hominy, and roasted acorns, but even by engaging in their athletic exercises—hopping and jumping with them to their great delight.

The esteem in which William Penn and his excellent wife were held by their neighbors, may be seen in the following letter from Isaac Norris, a man of wealth and influence in the colony:

> "The Governor's wife and daughter are well; their little son is a lovely babe; his wife is a woman extremely well beloved here, exemplary in her station, and of an excellent spirit, which adds lustre to her character, and has a great place in the hearts of good people. The Governor is our Pater Patriæ, and his worth is no new thing to us; we value him highly, and hope his life will be preserved till all things (now on the wheel) are settled here to his peace and comfort, and the people's ease and quiet."

The annotator of the Logan papers† mentions a tradition heard in her youth from an old woman of Bucks County, "who went, when she was a girl, with a basket containing a rural present to the Proprietor's mansion, and saw his wife, a delicate, pretty woman, sitting beside the cradle of her infant."

It is stated that there was a meeting regularly held at Pennsbury during the Governor's residence there, and he had his family assembled three times a day for Divine worship. An anecdote is told, which illustrates his devotional spirit:

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* New Jersey Hist. Collections, 91.

† Deborah Logan.

> "When he was visiting meetings in Pennsylvania, he lodged, one night, at Merion, where a boy, about twelve years old, son of the person at whose house he lodged, being a lad of curiosity, and not often seeing such great men, privately crept to the chamber, up a flight of steps on the outside of the building. On peeping through the latchet hole, he was struck with awe in beholding this great man upon his knees, by the bedside, and in hearing what he said, for he could distinctly hear him in prayer and thanksgiving that he was then provided for in the wilderness."*

During the residence of William Penn and his family at Pennsbury, he frequently wrote to James Logan concerning public business and domestic affairs.

As these letters afford a glimpse of his household economy, and seem to bring us into nearer acquaintance with his private life, some extracts may not be uninteresting to the reader.

On the 23d of 5th mo., 1700, he writes to the secretary, that because of an injury done his leg, he is unable to meet the Council, and therefore desires that four of the Council, with the collector, &c., come up to him by his barge, which he will send to Burlington.

He adds, "Let the Indians come hither, and send in the boat more rum, and the match coats, and let the Council adjourn to this place." "Here will be victuals."

Again he writes, 7th, 6th mo., 1700:

> "Pray, examine closely about those that fired on the Indians and frightened them by Daniel Pegg's; it is of moment to us, and, if true, roguishly designed, I doubt not, and shall be severely punished. * * * Fail not to send up a flitch of our bacon, and by all means chocolate, if to be had, and a cask of middlings flour from Samuel Carpenter's or J. Norris, and some coffee berries, 4 pounds; some flat and some deep earthen pans for milk and baking, which Betty Webb can help thee to, and a cask of Indian meal. Search Lumbey's goods for an ordinary size side-saddle and pillion, and some coarse linen for towels."†

In the autumn of the same year he met Governor Nicholson at New York, on public business, as appears by his letter to James Logan.

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* Sutcliff's Travels.

† Logan, MSS.

"New York, 1st, 9br, 1700.

"Give my love to Thomas Story, and tell him I hope he supplies my absence about the laws, [to be sent to England for the royal approbation] what to alter or repeal, and do thou assist him therein.

"Col. Nicholson has been very ill, and relapsed once or twice, and thereby our conferences have been retarded, which truly are of importance to the weal of America.

"My dear love to Friends in general, and particularly tell Hannah Deleval that to be one of her witnesses [at her approaching nuptials with Capt. Richd. Hill] is not the least motive to hasten me.

"Tell Thomas Story that Judge Guest salutes him, *but no lawyers I see is best.*"*

From this concluding sentence we may infer that Judge Guest, who accompanied him to the conference, did not help forward the negotiations; his legal abilities being employed, probably, in raising objections instead of removing them.

Thomas Story, to whom the message was sent, was bred a lawyer, but had renounced the profession on becoming a minister of the Gospel. He was the intimate friend of the Governor, who appointed him Master of the Rolls and Keeper of the Great Seal.

At some period during the year 1700, Penn paid a visit to Maryland, of which John Richardson, in his Journal, gives the following account:

"We were," says he, "at a yearly meeting at Treddhaven, in Maryland, upon the eastern shore, to which meeting for worship came William Penn, Lord Baltimore, and his lady, with their retinue; but it was late when they came, and the strength and glory of the heavenly power of the Lord was going off from the meeting; so the lady was much disappointed, as I understand by William Penn, for she told him, 'she did not want to hear him, and such as he, for he was a scholar and a wise man; and she did not question but he could preach, but she wanted to hear some of our mechanics preach, as husbandmen, shoemakers, and such-like rustics, for she thought they could not preach to any purpose.' William Penn told her, 'some of these were rather the best preachers we had among us,' or near these words. I was a little in their company, and I thought the lady to be a notable, wise, and, withal, a courteously carriaged woman."

In the spring of the ensuing year he took a journey into the interior of his province, as appears from a letter of Isaac Norris, who says, "I am just come home from Susquehannah, where I have been to meet the Governor. We had a roundabout journey, having pretty well traversed the wilderness. We lived nobly at the King's palace at Conostoga, from thence crossed it to the Schoolkil."

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* Logan, MSS.

We next find the Proprietary at his country seat, engaged in rural occupations, whence he writes to his Secretary in the 6th month, 1701.

> "Send us up for cider what barrels thou canst get in town, by the very first opportunity, I mean such as are sweet and have had cider in them, they will be cheapest: also an empty pipe or two to put the mash of the apples in, being sawn asunder.
>
> "I here inclose this honest but weak man's paper. I think I have convinced him that I am one of the poorest men in the government, and that my sin has been neglect of myself and not selfishness, and therefore ought and must make the best of every thing. It seems he has much stony and mountainous land, and he thinks two bushels (of apples) per 100 acres an oppression.
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> "I told him I must have but one weight and scale, he says, 'but there are two, and some pay but one bushel by patents, from the Commissioners under me.' I referred him to thee, and told him that I did believe thou would'st be just and reasonable: quiet him all thou can'st, and hasten down again; ask him what Joseph Grawder told him, and what the people below say? tho' of little moment. I think we will send in a day or two for the casks.
>
> "S. Hall may help us to them cheaper. Vale.
>
> "WILLIAM PENN."
>
> (On the outside of this letter) "He tells me of the hard circumstances of one James Davis, hear it."

It appears from the Logan papers that the cleared land at Pennsbury manor in the year 1701, did not exceed ten acres, consequently the laborers employed there must have been few. In the Cash Book are mentioned, John Sotcher, steward, Hugh Sharp, gardener, Robert Beekham, man servant, Mary Lofty, housekeeper, Ann Nichols, cook, Dorothy Mullers, a German maid, and Dorcas, a colored woman.

It contains no evidence that he owned any slaves, though it may be inferred from his correspondence some time before that he had owned them. In a letter to James Harrison, under date 25th of 8th mo., 1685, he says, "I have sent a gardener by this ship, or he soon follows, with all requisites; a man of recommended great skill, let him have what help he can, not less than two or three at any time; he will cast things into a proper posture. He has his passage paid, £30 at 3 years, and 60 acres of land, and a month in the year to himself, not hindering my business; and he is to train up two men and a boy in the art. It were better they were blacks, for *then a man has them while they live*." Again he writes under date, 4th of 10th month, '85. "The blacks of Capt. Allen I have as good as bought, so part not with them without my order."

From these passages we may conclude, that like many others of the colonists, he fell into the practice of holding slaves. This was within a year after his return to England, from his first visit to Pennsylvania, at which time the subject had not claimed sufficient attention for the moral and social bearings of the system to be fully understood. Men whose characters were otherwise irreproachable, were induced, by the habits of thought then prevailing, and by the supposed convenience of slave labor, to purchase the African captives brought to their shores; thus entailing upon the descendants of the colored race a degrading bondage, and inflicting upon the country a severe injury, from which it has never yet recovered.

George Fox was one of the first to obtain clearer views, and to inculcate a more humane treatment.

As early as the year 1671, he advised the Friends of Barbadoes to "train up their slaves in the fear of God, to cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with them, and after certain years of servitude they should make them free." But the subject does not appear to have been agitated or discussed in this country, until the year 1688, when the German Friends from Kreisheim settled about Germantown, in Pennsylvania, brought before the Yearly Meeting a paper "concerning the lawfulness and unlawfulness of buying and keeping negroes." The record states that "it was adjudged not to be so proper for this meeting to give a positive judgment in the case, it having so general a relation to many other parts, and therefore, at present, they forbear it."

In 1696 the subject was again taken up by the Yearly Meeting, and advice was issued to its members, "that Friends be careful not to encourage the bringing in any more negroes; and that such that have negroes be careful of them, bring them to meetings, have meetings with them in their families, and restrain them from loose and lewd living, as much as in them lies, and from rambling abroad on first-days or other times." About this time it is probable that the most exemplary Friends began to emancipate their slaves, though an entire prohibition of slave holding was not engrafted into the discipline of the society, until eighty years afterwards, during all which time they were laboring to remove a poison introduced into the system in an unguarded hour, which, though sweet to the taste, proved to be bitter and destructive in its effects.

It has already been shown from the Colonial records, that William Penn, in the spring of 1700 brought before the Provincial Council, a law for regulating the marriages of negroes, which was approved by that body, but lost in the popular branch. It is stated that "he mourned over the state of the slaves, but his attempts to improve their condition by legal enactments were defeated in the house of Assembly."*

His efforts were more successful in his own religious society, as will appear by the following minute of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, made in the same year: "Our dear friend and Governor having laid before the meeting a concern that hath laid upon his mind for some time concerning the negroes and Indians; that Friends ought to be very careful in discharging a good conscience towards them in all respects, but more especially for the good of their souls, and that they might, as frequent as may be, come to meeting on first days; upon consideration whereof, this meeting concludes to appoint a meeting for the negroes, to be kept once a month, &c., and that their masters give notice thereof in their own families, and be present with them at the said meetings as frequent as may be, &c." From this and other records, it is manifest that the first concern for their slaves, on the part of the Friends in that day, was to promote their spiritual good. They felt the vast responsibility they would incur by keeping them in ignorance and degradation, and as the hearts of the masters became interested in this good work, the avenues to their understandings and consciences were opened, the light of Divine truth broke in, and they were led to acknowledge, that the captured Africans and their descendants, like all other human beings, have natural rights, which cannot be withheld from them without great injustice.

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* Brief statement of the rise and progress of the Testimony of Friends against Slavery.

William Penn was not accustomed to halt in carrying his principles into practice; his eyes were now opened to the evils of slavery, and he liberated all the slaves in his possession. This fact is substantiated by a will he made in 1701, which is still extant, and contains this clause, "I give to my blacks their freedom, *as is under my hand already*, and to Old Sam 100 acres, to be his children's after he and his wife are dead, foreever."*

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* When William Penn left America, in 1701, he wrote the will above mentioned, and placed it in the hands of James Logan. It is now in the possession of Thomas Gilpin of Philadelphia. There is reason to believe his intentions with regard to his slaves were not fully carried out by his secretary, as appears by the following letter from James Logan to Hannah Penn, dated 11th of 3d month, 1721, copied from his Letter Book, in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. "The Proprietor in a will left with me, at his departure hence, gave all his negroes their freedom, but *this is entirely private ;* however, there are very few left.

"Sam died soon after your departure hence, and his brother James, [this name is not very distinct] very lately. Chevalier, by a written order from his master, had his liberty several years ago, so that there are none left but Sue, whom Letitia claims, or did claim, as given to her when she went to England, but how rightfully I know not. These things you can best discuss.

"There are besides, two old negroes quite worn, that remained of three which I received eighteen years ago of E. Gibbs' estate of New Castle co."

If William Penn "died a slaveholder," it was not for want of having taken proper means to liberate his slaves. The will says they were "already free from under his hand." As he never was in America afterwards, we may reasonably conclude, that he had no knowledge of his secretary and commissioner of property having taken three negroes for debt, about the year 1703.

This inference is corroborated by the fact, that his last will, by which his property descended, makes no reference to any property in slaves.

It has been proved by the publications of Geo. M. Justice, of Phila., that the family of slaves mentioned in T. Matlock's letter, among the Historical Collections of Massachusetts, and cited by Bancroft in his History of the U. S. did not b to William Penn, but to his son Thomas. That the founder of Pennsylvania did

CHAPTER XXXII.

Assembly meets at New Castle; Speech of William Penn; Dissensions between Province and Territories; Grant of £2000 by Assembly; Laws Passed; Riot in East Jersey, and Letter of Penn; Treaties with Indians; Depredations of Pirates; Precautions of the Government; Assembly meets at Philadelphia; Requisition of the King for Money to Build a Fort; Perplexity of the Assembly; They Decline to Comply; Design of British Government to Annex the Proprietary Governments to the Crown; Penn determines to Return to England; His Reluctance to go; Letter to J. Logan; Meeting of the Indians at Pennsbury; Assembly meets; Governor's Speech; Assembly's Answer; Indians come to take Leave of Penn; His Speech to them; New Constitution; Last Meeting of Penn in Philadelphia; City Charter granted; Appoints A. Hamilton Deputy Governor; Petition of J. Norris and D. Lloyd; Penn's Reply; Letter of Instructions to James Logan.

1700–1.

In order to conciliate the inhabitants of the lower counties, and to preserve their union with the province, the Proprietary summoned the Legislature to meet him at New Castle, in the autumn of 1700.

The principal subjects that required their attention, were stated in the following speech of Governor Penn, which is a model of conciseness:

> "FRIENDS—The calling you at this time was upon urgent occasions; you know we want a frame of government and a body of laws, without which society cannot subsist. I recommend to you the revisal of the laws; what to be continued, what to repeal, what to alter, what to explain, and what new ones is requisite to make. Secondly, I recommend to you the settling of property. Thirdly, a supply for support of government; and I recommend to you amity and concord among yourselves."*

Unhappily, the last and most important of these recommendations was not attained; there was no concord between the repre-

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at one time hold slaves, and when he saw the evil, endeavored, to the utmost of his power, to repair it, there can be no doubt. On this point Dixon's Life of Penn is inaccurate, for want of documents to be found only in Philadelphia.

* Colonial Records, i.

sentatives of the province and those of the territories; the jealousies of the latter continued to increase, and "being fomented by designing men, who led them to believe that the rapid growth of the province would soon place them at her discretion on joint legislation, they insisted upon having, at all times, an equal representation in the Assembly.*" This unreasonable proposal being unanimously rejected by the members from the province, an immediate separation was threatened, and prevented only by the prudent intervention of the Governor, who suggested that no law affecting the particular interests of the territories should be enacted without the consent of two-thirds of their members, and a majority of those of the province. This difficulty was no sooner removed, than another arose about the support of government. The necessity of a tax being levied was admitted by all, but the territories refused to contribute in the same ratio with the province.

The Governor was again obliged to interpose, and through his mediation the province agreed to pay fifteen hundred and seventy-five pounds, and the territories the residue of two thousand pounds to be raised "for the Proprietary and Governor." In Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, this appropriation is spoken of as "a largess to the Proprietary," but the terms of the bill show that it was "in order to a supply *for the support of the government*."†

During the remainder of the session, which continued six weeks, the Governor and Council were assiduously engaged in revising the laws, which were also considered and debated in the Assembly, and many new statutes were enacted. The Governor then prorogued the Assembly to the 1st of the 2d month (April) ensuing, but informed them he should not call them together so soon without "a verie emergent occasion."

About this time a riot, threatening serious consequences, occurred in East Jersey, and Penn, feeling a deep interest in the prosperity of the province, determined to lend his assistance in quelling it. Accordingly, he selected twelve of the most respectable members of his own society to accompany him, and they set out from Philadelphia for the scene of disorder, but on the way received intelligence that it had been settled.

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* Gordon, Hist. Pa.

† Journal of Assembly, quoted by Clarkson, and Colonial Rec., i.

He, however, wrote a letter to his friends in that government, the purport of which is here inserted, to show the course he would pursue in such emergencies.

> "He tells his friends, that he 'had received the surprising news of the practices of some East Jersians, which were as unexpected to him as dishonorable and licentious in them. It would be hard to find temper enough to balance extremes; for he knew not what punishment those riotors did not deserve, and he had rather live alone than not have such people corrigible. Their leaders should be eyed, and some should be forced to declare them by the rigor of the law; and those who were found to be such should bear the burthen of such sedition, which would be the best way to behead the body without danger. If lenitives would not do, coercives should be tried: but, though men would naturally begin with the former, yet wisdom had often sanctioned the latter as remedies, which, however, were never to be adopted but with regret.' Further on in the letter, he says, 'that by being an old, and not the least pretender to East Jersey, and a neighbor in his station, if he could yet be serviceable to compose or countenance a just prosecution of such rebellious practices, let an express reach him, and, God permitting, he would immediately take horse and go to them.'"*

In the spring of the year 1701 a treaty was made by the Proprietary and some members of his Council with the Susquehannah Indians, for the preservation of peace and the confirmation of titles to land conveyed in former treaties.

It appears that Penn, before his return to England in 1684, had taken measures to purchase the lands on the Susquehannah from the five nations, (Iroquois,) who claimed a right to them by conquest.

These Indians resided principally in New York, and Governor Penn, not being able, at that time, to visit them personally, engaged Thomas Dongan, Governor of New York, to purchase for him, "all that tract of land lying on both sides of the river Susquehannah and the lakes adjacent, in or near the province of Pennsylvania. Governor Dongan having made the purchase, conveyed the same to William Penn by deed dated January 13, 1696, in consideration of £100 sterling.

* Clarkson.

The Susquehannah Indians did not recognise the right of the five nations to make this sale, and in order to satisfy their demands, Penn entered into a treaty with two of their chiefs, named Widnaph and Andaggy Innekquagh, whose deed, dated September 13th, 1700, conveys the same lands, and confirms the bargain and sale made to Governor Dongan.

But it appears there was still another chief claiming an interest in those lands, viz: Connoodaghoh, King of the Conostoga or Minquay Indians. This Sachem, in company with the King of the Shawnese, the Chief of the Ganawese, inhabiting at the head of the Potomac, the brother of the Emperor or great King of the Onondagoes, Indian Harvey, their interpreter, with others of their tribes to the number of forty, met Penn and his Council in Philadelphia on the 23d of 2d month, (April,) 1701, and entered into a treaty of amity, in which they also confirmed the sale of the lands on the Susquehannah.*

This treaty stipulates, that as there had always been a good understanding between William Penn and his lieutenants, since his first arrival in the colony, and said Indians, so "they shall forever hereafter be as one head and one heart, and live in true friendship and amity as one people."

For the prevention of abuses that were too frequently put upon the Indians, it was agreed that no person should be allowed to trade with them, but such as Penn and his successors should approve and furnish with a license under his hand and seal.

At several meetings of the Governor and Council, the subject of the Indian trade was discussed, and it was resolved that a company be formed "who should take all measures to induce the Indians to a true value and esteem of the Christian religion, by setting before them good examples of probity and candor, both in commerce and behavior, and that care should be taken to have them duly instructed in the fundamentals of Christianity: it was further agreed that no rum should be sold to any but their chiefs, and in such quantities as the Governor and Council shall think fit, to be disposed of by the said chiefs to the Indians about them as they shall see cause."†

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* Smith's Laws of Pa., Rupp's Hist. of Northumberland, &c., and Col. Rec.

† Colonial Records, ii.

At this time the people of the province and territories were under apprehensions of depredations being committed by pirates, who were said to be numerous on the cost, and in order to guard against them, a watchman was stationed at Cape Henlopen, near Lewis, in the county of Sussex, who was to give notice to the sheriff of the county when any suspected vessel entered the capes, and the sheriffs of the several counties were to send the information by express, till it should reach the Governor at Philadelphia.

In the sixth month, (August, O. S.,) 1701, the Governor convened the Assembly, in order to lay before them a letter from the King, requiring a contribution of £350 sterling, towards erecting forts on the frontiers of New York. He made them a short speech expressive of his regret that he was obliged to call them together sooner than he intended, "but," he says, "the King's commands by his letter to me now, have brought you hither at this time, which I now lay before you, and recommend to your serious consideration, since without it, it will be impossible to answer them."*

This requisition, being for a warlike purpose, was extremely repugnant to the feelings both of the Governor and Assembly, he felt compelled by his fealty to the King to lay the letter before them, but in abstaining from expressing his own views he endeavored to cast the responsibility on the representatives of the people. They were thrown into a state of painful embarrassment; if they refused the subsidy they had reason to dread the displeasure of the British government, but most of the members being opposed to war, and representing a constituency who were chiefly Friends, they could not comply without a violation of their religious principles. To relieve themselves from this dilemma, they sent two of their number, to request of the Governor a copy of his speech; to which he replied that his speech was only the King's letter, whatever was spoken besides, was only to excuse their meeting at a time so little designed."

The Assembly soon after desired leave to wait upon the Governor, and being admitted, their speaker read their answer from minutes in his hand, but the Governor desired them to consider of it more fully, and put it in writing. They retired and soon after sent another message to the Governor, for his speech, who directed the Secretary to send them a copy of the minutes taken in Council when the speech was made. This being done was not satisfactory to the Assembly, who wished it written more at large: But finally, after some days spent in this manner, they sent their answer in writing, declining to comply with the King's requisition, assigning as a reason, the taxes already levied, and the quit-rents due. They stated, moreover, that the adjacent colonies had done nothing in the matter, and therefore they postponed it to another session; desiring that the Proprietary would represent their condition to the King, and assure him of their readiness to comply with his commands, "*as far as their religious persuasions would permit.*" The members for the territories made a separate answer, alleging that the lower counties, though most exposed, were in a defenceless condition, being without arms or ammunition, and having neither militia nor officers appointed to command them. They prayed, therefore, to be excused from "contributing to forts abroad while they were unable to build any for their own defence at home." This answer shows that the members from the territories were less imbued with the principles of Friends, in relation to war than those of the province, and doubtless this was one cause of their frequent disagreements, for the pacific policy of Penn could only be carried into practice by persons thoroughly convinced of its feasibility.

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* Colonial Records.

The Governor having received the Assembly's answer to the King's letter, dismissed it; but little more than two weeks elapsed before he received information from England, which made it necessary to issue writs for the immediate election of another.

He learned from the letters of his friends, that "strenuous endeavors were used by several united interests, to procure an Act of Parliament, for annexing to the crown the several proprietary governments, for which purpose a bill was then before the House of Lords, which had been twice read, and tho' not likely to pass that session, there was no hope of staving it off longer than the next, unless the Proprietary would make his appearance in person, and answer the charges brought against his government by evil minded persons." His friends in England urged the necessity of his coming, with as little delay as possible; the welfare of the province as well as his own interest, seemed to require it, and he reluctantly consented to leave his adopted country to appear once more at his old post, near the British court. His feelings on this occasion are thus expressed in a familiar letter to his secretary, James Logan:

"Pennsbury, 8th, 7 br. 1701.

"The necessity of my going makes it absolutely necessary for me to have a supply, and although I think a thousand pounds should be forthwith raised by Friends for me, at least to help me; yet while land is high and valuable I am willing to dispose of many good patches, that otherwise I should have chosen to have kept, as everybody's money. Who can I take that would go, that might be ministerial to me?

"Caleb [Pusey,] if he could write well, has the best drudging sense, and would be observant. * * * * Poor Phineas [Pemberton,] is a dying man, and was not at the election, though he crept (as I may say,) to meeting yesterday. I am grieved at it, for he has not his fellow, and without him this is a poor country indeed. 'I cannot prevail on my wife to stay, still less Tishe: [Letitia]: I know not what to do; Samuel Carpenter seems to excuse her in it. But to all that speak of it, say, I shall have no need to stay, and a great interest to return.' 'All that I have to dispose of in this world is here,* and that having no more gains by government to trust to for bread I must come to sell, pay debts and live; and lay up for this posterity as well as that.' 'They may see that my inclinations run strongly to a country and proprietary life, which then I shall be at liberty to follow, together with her [his wife's] promise to return, whenever I am ready to return.' 'I confess this one of the greatest arguments for some Friends of note going with us, to bring us back again, else they can do but little there, and their expense may better help me." * * * *

"I shall say no more, only let it be a measure fixed, that Proprietor and Freeholders can have but one interest, and that jealousies, as in England, are injurious."

"The ass in the fable, and the dog likewise."

"Vale. "WM. PENN."†

It is evident by the tenor of this letter, that he contemplated but a short stay in England, as he wished to leave his family behind him, but they being unwilling, he made preparations for removal without delay.

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* His estates in England and Ireland, were settled on the children of his first wife.

† Logan, MSS.

About this time Governor Penn had a large assemblage of Indian guests at Pennsbury, who, having been informed of his proposed departure for England, came to take leave of him.

A council was held in the Governor's mansion, where they renewed their former covenants with many expressions of good-will and promises of continued fidelity. The Indians said, "they never first broke covenant with any people, for, as one of them said, and smote his hand upon his head three times, that they did not make them in their heads, but smiting his hand three times on his breast, said they made them there, in their hearts."* Presents were made to them by the Governor, who spoke to them with much kindness, after which they withdrew to an open space near the house where they kindled a fire, and around it performed their cantico, or dance, accompanied with songs and shouts of triumph.

A new Assembly having been elected, met in Philadelphia, the 15th of the 7th month (September), 1701, when the Governor addressed them in a speech, expressing his regret that he was obliged to call them so frequently together, and stating the business which then required their attention on the eve of his departure for England. "I cannot think of such a voyage," he said, "without great reluctancy of mind, having promised myself the quietness of a wilderness, and that I might stay so long at least with you as to render everybody entirely easy and safe; for my heart is among you, as well as my body, whatever some people may please to think, and no unkindness or disappointment shall, with submission to God's providence, ever be able to alter my love to the country, and resolution to return and settle my family and posterity in it; but having reason to believe I can at this time best serve you and myself on that side of the water, neither the rudeness of the season, nor tender circumstances of my family, can over-rule my inclination to undertake it. Think, therefore, since all men are mortal, of some suitable expedient and provision for your safety, as well in your privileges as property, and you will find me ready to comply with whatever may render us happy, by a nearer union of our interest. Review again your laws, propose new ones that may better your circumstances, and what you do, do it quickly, remembering that the Parliament sits the end of next month, and that the sooner I am there the safer." * *

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* J. Richardson's Journal.

"I must recommend to your serious thoughts and care the King's letter to me, for the assistance of New York with 350 pounds sterling, as a frontier government, and, therefore, exposed to a much greater expense in proportion to other colonies; which I called the last Assembly to take into their consideration and they referred to this."[*]

When the Assembly had been five days in session, they requested a conference with the Governor, which being granted, they informed him "that being incited by a petition of a number of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, they had drawn up an address requesting several things of the Proprietary, some of which in *themselves might look extravagant*, yet they could do no less considering the aforesaid petition."[†] The address consisted of twenty-one articles, some of which were truly "extravagant," being for concessions affecting his Proprietary domains, but the others, relative to the affairs of government were less objectionable.

After conferring with the Council, the Governor returned an answer, some extracts from which are here subjoined.

To the first article, relating to the appointment of his successors, he replied, that he should appoint those in whom he could confide, and would give them sufficient authority for the good of all concerned. In order to give entire satisfaction to the Assembly, he offered to commission *a deputy whom they should nominate.*

Several of the articles related to delays and abuses, alleged to be practised by some of the officers of the government, all which the Governor desired should be rectified.

He granted them, at their request, the common use of some vacant land within the city limits, until inhabitants should present themselves to settle it; and also, the free use of the river bank at the *ends of the streets* on Delaware and Schuylkill; but the islands near the city, which they wished reserved *free* for the supply of their "winter fodder," he declined to grant, as they were, he said, "an independent property from the town and province."

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[*] Colonial Records, ii. 31.

[†] Ibid. 33.

The members from the territories requested, that lands in the lower counties might be disposed of at the old rent of a bushel of wheat to the hundred acres; to which he replied, that it was unreasonable to limit him in that which was his own, and thus deprive him of the advantage which others derived from the rise of property, especially as he was "yet in disburse," for that long and expensive controversy with Lord Baltimore, promised to be defrayed, as appears by the minutes of Council, by the public.

They also requested that a thousand acres, formerly promised to the town of New Castle, should be laid out and patented, which he readily granted, saying "it was not his fault that it had not been done sooner."

They desired, moreover, that "all the bay-marshes be laid out in common, except such as were already granted." To this he answered that he took it for "a high imposition," but was willing they should lie in common until otherwise disposed of, and he would grant them in reasonable proportions and upon reasonable terms to such as should engage to drain them. They requested that the owners of land might have liberty to purchase off their quit-rents, as formerly promised. To this he replied, "If it should be my lot to lose a public support, I must depend upon my rents for a supply, and therefore must not easily part with them; and many years are elapsed since I made that offer, that was not accepted."*

While the Assembly was in session, and the Governor busily engaged in preparations for his departure, he was visited in Philadelphia by the Sachems of the Susquehannah and Shawnese Indians, who, with some of their people, had come to take leave of him. He received them with his wonted cordiality, and informed them that "this was like to be his last interview with them, at least before his return, that he had ever loved and been kind to them, and ever should continue so to be, not through interest or politic design, but out of real affection, and he desired them, in his absence, to cultivate friendship with those he should leave behind in authority."

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* Colonial Records, ii., 28 to 30.

He informed them that the Assembly was now enacting a law, according to their desire, to prevent their being abused by the selling of rum; with which Orettyagh, one of the Sachems, in the name of the rest, expressed great satisfaction, and desired that the law might be effectually executed.

> "The Governor informed them that he had charged the members of Council, and then also renewed the same charge that they should, in all respects, be kind to them, and entertain them with all courtesy and demonstrations of good will, as he himself had ever done, which the members promised faithfully to observe; and, making them some presents' they withdrew."*

Although the time for the Governor's departure drew nigh, and many important acts of legislation were required to secure the interests of the colony, the Assembly made but little progress. A bill being before the House confirmatory of the revenue law passed at New Castle the previous year, the members from the lower counties protested against it, alleging that such a bill would lead to the inference that the laws passed at New Castle were not valid, because not enacted in the province of Pennsylvania, which would be a discouragement to the Assembly meeting at New Castle hereafter. Finding their remonstrance ineffectual, they abruptly left the House, declaring their intention to return home.

On laying their complaints before the Governor, he appointed a conference with the Assembly, during which he told them it was no small wound to him to think, that having, at the earnest desire of the lower counties, as well as the good will of the upper, engaged in an undertaking which cost him at least £3000 to make them one, they should now endanger a rupture and divide themselves after they had been recognised as one, not only by the King's commission to Governor Fletcher, but his letters patent for his own restoration; and therefore would not have anything resolved on, but what was considerate and weighty, lest it should look too unkind now at his departure, and carry a very ill report of them all to England.

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* Colonial Records, ii. 43.

The lower county members saying they were great sufferers by the act of union, the Governor told them they were free to break off, "but it must be upon amicable terms and a good understanding."

After this conference, the Assembly again proceeded to business. They had, some days before, informed the Governor that they could not comply with the King's requisition for a subsidy, alleging as an excuse, their straitened circumstances; and now they took into consideration the Proprietary's offer for them to nominate a Deputy Governor, which they *concluded to decline.* They appointed two of their number to wait upon him with this information, thanking him for his good will in leaving so much to their choice, and returning the charter of privileges, with some amendments.*

The Governor being about to go to Pennsbury for a few days, sent the Assembly the following characteristic letter:

> "FRIENDS—Your union is what I desire, but your peace and accommodation of one another is what I must expect from you. The reputation of it is something, the reality much more; and desire you to remember and observe what I say—yield in circumstantials to preserve essentials, and being safe in one another, you will always be so in esteem with me. Make me not sad now I am going to leave you, since 'tis for you as well as for
>
> "Your friend, Proprietor, and Governor,
>
> "WILLIAM PENN."

On the Governor's return from Pennsbury he signed various laws passed by the Assembly, as well as the Charter of Privileges, which had been read in that body, "and every part thereof approved, agreed to, and thankfully received."†

This constitution was the last granted to the province and territories, and in some respects was even more liberal than those which preceded it. The principal change was in allowing the Assembly to originate bills, and to sit on its own adjournments. It made no provision for the election of a Council, which was appointed by the Governor, and prohibited from taking cognizance of any complaint relating to property, unless appeals should be provided by law. In regard to civil and religious liberty, the new constitution was as comprehensive as the old one. By a supplementary article, the province and territories were allowed to dissolve their union at any time within three years, by giving due notice.

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* Colonial Records.

† Ibid.

The Proprietary, by letters patent, appointed a Council of State, consisting of ten members, chiefly Friends, who were to advise and assist him, or his Deputy, in the affairs of government, and in case of the Deputy's absence or death, to exercise the executive functions.

The following letter, written by Isaac Norris, the day before the charter was signed, shows that, notwithstanding the cares and perplexities attendant on his station as Governor, Penn still enjoyed that highest of all social comforts, religious communion with his friends.

"27th 8br. 1701.

"This comes by our Proprietor and Governor, Penn, who with his family are undertaking this hazardous voyage at too hard a season. I earnestly desire and pray for their preservation and safety: him we shall want. The unhappy misunderstandings in some, and unwarrantable opposition in others, have been a block to our plenary comforts in him, and his own quiet; but these things are externals only, our communion in the church sweetens all, and our inward waitings and worship [have] often been a general comfort and consolation, and in this I take a degree of satisfaction after all, that we part in love; and some of his last [expressions] in our meeting yesterday, were, that 'he looked over all infirmities and outwards, and had an eye to the regions of spirit, wherein was our sweetest tye,' and in true love then he took his leave of us. His excellent wife, and she is beloved by all, (I believe I may say in its fullest extent,) so is her leaving us, heavy and of real sorrow to her friends; she has carried, under and through all, with a wonderful evenness, humility and freedom; her sweetness and goodness have become her character, and are indeed extraordinary. In short, we love her and she deserves it."*

The ship being ready to sail, Penn convened the inhabitants of Philadelphia on the 29th of the 8th month (October, O. S.), in order to take leave of them, and to present them, as an evidence of his good-will, a charter, or act of incorporation for the city. On the 30th he appointed Andrew Hamilton, formerly Governor of East and West Jersey, to be his Lieutenant-governor, and James Logan he made Provincial Secretary and Clerk of the Council.

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* Logan MSS.

The ship having dropped down to New Castle, he was there presented with a petition from David Lloyd and Isaac Norris, executors of Thomas Lloyd, deceased, stating that the said Thomas Lloyd had served nine years as President or Lieutenant-governor of the province without any compensation from the public, whereby his estate was impaired and not sufficient to pay his debts; without selling his lands, some of the lands he had bought were not located, and a bond he had given to the Proprietary was still unpaid; they prayed, therefore, that compensation should be made for his services, and other lands granted in lieu of 1000 acres on Indian River, taken from him by the Maryland Claim.

THE PROPRIETARY'S ANSWER.

"What I have not received I cannot pay. I am above all the money for lands I have sold, twenty thousand pounds sterling out of purse upon Pennsylvania, I most solemnly affirm, and what has been given me pays not my coming and expense since come, as is well known to those concerned in my affairs. But I heartily recommend it to the public to be considered. I acquit the bond as a token of my love and remembrance, and allow that the thousand acres may be granted elsewhere, in lieu of them upon Indian River; and that land the bond relates to, in Welsh Tract, formerly laid out to him, but in right of Charles, I would have confirmed, as also, his land of Christopher Taylor, &c. in Bucks, as is desired

"WILLIAM PENN*

"To my Commissioners of Property."

From on board the ship, he wrote to his secretary a letter of instructions, which is here subjoined:

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"I have left thee in uncommon trust, with a singular dependence on thy justice and care, which I expect thou wilt faithfully employ in advancing my honest interest.

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* Penn MSS. in possession of G. M. Justice.

"Use thy utmost endeavors, in the first place, to receive all that is due to me. Get in quit-rents, sell lands according to my instructions to my commissioners, look carefully after all fines, forfeitures, escheats, deodands and strays, that shall belong to me as Proprietor or chief Governor. Get in the taxes and Friends' subscriptions, and use thy utmost diligence in making remittances to me, with all my effects, by bills of exchange, tobacco, or other merchandise, or by any means that in the best of thy judgment, or the advice of my friends, skilled in those affairs, may be to my advantage—not only directly to London, but by the West Indies, or by any other prudent method whatever; but take advice especially of Edward Shippen and Samuel Carpenter, and others best experienced in trade.

"Thou may continue in the house I lived in till the year is up. Pay off all my notes and orders on thee, settle my accounts, discharge all my debts, honorably, but carefully; make rent-rolls, draw up an estimate of my estate, and of what may be raised from it, which send over to me as speedily as possible, for it may be of great use to me; and of all things show thyself a careful and diligent agent, to justify my choice of thee for so great a trust.

"Get my two mills finished; make the most of them for my profit, but let not John Marsh put me to any great expense.

"Cause all my province and territories to be re-surveyed in the most frugal manner, with the assistance of my brother-in-law Edward Penington, within the two years limited by the law, if possible, though that law ought not to be a bar upon me against doing it any other time. Carry very fair with my said brother-in-law, and prevail with him to be as easy as possible in that great work. I have spoken to him about it. Thou must make good to Col. Hamilton, Deputy-Governor, two hundred pounds per annum of your money, till such time as I procure an approbation for him, and afterwards three hundred pounds. Also to John Moore, as Attorney General, thirty pounds a year, so long as he shall serve me faithfully, (but he is too much in Quarry's interest). When my cousin Parmiter comes, he must have forty pounds. But I hope the Assembly will take these charges off my hands. Pray use all your endeavors to obtain it. Judge Guest expects an hundred a year from me. I would give him fifty. Make him as useful and easy as you can. I hope Col. Hamilton, to whom I have recommended him, will prevail on him.

"Let not my cousin Durant want, but supply her with economy.

"Write to me diligently, advising me of everything relating to my interest, and send me affidavits about Quarry, John Corfoe, &c.

"Send all the household goods up to Pennsbury, unless thou inclines to keep sufficient furniture for a chamber to thyself, (for which thou hast my leave,) and take care that nothing be damnified or lost.

"Give my dear love to all my friends, who I desire may labor to soften angry spirits, and to reduce them to a sense of their duty; and at thy return, give a small treat in my name to the gentlemen at Philadelphia, for a beginning to a better understanding—for which I pray the Lord to incline their hearts.

"For thy own services I shall allow thee what is just and reasonable, either by commissions or a salary. But my dependence is on thy care and honesty. Serve me faithfully, as thou expects a blessing from God, or my favor, and I shall support thee to my utmost as

"Thy true friend,
"WILLIAM PENN.*

"Ship Dalmahoy, 3d 9br. 1701."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Logan correspondence; Penn's arrival in England; His solicitude about his son William; Death of the King; Accession of Queen Anne; Address of Friends; Letters to Logan; Pecuniary Difficulties; Col. Quarry in England; Church party in Pennsylvania; their disaffection to the Proprietary; Gov. Hamilton's attempts to raise a militia; Letters of Penn.

1701-2.

After the return of William Penn to England he maintained a constant correspondence with his Secretary, James Logan. Their letters relating both to public business and private affairs, were of the most confidential nature, and disclose the views and feelings of the writers, in a manner far more interesting than could be done by any other pen. The correspondence having been carefully preserved, and a copy of it placed, by the late Deborah Logan, in the archives of the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, will henceforth furnish the staple for the preparation of this work.

Soon after Penn's arrival in England he wrote to Logan, under date 4th of 11th month, (January,) 1701.

In the postscript he says: "We had a swift passage, 26 days from the capes to soundings; 30 to Portsmouth, with five of the last days clear for observation, before we came to the channel. The captain very civil and all the company. Tishe [Letitia,] and Johnne, after the first five days, hearty and well, and Johnne exceeding cheerful all the way."

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* Logan MSS.

* * * "Nothing yet done in my affairs, but my coming, I do more and more see necessary on divers accounts, tho' a troublesome and costly journey: my son has been very serviceable, but costly. * * * * In some respects I am not without good hopes of a tolerable conclusion, tho' it will not be obtained without charge and pains. Those who seek the ruin of the Proprietaries, they say, will renew their bill, but try the commons first this time.' * * * * * I hope thy eye is upon the means to retrench expenses, and pray see the utmost at a leisure hour of poor Marshe's project, of navigating flats up 'Schoolkill and Susquehanna rivers,' above the falls, he assuring me that he could make the experiment for forty shillings; be it fifty, or three pounds, it were a mighty advantage."

Under the same date he wrote again:

"My son [William] shall hasten; possess him, go with him to Pennsbury, advise him, contract and recommend his acquaintance. No rambling to New York, nor mongrel correspondence. He has promised fair. I know he will regard thee. But thou wilt see that I have purchased the *mighty* supplies at a dear rate. God forgive those wretched people who have misused me so, and preserve my spirit over it. Pennsylvania has been a dear Pennsylvania to me all over, which few consider, and with me lay to heart. Be discreet. He has wit, kept the top company, and must be handled with much love and wisdom; and urging the weakness and folly of some behaviors, and the necessity of another conduct from interest and reputation, will go far. And get Samuel Carpenter, Edward Shippen, Isaac Norris, Phineas Pemberton, Thomas Masters, and such persons, to be soft, and kind, and teaching; it will do wonders with him, and he is conquered that way. Pretends much to honor, and is but over-generous by half, and yet sharp enough to get to spend. He cannot well be put off. All this keep to thyself.

"Vale."

It will be seen by the foregoing letter, that William Penn's only surviving son, by his first wife, a young man of bright talents and accomplished manners, now began to give great solicitude to his father.

When his parents removed to Pennsylvania, he, being married, remained in England, and during their stay fell into habits of dissipation and extravagance, which increased the burdens of his father, and eventually became the most severe of all his afflictions. He attributed this unhappy change in his son's deportment, in some measure, to his absence from him, and in several instances speaks of it, as one of the losses he sustained by his connexion with Pennsylvania. Soon after his return to England, the bill for converting the Proprietary into royal governments, which was before the House of Lords, was withdrawn or defeated; but those who urged the measure did not entirely abandon it: they intended to introduce it into the House of Commons, and all the vigilance and influence of the Proprietaries were required to avert the blow or mitigate its force, by obtaining such privileges and immunities, as would secure them and the people from the abuse of power.

The disposition, on the part of the British Ministry, to supercede the Proprietary Governments, had been increasing with the growth of the colonies, and although it may have been first induced by false or exaggerated reports, propagated by the enemies of the Proprietaries; there is reason to believe that there were, among the statesmen of Great Britain, some who favored the measure from a conviction that it would contribute to the safety of the colonies, and the prosperity of the kingdom. They probably considered the proprietary power as a check upon the exercise of royal authority, and an impediment to the efficiency of the colonial governments.

In the spring of 1702, William III. died, after having made preparations for another war with France, which was declared and prosecuted under his successor.

He was an able statesman and general, but ambitious of military glory, and so infatuated with the idea of preserving the balance of power in Europe, that he kept England embroiled in expensive continental wars, to the great increase of her debt, and the detriment of public morals. He was a sincere friend of religious toleration, and one of his last acts was, to sign a bill in favor of the "Friends," allowing their solemn affirmation to be accepted, instead of an oath.

He was succeeded by Queen Anne, the daughter of James II., and wife of Prince George of Denmark. This Princess having, on her accession, publicly declared her intention to maintain the Act of Toleration in favor of religious dissenters, the Yearly Meeting of Friends in London adopted an address, expressive of their acknowledgments, which was presented to her by William Penn, accompanied by a deputation of Friends.

The Queen received them very graciously, and after the address was read she returned the following answer:

"Mr. Penn, I am so well pleased that what I have said is to your satisfaction, that you and your friends may be assured of my protection."*

Penn had not been long in England before he found himself much straitened in his pecuniary affairs, owing to the expenses attendant on his colonial business, and the allowance required for the maintenance of his son.

The extracts which follow from his correspondence with James Logan, describe his situation and prospects at this time.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"London, 21st of 4th mo., 1702.

* * * * "Never had poor man my task, with neither men nor money to assist me. I therefore strictly charge thee that thou represent to Friends there, that I am distressed for want of supply; that I am forced to borrow money, and add debts to debts, instead of paying them off; besides, my uncomfortable distance from my family, and the unspeakable fatigue and vexation of following attendance, draughts of answer, conferences, Council's opinions, hearings, &c., with the charge that follows them, guineas melting, four, five, six a week, and sometimes as many in a day. My wife hitherto has been maintained by her father, whence she is coming next week to Worminghurst on my daughter's account, in likelihood to marry. I have been more sensibly touched for the honor of the country's administration than for myself." * * *

"The scene is much changed since the death of the King. The church party advances upon the Whig, and yet I find good friends, though severely against some people's wills. I have had the advice of some of the wisest and greatest men in England, that wish me well, about bargaining with the Crown for my government. They all say, 'Stay awhile, be not hasty;' yet some incline to a good bargain: and to let Quarry begone, and change him to another province, if we can do no better. Perry and the Lords of Trade have talked of our being Friends. Pray, mind my directions in former letters, and make return with all speed, or I'm undone." * *

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* Gough's History of Quakers, iv. 7.

Again he writes thus:

"I must renew my pressing upon thee about returns, for I perceive by the votes of the day, the House of Commons have ordered the state of the plantations to be laid before them. And just now a lawyer sends me word he is offered to be feed against me by Col. Quarry, who is now come to do us all the mischief he can. Hasten over rents, &c., all thou canst, for many call upon me for old scores, thinking I have brought over all the world with me. The war is likely, and goods bear a price. Deer skins and bear skins, tobacco, good by itself and bad by itself, and then one sells the other.

"The Jersey's surrender is an ugly preface; however, there is a higher hand to which I look.

"Let us do our duty, and leave the rest to God." * * *

"The Lords of Trade have promised me to receive no complaints without the party sending them, give them to the party they are sent against upon the spot for their answers, in the nature of bill and answer in chancery, that nobody may be murdered in the dark. A great reformation relief, and for which American governments owe me their good will."

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

"Philadelphia, 29th 5th mo., 1702.

"I have not much to advise of more than by the last post a packet arrived, with orders directed to thee or the commander-in-chief of this place, to proclaim the war, which was accordingly done on 6th day last the 24th inst."

"13th of 6th mo., (1702.)

"The governor pushes forward a militia, but the church party, as they call themselves, leave no stone unturned to oppose it, for reasons I have before expressed. An approbation is much wanted, and makes the Governor very uneasy."

The church party alluded to in the last extract, consisted of certain members of the Church of England, residing in Pennsylvania, who were disaffected to the Proprietary Government, and making use of every means in their power to bring it into discredit with the British ministry. Among the accusations made against Penn and his friends, one was that they left the province in a defenceless condition, without a militia or military stores.

It appears, from Logan's letter, that the churchmen were not willing to lose this cause of complaint, for when Governor

Hamilton attempted to organize a militia, they were no less zealous than the Friends in opposing the measure, though on entirely different principles. The tolerant and liberal policy of Penn had attracted towards his colony adventurers of every class and denomination. All enjoyed equal political privileges, but in the first settlement, the Friends being much the most numerous, were generally chosen to the Legislature and other public stations.

In a few years the influx of immigrants not of their persuasion, was so great, that the Friends began to lose their preponderance, and the frequent demands of the British government for aid to military purposes, rendered them less willing to serve in public stations.

In 1702 the population of the province was nearly equally divided between Friends and others. In the third month of that year James Logan, in a letter to Penn, says, "Philadelphia town being above one half of the inhabitants, two-thirds of those, I believe, are no Friends, which brings town and country, as I judge, near upon a balance, the greater part of the country being Friends."

The churchmen, being accustomed to exclusive privileges in the mother country, were not satisfied with the equality secured to them by the laws of the province, and being desirous that Pennsylvania should, like the Jerseys, be transferred to a royal government, they raised the cry of persecution. This complaint was so groundless and absurd, that Penn supposed they would readily sign a paper contradicting the report, and at his request Logan applied to the leading members for that purpose.

It appears, by the following extract from his letter to Penn, that they refused his request, and gave him a definition of persecution, which is probably without a parallel.

> "I can see no hopes," he says, "of getting any material subscription from those of the church against the report of persecution, they having consulted together on that head, and, as I am informed, concluded that not allowing their clergy here what they of right claim in England, and not suffering them to be superior, may justly bear that name."

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

"Philadelphia, 17th 7mo. 1702.

"At New York they are suffering with a mortal distemper, much the same as what was here two years ago, which sweeps off great numbers; 'tis such a visitation they say, as that place never knew before, carrying off eight, ten, or twelve in a day. They are very unhealthy likewise at Boston this post informs us." * * *

"We are sensible of thy great exigencies for want of sufficient supplies there, but I can see no better way to remedy it than those I am upon, when thy son arrives he will be a witness of our circumstances, and that I pretend nothing for the sake of excuse, but what we too feelingly experience to be true. Wheat, that when thou left us, was our best commodity, goes now begging from door to door and can rarely find a buyer. The cheapness of grain in England, allowing provisions from thence at much easier rates than our country will yet afford it. So that very few vessels have gone out this fall, which used to be the busiest time, and even these were long before freighted, and that, not fully. The merchants thus forbearing to buy, the country can get no money. Wheat, they offer in pay, but for that there is no vent, nor indeed are the merchants much better supplied. They buy goods of the vessel at 150 per cent., but how they will be paid, none can foresee—unless corn rise in England or a peace (which is not likely) open to us the Spanish trade.

"This province seems in danger of being brought to an ebb." * *

"I cannot advise against a bargain with the Crown, if to be had on good terms for thyself and the people. Friends here, at least the generality of the best informed, think government at this time so ill fitted to their principles, that it renders them very indifferent in that point, further than that they earnestly desire thy success in vindicating the country's reputation, and that they may not fall a spoil to such base hands as now seek our ruin. Privileges, they believe, such as might be depended on for a continuance both to thee and them, with a moderate governor, would set thee much more at ease, and give thee an happier life as Proprietor only, than thou hast yet had as Governor; besides, that it would exempt thee from the solicitude they are under, both from their own impotence and the malicious watchfulness of enemies." * * * * * * * * *

"I have spoken to those chiefly concerned in the Iron Mines, but they seem careless, having never had a meeting since thy departure. Their answer is, that they have not yet found any considerable vein."

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"24th of 12th month, 1702.

* * "I never was so low and so reduced. For Ireland, my old principal verb, has hardly any money. England—severe to her—no trade but

hither—and at England's mercy for prices, (save butter and meat to Flanders and the West Indies) that we must go and eat out half our rents or we canot enjoy them.

"I have great interest, as well as my son's settlement to deduct, with three or four per cent. tax here and twenty or twenty-six per cent. exchange from Ireland to England, to answer.* I therefore earnestly urge supplies, and by the best methods, and least hazardous."

"I know thy ability, I doubt not thy integrity, I desire thy application and health, and above all, thy growth in the feeling of the power of Truth; for that fits and helps us above all other things, even in business of this world; clearing our heads, quickening our spirits, and giving us faith and courage to perform.

"I am sorry to find by thine, thou art so much oppressed in thy station, and wish I could make it lighter. If my son will apply himself to business, he may, by the authority of his relationship, &c., render the post easier to thee. I know the baseness of the temper of too many of the people thou hast to deal with, which calls for judgment and great temper, with some authority. This year the customs upon goods from Pennsylvania, amount to £8000. The year I arrived there, 1699, but to £1500, at the most. A good argument for me and the poor country. It has a greater regard here, and made the care of an officer, (as well as Virginia and Maryland) at the custom house. New York not the half of it.

"But oh! that we had a fur trade instead of a tobacco one, and that thou didst do all that is possible to master furs and skins for me, they bear more, especially such as thou sent me.

"Had I but two or three chests of them, I could have sold them for almost what I would; 16, aye, 20 shillings a skin, at this juncture."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Penn takes Lodgings at Kensington; Writes "More Fruits of Solitude;" Letter to Logan; George Fox's Lot; Servants from R. Janney; Governer Hamilton's Administration; His Death; Kindness of Penn to his Family; Colonel Quarry's Machinations; Difficulty about Oaths; Lord Cornbury and the Church Party; Letters of Logan and Penn.

1702–3.

William Penn having occasion frequently to wait on the Queen, to promote the interests of his province, took lodgings at

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* It seems that part of the rents of his Irish estates were settled on his son William, and he had heavy interest to pay on borrowed money,

Kensington, where he wrote "More Fruits of Solitude, being a Second Part of Reflections and Maxims relating to the Conduct of Human Life." "After which he removed to Knightbridge, over against Hyde Park corner, where he resided for some years."* In the year 1703 he wrote a Preface to a work of D. Philips, entitled "Vindicæ Veritatis," being a defence of "Friends' Principles," and another to the writings of Charles Marshall, called "Zion's Travellers Comforted."

The affairs of Pennsylvania, as well as his own private concerns, continued to be the principal subjects of his correspondence with James Logan. In the first of the letters here inserted, allusion is made to a lot of ground given by William Penn to George Fox, as a token of his regard, which, it seems, had not yet been located, and the same property having been given by George Fox to the meetings of Friends, application was made to the Proprietary to have it located in the city of Philadelphia.

EXTRACTS FROM A DECAYED LETTER FROM WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

Sent by Roger Mompesson.

"I am solicited about George Fox's gift—indeed, it was mine to him, and therefore must take the liberty to say, that for the request I a little admire at it. The most considerable of those who sign it, must know it was so. I shall willingly allow a field of twenty acres or twenty-five acres for Friends' use, out of liberty lands near any meeting; but to allow it out of the city lots is what I will never do, unless I am upon the spot. I still remember the collops cut out of my own, and my son's and daughter's concerns, in my former absence, and will suffer none of those things to be acted again. I have not forgot lot N. N.,† where our meeting-house stands; it was reserved for Tishe, who, as appears by the list, is without any High street lot at all; now that is gone. I know who urge these difficulties upon me; but, alas! they are in the power of one greater than I am, to humble distress and bring them to reflection.

"However, I will honor his name who honored truth, above all men, (G. Fox,) and loved me—but in my own way and time. I will not be dictated to. I can satisfy thee I have writ to none anything that can give them the least occasion against thee.

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* Life prefixed to his works.

† N. N. means not numbered. The lot was at the south-west corner of Market and Second streets, where Friends' Meeting House formerly stood. Granted by Governor Markham.

"The gentleman who brings this (Judge Mompesson) is constituted Judge of the Admiralty of Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, and New York, and is yet willing to be my Attorney-General to rectify matters in law, and to put you into better methods, in which respect he is thought by the Judiciary here to be very able. Get him a sober, suitable house to diet in, as well as lodge. If you were together, 'twere to thy advantage in many respects. He is a moderate churchman, knows the world here, has been in two several Parliaments, and Recorder of Southampton—only steps abroad to ease his fortune of some of his father's debts he was early unwarily engaged for. He is a favorite of Lord Cornbury's father, the Earl of Clarendon.

"I have granted him a commission for Chief Justice, in case the people will lay hold of such an opportunity as no government in America ever had before of an English lawyer, and encourage him by a proper salary of at least £100, if not £150 per annum.

"My son (having life) resolves to be with you per first opportunity; his wife, this day week, was delivered of a fine boy, which he calls William. So that now we are major, minor, and minimus. I bless the Lord mine are pretty well. Johnne lively, Tommy a lovely, large child, and my grandson, Springett, a mere Saracen, his sister a beauty. * * *

"I have sent some hats, one for Griffith Owen, and the other intended for Edward Shippen, which thou mayst take, with this just excuse, that the brim being too narrow for his age and height, I intend him one with a larger brim; for as soon as I saw it, I told the Friend who made it, I thought it handsome, though I pinch here to be sure. If my son sends hounds, as he has provided two or three couple of choice ones for deer, foxes, and wolves, pray let great care be taken of them.

* * * "I add no more, but my good wishes, and leave all to the secret, wise ordering of my good God, and close.

"Thy real friend, WILLIAM PENN."

"2d Sept., (7th mo.,) 1703.

"Friends have again made application for G. Fox's gift, and I have proposed their acceptance of a lot in Front street, and another in High street, with their proportion of liberty land, [Fair Hill.]

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"London, 1st 2d mo. 1703.

"I have writ at large, six sheets if not seven, and sent by R. Mompesson, Esq., to which I refer thee. I here inclose Randall Janney's bond, for two of his best servants, one a carpenter, the other a husbandman; that the out houses may be perfected in part within, (at Pennsbury,) and a moderate stable built, for eight or ten horses, and a shelter for cattle and sheep near the barn, as formerly, to which I refer to J. Sotcher. Yaff is also gone in the room of one who can't go from weakness, and I have resolved *after four years faithful service he shall be free. Yet I have left it with him to return if he will, passage free in the Messenger*, (which he will more than deserve in any ship). Nay I leave it to him to return from Deal *if he* will. Thou art not to allow R. Janney any thing for him; that going into £20 for the other two; also he wants three of his complement, and must have paid as much had he not gone; besides I have been otherwise kind to him. Yaff is an able planter and a good husbandman, and promises fair, and Samuel has but one year more to serve, as I think by my note, if he has served well. I hope Randall carries a hat for Edward Shippen, of a Mayoral size.

"See if the town would be so kind as to build me a pretty box like Edward Shippen's, upon any of my lots in town, or purchase Griffith Owens or T. Fairman's, or any near healthy spot, as Wicaco or the like, for Pennsbury will hardly accommodate my son's family and mine, unless enlarged. Let what is there be kept up, but only substantial improvements to be now followed.

"I should like fruit at the distance of forty or fifty feet, in fields as should neither hurt corn or grass.

"Now is the time to make earnings in the Islands, wherefore fail not to use the opportunity, and let me see some chests of furs by the Messenger, and if thou can'st a copy of the laws to lye by me."

"Thy loving friend, WM. PENN."

P S. "My dear love to all Friends, and salutes to all that deserve it. Take care of my mills. Remember me to my family, and let them be kind to poor Lucy and the Dutchman."

The servants alluded to in the foregoing letter, appear to have been bound for a term of years: "Samuel," he says, "has but one year more to serve," and Yaff he was resolved should be free, after "four years of faithful service."

There is no evidence that they were Africans, for the term servant was, and still is applied, in England, to all hired laborers.

The administration of Gov. Hamilton was of short duration, and embittered by dissensions between the representatives of the province and those of the territories, now composing the State of Delaware.

The people of the territories declined to elect representatives to the Assembly, at the time fixed by law, and writs being subsequently issued by the Governor for an election, they chose delegates, who, when they arrived at the seat of government, refused to unite with the members from the province, claiming their privilege under the charter of dissolving the union.

The Governor having used every means in his power to reconcile their differences, was at last compelled to dismiss the Assembly, without the transaction of any business. This separation proved to be final.

Gov. Hamilton died the 20th of 2d month, (April,) 1703, and his successor made a fruitless attempt to preserve the union, but the members from the province, who before, had been well affected towards it, then refused to unite with those from the territories, whose refractory conduct, for many years, had exhausted their forbearance.

The death of Gov. Hamilton was lamented by Logan, who thought him well qualified for his office, but he was inimical to the Proprietary government, as appears by the following letter.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

" Worminghurst, 27th 6th mo. 1703.

" Now I am to tell thee that when I told the Lords of Trade &c., that Col. Hamilton was dead, Secretary Blathwayt answered me, 'Then there is dead the man who of all others has written against Proprietary Governments with the most neatness and strength.' I replied 'And yet with what difficulty besides charge, did I obtain this enemy of my interest, and friend to yours, to be my Deputy-Governor;' but his moderation about the affairs of New York, renewed a good opinion of him, and I believe had he lived, by the help of his Friends here he had been favored in his concern. But of this passage of Secretary Blathwayt, say nothing, unless under secrecy, to S Carpenter, or S. Jennings or Francis Davenport, but those two may remember at Governor Hamilton's house in Burlington, I told you this as my jealousy; at least to Davenport and Gardner. I told it there, and elsewhere, to Samuel Jennings more than once. I suppose he (Hamilton,) wished to ingratiate himself against they became King's governments. But I could have as soon picked a pocket or denied my friend or name. Yet what shall we say of this wretched world."

" However I am, with the aid of Counsellor West, endeavoring to serve his creditors and family about the Post Office."

The last sentence in the above letter, evinces that beautiful trait in Penn's character, forgiveness of injuries,—so conspicuous in all his conduct. Although he believed that the late

Governor, while employed in his service, had been the secret enemy of his house, he exerted himself to benefit his family, and obtained the Post Office for one of his sons.*

On the death of Gov. Hamilton, the executive duties devolved upon the Council, who soon found themselves involved in difficulty, through the machinations of Col Quarry. He had obtained from the Queen an order, that all the executive and judicial officers of the Province should take "the oath directed by the law of England or the affirmation allowed by the said law to Quakers," "as also, that all persons, who in England, are obliged and willing to take an oath in any public or judicial proceeding, be admitted so to do, by the proper officers and judges in Pennsylvania." He presented himself before the Council armed with this order, which empowered him, John Moore and two others, to administer the oath. There being only two members of the Council, i. e., Judge Guest and Capt. Finney, willing to take an oath, and the other members being dissatisfied with the form of the affirmation, they were in some perplexity, but after several conferences they agreed to comply with the order. Col. Quarry however, whose object was to throw odium upon the Proprietary government, refused to qualify them, unless they would all submit to the same form of oath. He affected to consider the executive as a unit, though composed of five members, and would only administer the oath to the whole Council; nor could he and his colleagues "see that they had any power to administer an affirmation at all."† The Council refusing to comply, he withdrew, chuckling at the success of his manœuvre.

The collector of the Queen's customs being authorized to administer the oath or affirmation, was called upon to supply the place of Col. Quarry, which he at first declined, but at the pressing solicitation of some of the members of Council, he complied, and the wheels of government again moved on.

The mischief occasioned by this order of the Queen, did not, however, stop here. Many of the judges and magistrates being Friends, were as scrupulous about administering an oath as taking it themselves. The laws of Pennsylvania did not require it, and a simple affirmation had been sufficient in all judicial proceedings. Now they were required to administer oaths to all who were willing to take them, and rather than comply they would resign their offices; which the church party, under the direction of Quarry and Moore, would gladly occupy.

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* Note to the Logan MSS.

† Colonial Records, ii. 93.

When information of these proceedings reached the Proprietary, he was grieved that the members of Council had not been more firm. In writing to them he said:

> "For your perplexities in government, methinks you have brought it too much upon yourselves. For why should you obey any order obtained by the Lords of Trade, or otherwise, which is not according to patent nor law here, nor the laws of your own country, which are to govern you till repealed; and none are but one.
>
> "I say abjuration, &c., are besides your clue, and I admire at your weakness in not keeping to law. Queens, as well as kings, never read what they sign. They are signed upon the credit of committees or secretaries.
>
> "I desire you to pluck up that English and Christian courage, not to suffer yourselves to be thus treated and put upon. Let those factious fellows do their worst. Keep them in evidence and in qualifications, who give you this perplexity, and I will bear you out. If you will resign the laws, customs, and usages, instead of persisting till you see what becomes of the laws now with the Attorney General, I cannot help it; but a decent refusal were wisest. * * *
>
> "This should have gone three or four weeks ago, and did attempt it in vain, since the great storm, that has, besides lives seven or eight thousand, done millions of damage to the kingdom; the like not remembered by any man living with us."

After the Proprietary government of the Jerseys was surrendered to the crown, Lord Cornbury was appointed Governor, by William III., which gave the church party in Pennsylvania great hopes of being able to effect the same change in that province. On the occasion of Cornbury's visit to Philadelphia, early in the reign of Queen Anne, he was received by the churchmen with great manifestations of regard. In a letter of Logan to Penn, dated 2d Sept. 1703, he says,

> "Col. Quarry, and the rest of the churchmen, congratulated him, and presented an address from the vestry of Philadelphia, who now consist, I

think, of twenty-four, requesting his patronage to the church, and closing with a prayer that he would beseech the Queen, (as I am credibly informed) to extend his government over this province; and Col. Quarry, in his first congratulatory address, said, they hoped they also should be partakers of the happiness of Jersey, enjoyed under his government.

"In answer to the vestry's address, he spoke what was proper from a churchman, to the main design of it, (for he was very good at extemporary speeches,) and to their last request, that it was *their* business (meaning to address the Queen, I suppose); but that when his mistress would be pleased to lay her commands on him, he would obey them with alacrity."

A short time previous to the receipt of this information, Penn had written to Logan concerning a complaint that Cornbury himself had sent over, from which it appears that his lordship could lend a helping hand to his brother churchmen, in disturbing the proprietary government.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"Worminghurst, 27th sixth month, 1703.

"A letter came from Lord Cornbury, 'your great friend,' importing a representation from the Church of England, with you, to him, complaining of a man's being lately sentenced to death by a jury of Quakers, not only not sworn, but not attested according to the Act of Parliament in England. To which I answered I had heard nothing of it; and so soon as any advices came, should inform them of it. In the meantime it was not to be thought, that a colony and constitution, made by and for Quakers, would leave themselves, and their lives and fortunes out of so essential a part of government as juries. That there and here, differed much, or we had never gone thither, with our lives and substance, to be so precarious in our security, as not to be capable of being jurymen. If the coming of others, shall overrule us, that are the originals, and made it a country, we are unhappy indeed: though it is not to be thought, we intended no easier or better terms for ourselves, in going to America, than we left behind us.

"As yet, this has allayed the spirit of objectors. But of none of this have I word, which has been some concern to me. Pray let me hear oftener. I have not had one penny, consequently, toward my support, since the taking of the two ships I advised thee of: [captured by the French,] and have lived in town ever since I came over, at no small expense; having not been three months of twenty that I have been in England, absent from court, putting all the time together that I have been at this place and Bristol, from whence I came three weeks ago, and was there but about fourteen or sixteen days, on account of my wife, who this day month gave birth to a daughter, whom we call Hannah Margarita."

But the complaints of the churchmen were not confined to the disuse of oaths, they thought the ordinances of their church were not sufficiently respected. In another letter of Penn he says,

> "I had a letter from the Lords of Trade, &c., upon occasion of one from Sir Thomas Lawrence, that, vox et præterea nihil, complaining of contemptuous expressions used by Thomas Story, in public meetings in Maryland—last General Meeting—against Baptism and the Lord's Supper. A silly knight! Though I hope it comes of officious weakness, the talent of the gentleman, with some malice, rather than an unnecessary attack on the part of T. Story; or in irreverent terms. I never heeded it: only said, if that gentleman had sense enough for his office, he might have known that his tale was no part of it. And that the rudeness and perpetual clamor of George Keith, and the rest of the priests in those parts, in their pulpits, with public challenges besides, gave occasion for what passed. That he was a discreet and temperate man, and did not exceed in his retorts or returns. But 'tis children's play to provoke a combat, and then cry out that such a one beats them. I hoped they were not a committe of conscience nor religion; and that it showed the shallowness of the gentleman, that played the busybody in it.
>
> "However, let Griffith Owen mention this to Thomas, lest time fail me."

The difficulty of governing the colony on the peaceable principles of Friends, arose from her connexion with the mother country, whose foreign wars she was compelled to espouse; and it was enhanced by the opposition of those among her own citizens, who wished to provide for military defences. The secretary himself was not satisfied without some martial preparations, as appears by his letters to Penn.

The pecuniary wants of the Proprietary, together with the embarrassment he experienced from the agent of the British government and the disaffected among the colonists, induced him to think of selling his government, but retaining to himself his landed estate in the colony, where he still hoped to pass the evening of his days.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"London, 6th 4th mo. 1703.

"My son is now in earnest to be with you by the Virginia fleet, which sails, by orders, the 10th of the 6th mo., (2 months hence) and so thence up the Bay, unless better conveniency offer more directly, as early as that. I am actually in treaty with the ministers for my government, and as soon as it bears you shall be informed of it. I believe it repents some that they began it, for now 'tis I that press it upon pretty good terms, as well for the people as self, in the judgment of the wisest and best of my friends; but this shall never weaken my love to, and residence in, Pennsylvania, and so I command by will my posterity. You will have an increase of Friends among you to support the superiority, or balance at least, in the province.

"So after I have done with the government, and called upon Ireland, if the Lord give me life, I purpose to fly to you as fast as I can.

"Jos. Groves paid me the other day, fifty pounds, when I never wanted it more, a guinea being less to me, a year since, than a crown is now, therefore remember me by all opportunities."

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

"2d September, 1703.

* * * * "By last post we have accounts from N. England that the French and Indians, joining to the eastward, have cut off several settlements, and killed and carried away 150 persons, a sore unexpected blow. The Governor having, even this summer, made peace by a solemn treaty with those very savages who have been chiefly concerned in the mischief. They are at open war with them now, having proclaimed it at Boston about fifteen days ago. The French have likewise settled among the Five Nations not at peace with them, and have their emisaries everywhere, those of Connecticut are also like to break with the English, as letters by the same post inform us. Indian Harry of Conostoga, is now here, and informs us of the great endeavors of the French, but I have not yet fully discoursed with him. * * * * * I wish thee could find more to say for our lying so naked and defenceless. I always used the best argument I could, and when I pleaded that we were a peaceable people, had wholly renounced war and the spirit of it, that were willing to commit ourselves to the protection of God alone, in an assurance that the sword can neither be drawn nor sheathed, but by his direction; that the desolation made by it, are the declaration of his wrath alone; that the Christain dispensation is exclusively of peace on earth and good-will towards men; and that those who will not use the sword, but by an entire resignation commit themselves to his all-powerful providence, shall never need it, but be safe under a more sure defence than any worldly arm. When I pleaded this, I really spoke my sentiments, but this will not answer in English government, nor the methods of this region. Their answer is, that should we lose our lives only, it would be little to the crown, seeing it is our doing, but others are involved with us, and should the enemy make themselves masters of the country, it would too sensibly touch England in the rest of her colonies. This must be weighed, but still I hope such measures may be taken, as will prevent these base men from becoming our masters.

"But what shall we say? Almighty Providence seems to be preparing the most dreadful scenes throughout the world. Rage and fury appear to be commissioned to carry desolation through the earth, and few will be the doors, I doubt, it will not visit. The most secure may find their enemies, the most naked be protected."

"Philadelphia, 8th 7th, 1703.

"As I said in my large letter, the Justices who are Friends, having yesterday gone off the Bench and left the Court, to-day it has been held by the others, J. Guest, C. Finney, E. Farmer, A. B., who administer oaths to all who can take them, fining those that will not, and the affirmation to all others."

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"London, 31st 10th mo, 1703.

"Fear not my bargain with the Crown, for it shall never be made without a security to the inhabitants according to the constitution and laws of the country, though my supplies to defend them come so costly and slowly to my support."

WILLIAM PENN TO THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL.

"London, 31st 10th mo., 1703.

"Esteemed Friends—I heartily salute you, wishing you and yours true happiness. I perceive by divers letters, as well as that I received from most of you, the restless endeavors of a few malcontents to throw the government into confusion, that they may have the better excuse and pretence for changing the government, and shifting it from the hands in which it now is: as for instance, that you are careless about the laws of trade and navigation, because you are not cruel and extortionate, where facts relating thereunto have happened through ignorance or undesigned omission, as in the case of poor Lumby, Kule and Righton, to say nothing of the barbarous treatment of George Claypoole and Thomas Masters, for which Quarry and Moore deserve the aversion of all honest men, and I doubt not they will find it in due time. The next instance is their outcry for want of a militia to defend them in time of danger, and then strenuously endeavor to defeat the means of obtaining and settling it. * * 3dly. After all their aggravàtions about trying for life, without an oath, they have discouraged the methods taken by my Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, to the obstruction of justice, which might accommodate that matter, than which hardly anything can appear more disingenuous. 4thly. I was astonished at the address delivered by Quarry, in the name of the Vestry of Philadelphia, to Lord Cornbury, at his last being there; and I admire almost as much, your extreme patience under so impudent an affront and injustice. I suppose it was out of respect to that noble

Lord, otherwise I think, had I been there, I should have made those gentlemen sensible of the smart of that power they have so often abused in your hands; and for that reason, now, would have wrested out of them. But his answer, I confess, (as it comes from thence,) shows his prudence, and their folly; and, with the addition of what his father, the Earl of Clarendon, told me, the other day, upon my mentioning to him the unaccountableness of that passage in their address, as well as his great justice; for, (says he,) I will never solicit the Queen, or any one else, for that which is the property of another man. 5thly. I also understand that these open defiances to the government they have got their bread under, have excited many of my renters in the lower counties to refuse the payment of my quit-rents, an unhappiness to themselves, poor people! at the long run. For I am determined to show them they are in the wrong, and forgive them when they have submitted to their old, kind, and abused landlord. But, perhaps, their leaders may have cause, one time or other, to wish they had not misled them from their duty and common justice. My present indisposition (which, they say, is the beginning of the gout) makes writing uneasy to me, or else you had had all this from my own hand: I shall conclude when I have said I expect from you that you will maintain my just rights and privileges, both in government and property, granted to me by King Charles II., under the Great Seal of England, and by James, Duke of York, his Royal brother, and the constitution, laws, and customs, unitedly and universally signed and established in that government long before the coming of those troubles of our race amongst us; for you cannot think that I shall support them here, if you submit them there to the unjust, clamorous, and insolent practices of those notorious enemies to our public peace.

"I am your very loving friend, WILLIAM PENN."

CHAPTER XXXV.

William Penn, Jr. arrives in Pennsylvania; Visited by the Indians; Penn's Letter to Logan; Col. Quarry; Oaths and Affirmations; Logan's Letter to Penn; S. Bonas Imprisoned; Governor Evan's Measures; William Penn, Jr.'s Affray with the Watch; Renounces Quakerism; Returns to England; Evans Disputes with Assembly; D. Lloyd's Artifices; Pretended Remonstrance of Assembly; Letters of Penn and Logan.

1703-4.

The intention of William Penn to send his son to the province was probably formed during his residence there, and was expressed in several of his letters soon after his return to England, but not accomplished until near the close of the year 1703. In one of his letters to Logan he expresses great solicitude that wise measures and salutary counsels should be employed to reclaim this unhappy son, who had fallen into habits calculated to destroy his own peace, and to embitter his father's declining years.

> "Take him," he says, "away to Pennsbury, and there give him the true state of things, and weigh down his levities, as well as temper his resentments, and inform his understanding, since all depends upon it, as well for his future happiness, as in measure the poor country's." * * *
>
> "Watch him, outwit him, and honestly overreach him, for his good. Fishings, little journeys, (as to see the Indians, &c.,) will divert him, and interest Friends to bear all they can, and melt towards him, at least civilly, if not religiously. He will confide in thee. If S. Carpenter, Richard Hill, and Isaac Norris could gain his confidence, and tender Griffith Owen—not the least likely, for he sees and feels—I should rejoice. Pennsylvania has cost me dearer in my poor child than all other considerations. The Lord pity and spare in his great mercy. I yet hope."

William Penn, Jr. arrived in the province in the 12th month, 1703, [i. e. February, 1704.] He was accompanied by John Evans, who had been appointed by the Proprietary as Deputy-Governor, with the Queen's approbation. Evans was recommended, in a letter of Penn to James Logan, as "a young man, not above six and twenty, but sober and sensible; the son," he says, "of an old friend that loved me not a little. He will be discreet, advisable, and especially by the best of our friends." Penn was, however, deceived in him, for he proved to be an unsuitable companion for his son, and exceedingly indiscreet as a Governor. The first impression, made by both Evans and young Penn, was favorable. Logan, with all his sagacity, was at fault, and expressed the most sanguine hopes of them both.

Samuel Preston, in a letter written about the same time to Jonathan Dickerson, in Jamaica, mentions him in the following terms:

> "Our young landlord, to say true, in my judgment discovers himself his father's eldest son; his person, his sweetness of temper, and elegance of speech, are no small demonstrations thereof. But I wish him more of his zeal."

The Indians, hearing of his arrival, testified their respect for his father, by repairing to Pennsbury to meet him, as appears by a letter of J. Logan, dated 14th of 1st mo., 1704.

He says, "Last week thy son, Judge Mompesson, and myself, went to Pennsbury to meet 100 Indians, of which nine were Kings; Opewousiumhook, the Chief, with his neighbors, who came thither to congratulate thy son's arrival, presenting the belts of wampum for a ratification of peace, and had returns accordingly. He staid there with the Judge, awaiting Clement Plumstead's wedding with Sarah Righ.on, (formerly Biddle.")

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"London, 10th First month, 1703-4.

"I hope 'ere now my son and Lieutenant-Governor are arrived. This comes by Edward Shippen, Jr., and N. Puckle, to whom I refer thee as to generals and common news, and the prints that come with them.

"And in the first place, know that I received none from thee since I writ largely to thee, by way of Barbadoes and Antigua, and since, a shorter, to the Council, and so to thee, by way of New England; duplicates of which go now. And I hope and please myself to think you will be quickened to show yourselves men in that affair, to wit:—of Quarry's and his few venomous adherents' proceedings against the government. For if you could longer endure those contempts, it would be, I take it, a betraying of the rights of the people, as well as of mine, and my posterity's. I have made good use of the defence thou sent me. The Council's letter, and passages out of thine, much to the purpose; and the very Lords Commissioners themselves are come at last to dislike his busy and turbulent proceedings. And I hope for a letter next week, (to send by this, or next opportunity, to New York, in twenty days time,) from that Board, to reprimand his behavior; having convinced them by instances you gave me, of his disingenuous practices, as well as injurious; as also that I have shown them, that the counties he has seduced from their duty, are the only tobacco folks, and that the only enumerated commodity in our country: as also, that the people of the territories, purged (by their address to the late King, anno 1699–1700) the colony from Col. Quarry's imputations upon us about trade; and who also, anno 1684, did by their address to the King and Duke (of York,) highly express their satisfaction in me, and their union with the upper counties,—and which was indeed their seeking,—returning their humble thanks to both, for sending them so kind a landlord and so good a Governor. And, therefore, to Quarry's foul practices, and the protection he brags there, he has here, I owe that great defection, those poor people have been led into of late. In short, I am now more likely to keep my government than ever, or to have some equivalent for it; and take this from me, that if you do but the Queen justice in her revenue, and discountenance illegal trade, and all own the administration their jurisdiction, so far as agrees with the Attorney General's opinion I sent you, you will not be molested hence, but protected. This the ministry here assures me.

"And I do require it of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Council and magistrates, that they maintain to the utmost the powers of my grant, and the authority of the laws. And if Quarry, or any of his ungrateful gang, offer to invade or affront them, that they feel the smart of them. His being an officer in the revenue, shall not exempt him from correction, or support him in his seditious and factious practices with impunity.

"I could almost send orders to have him prosecuted with the utmost rigor; and if I find encouragement from the learned in the law, that it might be done to good purpose, I may think to do it.

"I offered the Lords Commissioners, the other day, either that we might be bought out, or have liberty to buy out our turbulent churchmen, and they wished it were so; the latter, they said. I desired them to forward it, and assured them I would find four amongst us that could and would do it. They are thoroughly apprised of your hardships, and so are greater persons, and Quarry will have a rebuke from that Board by this opportunity, or by the New York convoy, as before noted. * * *

"Salute me to all Friends as if named, the Council, magistrates, officers, and inhabitants that behave discreetly.

"With hearty good wishes for thy true prosperity, and that wisdom may guide thee—that wisdom which is gentle and easy to be entreated (for it comes from above, and will outlive all the false wisdom of the low and miserable world,)—being

"Thy real friend, WM. PENN."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"8th of 2d mo. 1704.

* * * * * * "I am grieved to think that you ever gave way to any other affirmation than that appointed by law in the province; by which you have given away a most tender point, not easily recoverable. My regard to this Queen is known almost to a partiality, but I shall never obey her letters, (against laws,) into which she may be drawn by interested persons, or those who would make their court by other men's costs. The Bishop of London himself is under humiliations. However, use thy utmost wits to get intelligence of the motions of our enemies there, in their designs, and with correspondences they hold at New York, Virginia, and Maryland; and communicate them to me by the quickest and safest opportunities."

This false step gave much trouble to Friends in the colony. Some years afterwards, their opponents carried a law for the

English affirmation. Whereupon Penn again expressed his regret as follows:

"I do abhor the new affirmation, carried here and then there, by absolute faction, and if I can I will waive it. For I would rather Friends were never in power, so our old affirmation were confirmed for Friends and others scrupulous, and oaths for the rest:—unless a short way of Bond's penalty, for truth of what is said, were made practicable and acceptable, as I have often thought it might be."

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

"Philadelphia, 25th 3d mo., 1704, 5th day.

"HONORED GOVERNOR—I send this chiefly to let thee know that I am writing largely by the Virginia fleet, to be sent down on Third day next by the Friends going to the Maryland meeting. * * * * * The provinces and territories are entirely disunited in pursuance of that unhappy charter, and the province now acting by themselves in Assembly; but what they will do, cannot yet be foreseen. Some hope for good, and some expect but little. In the meantime, however, if thou hast an opportunity of making a good bargain for thyself and the many honest people that are still here, notwithstanding the endeavors of the spiteful or malcontents, 'tis what I believe thy best friends will advise thee to. We are all well. Thy son and myself have taken William Clark's great house in Chestnut street.* Judge Mompesson will be with us, as I suppose, when here; but he has lost all in his commission but New York, and Colonel Quarry is made Surveyor General of all the main, and I believe the island, too. The Governor acquits himself beyond what could possibly be expected from his years; is master of his temper to a great degree, which has been but too much tried by some of our humors. It will be a justice due to him to get the Queen's first commission to him. Judge Mompesson is certainly a man of consummate worth, but has not fallen into hands that know how to value him. I fear the Assembly will give him no encouragement. He is of the Council, and as he is of ability infinitely beyond the rest, so he has a willingness suitable to it. A militia is going forward with all vigor; but our friends would not suffer the Proclamation to be printed on their press. I shall not enter into particular business here, referring it to the other opportunity, and conclude with all due respects. Thy faithful friend, JAMES LOGAN."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Philadelphia, 26th 3d mo., 1704.

* * * * "The Governor acquits himself to the satisfaction of his and thy friends, and much better, I believe, than is desired by our ene-

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* Near the south-west corner of Third street, afterwards the residence of Israel Pemberton, and now occupied as a Bank.

mies. There has not much passed that is very material, except that of the separation of the province and territories, all the steps to which will fully appear in the minutes and papers which accompany this." * * *

"They have, this day, voted for raising a sum not less than a thousand pounds for public uses, but the methods not yet agreed on; and, indeed, the country is so very poor, it will be very difficult, when laid, to make it answer in the collection. They design, I understand, presenting the Queen with part of that £350—they say £200, and to leave the rest to the territories; but I hope otherwise, for to bring them so near us, in proportion, will be a disadvantage to us." * * * * *

"The Governor is settling a militia with all application. I send a copy of a Proclamation, which the overseers of the press were not willing to have printed. There are three companies in this town, three in New Castle, two in Kent, and as many in Sussex. The Captains of this place are G. Lowther, who had a commission under Colonel Hamilton; George Roche, whom I mentioned per the Experiment, a stranger of great estate from Antigua; and Capt. Finney, who is also Sheriff of the county." * *

* * * "The account of thy circumstances, and the exigencies I know thou must labor under there, with the difficulties I am oppressed with here, through the great decay of trade and poverty of the planters, from whom, chiefly, we receive our pay, makes my life so uncomfortable, that it is not worth the living. I'm ground on all sides. I know 'tis impossible to satisfy thee thus, and the condition of our affairs will not enable me to do better."

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"London, 11th of 5th mo., 1704.

* * * "Give no occasion to exceptions or reflections, and value them not when made or thrown without a cause; but command thy temper all that is possible in doing thy business; for in Joseph Pike's case thou hast been hardly represented to him, and sorely is he provoked at thee, and displeased with me, of which more by another hand upon the spot. I know whence the arrow came; 'tis provoking; but this is the cross we are to bear to prove ourselves Christians indeed. Whatever thou dost, give no offence, "be not high-minded, but fear." I take the lesson to myself; we all need an holy and daily remembrance of it." * * *

"Be sure the very next Assembly to let the laws pass with the Queen's name, though under my seal, according to charter. The Attorney-General making the want thereof an ugly objection against the confirming of them, though a good fee would go a great way to clear the scruple, if I had it to give him, for what with the decay of Ireland, half in half at present, and the loss of two ships, nothing coming in from the Islands and Carolina, with four shillings in the pound here, my son's part of the estate, and the interest money I have to pay; so that, with all these drawbacks, I live but from hand to mouth, and hardly that." * *

FROM THE SAME TO SAME.

"22d 5th mo., (1704.)

* * * * * * "I enclose a letter from Lord Clarendon to his son, your neighboring Governor, about Samuel Bownas, that if he is not at liberty, will, I hope, procure it. But I admire at his permissions, if not proceedings, at this time of day, when the Queen and Ministry show so moderate a side towards dissenters here; and on complaint of this affair, would be very ready to reprimand such a different conduct. Send it to him by a discreet Friend, if needful." * * *

Samuel Bownas was an eminent minister in the Society of Friends, who, being on a religious visit to America, was imprisoned nearly a year on Long Island.

He was preaching in the village of Hempstead, where he met with George Keith, who had before challenged him to a public dispute, which he declined. Keith was then on a mission as a minister of the Church of England, and manifested great enmity to "Friends," from whose communion he had been disowned. He had with him William Bradford, formerly printer in Philadelphia, whom he sent to the religious meeting appointed by Samuel Bownas, in order to find matter of accusation against him. When he stood up to speak, the reporter took out his pen, ink, and paper. The discourse was partly on the subjects of Water Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which Samuel endeavored to show were, of themselves, insufficient for salvation. Bradford took such notes as would answer his purpose, and calling in another witness, he, with the assistance of Keith, drew up an affidavit, attested it before two Justices, and had a warrant issued for his apprehension. The Justices required him to give bail, which, he refusing, they sent him to prison, where he lay three months before he was brought to trial. An indictment was then prepared, and sent to the Grand Jury, but they rejected it, at which the Chief Justice, John Bridges, was much incensed, and remanded Samuel Bownas to prison, where he lay nearly nine months more, when being again brought before the Court, the Grand Jury refused to find a bill, and he was discharged. During his imprisonment he learned the trade of shoemaking, by which he maintained himself. In this malicious prosecution Keith and his party were encouraged by Lord Cornbury, who was Governor of New York, as well as the Jerseys. He was a corrupt politician, and an arbitrary Governor, having silenced a number of Presbyterian preachers, and placed churchmen in their room.* Under his patronage the church party increased in numbers and influence, though probably not in vital religion. Logan, in one of his letters about this time, remarks:

> "The clergy increase much this way. Burlington and Chester have their churches and ministers; and several more are building. God grant that a spirit of charity and kindness may be cultivated among us, in place of hatred and persecution."

Soon after the arrival of Gov. Evans he increased the number of members in the Provincial Council, by calling to the Board Judge Mompesson, William Trent, Richard Hill, James Logan, and William Penn, Jr. The latter, in honor of his father, was seated next to the Governor, but he seldom attended, being probably more intent upon pleasure than business. A few months after his arrival, Logan, in writing to his father, evinces an increasing solicitude on his account:

"Philadelphia, 14th 5th mo. 1704.

"HONORED GOVERNOR:—

"The Governor [Evans,] lodges at present at young Capt. Finney's, the Sheriff of this county, but intends if he can acquit himself of an engagement with Robert Ashton, to make one of our family in William Clark's house, in Chestnut St., which we were forced to take, the whole town not affording any suitable accommodation to thy son as a boarder, those that were able, declining the trouble, and others not being fit to accept it. * * * * I lie under a great hardship for want of a more full adjustment of matters in relation to his (Wm. Penn, Jr.) supplies here. Before he left England, he threw himself, he says, entirely upon thy generosity, and therefore resents it the more nearly, when I am not able to come up to his expectations, which tho' far from extravagant, are much above the limits set me. The directions given me can by no means satisfy him, nor answer what is thought suitable to the presumptive heir of the province, upon his first appearance in it, even by the most reasonable. He expresses himself dutifully to thee, but notwithstanding it forces him on thoughts that render his visit of less service to him. It proves an hardship upon me between both, but I shall endeavor the best, tho' in so nice a point I do not expect the success of pleasing either" * * * *

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* Gough's Hist. of Quakers.

Penn in sending his son to Pennsylvania, placed great reliance on the prudence and good example of Logan, to whose care he recommended him. The Secretary, though a young man himself, fulfilled the trust with wisdom and fidelity, but unhappily, this degenerate scion of a noble stock, was not to be reclaimed.

"Be as much as possible in his company," wrote the father, "and suffer him not to be in any public house after the allowed hours." The wisdom of this premonition was soon apparent; for young Penn and Gov. Evans, being late at night at a public house in the city, got involved in a disgraceful affray with the watch.

The Grand Jury, it seems, were so fully imbued with republican principles, that they paid no respect to hereditary rank, and presented the son of the founder, as though he had been of humbler lineage.

The subject was brought before the Council on information from the Attorney-General, who stated that some gentlemen had received great abuses from the watch, "who were backed by the Mayor, Recorder, and one Alderman," that the peace had been broke, and the Mayor and Recorder being parties, the trial could not be brought into the city court," &c.

Those officers, with Alderman Wilcox, being summoned before the Council, made it appear that they were no otherwise concerned in it, than to assist in quelling the disturbance; on which the case was dismissed.

Tradition relates, that young Penn in the affray, called for pistols, but the lights being extinguished, one of his antagonists gave him a hearty beating;* and that Alderman Wilcox "availed himself of the darkness to fail in recognising the chief magistrate, to whom he gave a severe drubbing, redoubling his blows upon him as a slanderer, when he disclosed his quality."†

The Governor was greatly chagrined at the result of this affray, and young Penn was so indignant, that he soon after declared his intention of leaving the country.

Isaac Norris thus notices the affair in a letter to a friend:

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* Watson i. 114.

† Friend xviii. No. 46.

"27th, 9br, 1704.

"William Penn, Jr., is quite gone off from Friends. He being in company with some extravagants, that beat the watch at Enoch Story's, was presented with them. Which unmannerly and disrespectful act, (as he takes it,) gives him great disgust, and seems a waited occasion. He talks of going home in the Jersey man-of-war next month. I wish things had been better, or he had never come."

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

Bristol, 2d, 9br. 1704.

* * * "If my son proves very expensive I cannot bear it; but must place to his account what he spends above moderation, while I lie loaded with debt and interest here: Else I shall pay dear for the advantage his going thither might entitle me to, since the subscribers and bondsmen cannot make ready pay, according to what he has received for his land there; so excite his return or send for his family to him; since I cannot come to him as soon as I wish. For if he bring not wherewith to pay his debts here, his creditors will fall foul upon him most certainly. * * *

"I have done, when I tell thee to let my poor son know that if he be not a very good husband, I must sell there as well as here, and that all he spends is disabling me, so far to clear myself of debt, and that he will pay for it at the long run. Do it in the friendliest manner, that he may co-operate with me to clear our encumbered estate and honors."

The allowance of money received from Logan not being sufficient to meet the expenditures of this prodigal son, he sold his manor, called Williamstadt, to William Trent and Isaac Norris, for the sum of 850 pounds.

It consisted of 7000 acres, and now constitutes Norristown township, Montgomery county.

How much his conduct in Pennsylvania, and the disgrace attending it, contributed to augment his father's afflictions, may be judged by the ensuing correspondence.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"London, 16th 11th mo. 1704.

"I think I may say I have all thy letters, as well private as public, from my son, John Askew, &c.

"A melancholy scene enough upon my poor child. Pennsylvania began it by my absence here, and there it is accomplished, with expense, disappointment, ingratitude and poverty.

"The Lord uphold me, under these sharp and heavy burdens, with his free spirit. I should have been glad of an account of his expenses, and more of a rent-roll, if I must perish with gold in my view but not in my power. To have neither supplies nor a reason of credit here, is certainly a cruel circumstance. I want to know what I have to stand upon and help myself with. He [his son] is my greatest affliction, for his soul's and my country's and family's sake. * * * * * *

"Nor did thou send me word what my son sold his manor for, but after his arrival he drew a bill for £10 to ride two hundred miles home, and which he performed in two days and a night. I met him by appointment between this and Worminghurst; we stayed but three hours together. See how much more easily the bad Friends' treatment of him stumbled him from the blessed truth, than those he acknowledges to be good ones, could prevail to keep him in possession of it, from the prevailing, ground in himself, to what is levity, more than what is retired, circumspect and virtuous. I have writ very copiously to thee, by several packets, two by E. Lane, a great enemy to Friends—a reviler—let kindness teach him his mistakes." * * * *

Soon after the arrival of Governor Evans, he summoned the members of the Legislature, both for the province and territories, to meet in Philadelphia; and when they were assembled, he made a strenuous effort to re-unite them in one body, but without success.

Finding this impracticable, he was compelled to acquiesce in their holding separate Assemblies; that for the province meeting at Philadelphia, and the other, for the territories, at New Castle. The Assembly of the province by its unwillingness to enter into the proposed re-union, incurred the Governor's displeasure, which, with the disputes that soon after arose, concerning their privileges, occasioned a misunderstanding and hostile feeling, that obstructed the business of legislation.

Logan, who was less republican in his principles than Penn, attributed their dissensions to the too great indulgence of the Proprietary, in granting them more political privileges than they were capable of enjoying.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

"Phila. 14th 5th mo. 1704.

* * * * "This people think privileges their due, and all that can be grasped, their native right; but when dispensed with too liberal a hand, as not restraining licentiousness, may produce their greatest unhappiness.

Charters here are in danger of being made of fatal consequence, for some peoples' brains are as soon intoxicated with power, as the natives are with their beloved liquor, and as little to be trusted with it. They think it their best policy to secure themselves in case of Queen's Government, but then, their privileges, could they obtain them, may prove as troublesome and opposite to the public good as now. A well tempered mixture in government, is the happiest, the greatest liberty and property; and commonwealth's men, invested with power, have been known to be the greatest tyrants."

Col Quarry, who was for some years so active in thwarting the measures of the Proprietary government, had, since the infliction of a reprimand from the Board of Trade, become more respectful and submissive; but there seemed to be no respite from trouble, for David Lloyd, the most designing demagogue of that day, was rising into power, and beginning to exercise his baleful influence in the Legislature.

Isaac Norris, in a letter written some time afterwards, says, "things in Governor Evans' time ran to a great height between him and the Assembly. On his first arrival, and two years after, a niggardly and untoward temper seemed to reign in the Assembly, against the Proprietor, and him, his Lieutenant, fomented and managed by the arts of some that were either professed or secret enemies of the Proprietor. All his management from the beginning, was nicely scanned, and from thence [was] raked together everything that could be thought of, as a material for remonstrances and reproaches, dressed up in the most indecent manner. And this was made a pretence to give nothing towards the support of government, but starve the deputy."

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

"3d 8br., 1704.

* * * * * "David Lloyd being Recorder of the city, and likely in all probability to be speaker of the next Assembly, from his temper, so well known, there seems but little good to be anticipated. The generality, however, are honestly and well inclined, and out of the Assembly are very good men, but when got together, I know not how, they are infatuated, and led by smooth stories. David himself makes as great a profession as any man, but we can see no good effects from it.

"The part thou hast hitherto had to manage in the world, will not suffer thee with any honor utterly to desert this people; and on the other side, I cannot see why thou should neglect thy own interest, while no more gratitude is shown thee. Were one man from among us, we might, perhaps, be happy, but he is truly a promoter of discord; with the deepest artifice, under the smoothest language and pretences, yet cannot sometimes conceal his resentment of thy taking (as he calls it) his bread from him. This expression he has several times dropped, overlooking his politics, through the heat of his indignation. In reflecting upon this subject, I cannnot but pity the poor misled people, who really design honestly, but know not whom to trust for their directors; they are so often told that things want to be mended, that at length they are persuaded it is the case, and not knowing how to set about it themselves, believe that those who can discover the disease are the most capable to direct the proper remedies: how ends may be gained thus, is easy to imagine. I have a tenderness in my own thoughts for the people, but cannot but abhor the appearance of baseness; I believe in the whole Assembly, there are not three men that wish ill to thee, and yet I can expect but little good from them. Thy friends in the Council are disabled from serving thee with the country by their being so, for they are looked on as ill here as the court party at home, by those that some reckon the honest men of the country. I am sorry we have lost, this election, two or three good men that were in the last, as Samuel Richardson and Nicholas Waln, who is now pretty right, but especially my late landlord Isaac Norris, who was the chief man of sound sense and probity amongst them, and the greatest clog in their way.

"I have never been under a greater depression of thought than for these few months past: Thy estates here daily sinking by the country's impoverishment, with thy exigencies increasing, suffer me not to know what any of the comforts of life are."

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"—— 1704.

* * * * "As difficult as my circumstances are, and as mean a prospect as thou givest me of any supply, yet that hardly troubles me equally to the weakness, and worse, (I fear) of some of our folks in reference to your government matters. If, at a time when monarchs on this side the world, who will yet for some ages give law to that, seem almost of a mind to get as much power in their hands as they can, the people think such a law as thine mentions can succeed here, they are distracted, if not worse, for to say truth 'tis incongruous, and a mere bull in constitution as the case stands. They will leave no government for me to dispose of, but take it upon themselves, and neither acquit me for a Deputy-Governor these twenty-three years at my cost, nor so much as settle a maintenance upon this gentleman. By no means let the present Governor recommend himself to

the Queen or me, to succeed in the government at so preposterous a rate. Will they never be wise? These Assemblies held so unwisely, as well as so hazardously, will, in the end, subject the whole to laws made for them in Parliament.

"I am sorry to have such a prospect of charges; two houses and the Governor's salary, my son's voyage, stay and return; and no revenue nor Susquehannah money paid; on which account I ventured my poor child so far from his wife and pretty children, and my own oversight. O Pennsylvania, what hast thou not cost me? Above £30,000 more than I ever got by it, two hazardous and most fatiguing voyages, my straits and slavery here, and my child's soul almost; as I have formerly expressed myself, but I must be short,—I shall be further loaded, instead of his coming being instrumental to relieve me. In short I must sell all or be undone, and disgraced into the bargain." * * *

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

"Philadelphia, 27 Eighth mo. 1704.

"HONORED GOVERNOR:—Being yesterday returned from New York, I was surprised to hear of a letter sent from hence to England, directed to thee, signed by David Lloyd, Speaker of the Assembly, and in the name of the whole House. I heard the Governor first mention it; but the following account is what I had from Is. Norris, with whom alone of that Assembly I have had an opportunity as yet to discourse. At the breaking up of the last Assembly, when the country members were eager to be gone home, it was concluded by the House, and a minute made of it, that there should be an address to thee, upon some heads then agreed upon, and because the whole House could not attend to it, it was committed to David Lloyd, J. Wilcox, Is. Norris, Jos. Wood, G. Jones, Anthony Morris, Wm. Biles and Samuel Richardson. But they, never meeting about it, Jos. Wilcox, (as Isaac thinks,) drew it up, stuffing it with all the most scurrilous and scandalous reflections, and running upon a great many particulars, not before thought of, or once touched at, by the Assembly. D. Lloyd contributed his assistance; G. Jones and Jos. Wood were privy to it, and agreed to what was done; but beside those, not one person saw it, that could be heard of, upon inquiry, except Samuel Richardson, who, upon a cursory view of it, declared his dislike of it.

"When they finished, David, without further communicating it to the persons concerned, signed it as Speaker of the House on the first of October, (Eighth month,) when the Assembly, by charter, is dissolved, and, therefore he is no Speaker at all. To warrant his signing, he produces an order for it in the minutes; but that proves to be an interlineation in David's own hand, and in a different ink, inserted between the close of the paragraph and the adjournment.

"The letter runs as if from the body of Friends, (in the House,) and even talks of money given thee by Friends, for thy assistance, when the authors of it are those four I have mentioned, viz: David Lloyd—whom scarce any man of sense believes to have any religion or principle, but that of his interest and revenge,—G. Jones—whose reputation has been very scandalous, was rejected by Friends, and is not yet received,—J. Wilcox, who has long entirely separated,—and Jos. Wood—who is professedly of the Church of England: and that it—the remonstrance—may do the more execution, it is not only sent to thyself, but directed to such of London as they understood to be the most disaffected to thee, as W. Mead, &c., to be made use of as they shall see occasion.

"A piece of unparalleled villainy, and that needs no observation or remark to aggravate it. The letter, or letters, were delivered to Robert Barber, who went from hence in the brigantine, J. Guy, master, to New York. But, not liking the vessel, he talked there of returning home again, and not proceeding on the voyage; which, if he does, 'tis possible he may bring back the letters, having had a strict charge to deliver them with his own hand. But if they should arrive, and come into any other hands than thy own, please give them a copy of this, and I will stand by it here upon the spot, if they think fit to transmit it. I wish I could have more time, but the post goes to day, and this will certainly be the last opportunity of writing by this vessel.

"The generality of the Assembly, who are acquainted with it, are much disturbed, but know not what course to take. He has such a faculty of leading them out of their depth; and his accomplices in the House drown all others with their noise. Issac Norris, two days ago, went with five or six more, who were members of that Assembly, and being very sharp upon him for abusing them so, he told Isaac, he is now but a private man, and was not concerned in it—for he is left out last election.

"The present Assembly, after thirteen days sitting, yesterday presented another bill for confirming and explaining the charter of privileges, containing all that was in the former, prepared for that purpose, with several large additions about elections. It is believed they will scarce do anything but draw addresses and remonstrances; unless the leading members should commit something against the rest so gross, that their eyes should be forcibly opened.

"So that if thou canst bear to support all the heavy charges of government, both there and here, without any consideration, and suffer wounds from such ungrateful men to be repeated against thee, without redressing thyself, if in thy power, it will appear a patience something above human.

"Thy friends are deeply grieved at these proceedings, and sympathize with thee. Nay, more, Jos. Growden declares his abhorrence of them, and their proceedings against thee.

"That Almighty Being, who has always stood by thee, will, I hope, support thee over it all, for his own glory, and thy happiness, is most heartily desired by thy dutiful and affectionate. "JAMES LOGAN."

The spurious remonstrance fabricated by D. Lloyd and his party, was accompanied by a disingenuous letter, addressed to three prominent Friends in London, but they did not immediately reach their intended destination.

The messenger by whom they were sent, being captured and taken into France, lost them, and a fellow prisoner meeting with them, after they had been opened by the enemy, carefully gathered them up and got leave to carry them to England, where he placed them in the hands of William Penn.

But David Lloyd, as will hereafter appear, being determined to effect his malignant design, sent a duplicate to the same persons.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.*

"London, 16th of 11th mo., 1704.

"Now for the government: depend upon it, I shall part speedily from it; and had I not given that charter, and got but £400 per annum fixed for Governor, and not made such good conditions for them, I had had twice as much as I am now likely to have. If I don't dissolve it, the Queen will; after all David Lloyd's craft and malice—despised for its craziness.

"[As] for selling all,† if I can clear my incumbrances without it, I shall do so; if not, then province or territories must go. But, alas! I can neither sell nor borrow, till I know what I have, to do either. Pray, mind this, and let it not be said, that after five years'‡ time, I know not what I have to sell or mortgage, if I would do either. I heartily acknowledge to Governor Evans his quietness, good disposition, integrity and courage. Had he passed those laws,§ he had destroyed me, and himself, too. I shall support him, if he do right, in those methods he has taken.

"Had I not orders to turn out David Lloyd from the Lords Justices? and to prosecute and punish him, and send word what punishment I inflicted, and that part of it should be, that he were never after capable of any employ in the country? And does he endeavor my ruin for not obeying? * * * And did I not almost as much for —— ——, having orders to treat him sharply? And has Griffith Jones forgot the boons I have made him many a day? If those illegitimate Quakers think their unworthy treatment no fault towards me, they may find I can, upon better terms, take their enemies by the hand, than they can take mine. And unless the *honest* will, by church discipline, or government, (whilst it is mine,) take these Korahs to task, and make them sensible of their baseness, I must and will do so.

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* "Friend," 1845.

† He now speaks of land; he had before spoken of selling his right of jurisdiction.

‡ Logan had been Secretary five years.

§ Laws curtailing the power of the Proprietary, and extending that of the people beyond the charter.

"In short, upon my knowledge of the conclusion of this winter's Assembly, I shall take my last measures. When the prosperity that attends the country is talked of, and what they have done for me, or allowed my deputies, that have supported them against their neighbor's envy,* and church attempts here, and there, [people] seem struck with admiration [wonder]; and must either think me an ill man, or they an ungrateful people. That which I expected was, £300 or £400 per annum for the Governor, and to raise for other charges, as they saw occasion. And if they will not do this willingly, they may find they must give a great deal more, whether they please or not, [under a royal government.] I only, by my interest, have prevented a scheme drawn up to new model the colonies. I was told so by a duke, and a minister, too. For, indeed, if our folks had settled a reasonable revenue, I would have returned, to settle a Queen's government and the people together, and laid my bones with them; for the country is as pleasant to me as ever. And if my wife's mother should die, who is now very ill, I believe not only my wife and our young stock, but her father, too, would incline thither—who has been a treasure to Bristol, and given his whole time to the service of the poor; Friends first, (till they made eight per cent. of their money,) and next the city poor, by act of Parliament, where he has been kept in beyond forms. He has so managed to their advantage, that the Bristol members [of Parliament] gave our Friends, and my father-in-law in particular, an encomium much to their honor, in the House.

"Well, God Almighty forgive, reclaim, amend, and preserve us all. Amen!"

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* Lord Baltimore attempted to possess himself of part of Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

W. Aubrey, son-in-law of William Penn; William Penn, Jr., offers for Parliament; Letters of William Penn to J. Logan; To Friends in England; To R. Mompesson; Letter of Logan Concerning Charter of Govt.; Note of D. Logan; William Penn's Answer to D. Lloyd's Allegations about Charter, &c.; Meeting of Assembly; Governor Evans' Speech, Assembly's Answer; They Claim the Quit-Rents for Support of Govt.; Gov. Evans Complains of W. Biles; Assembly Dismissed; Poverty of the Colony at this time; Losses by Privateers; William Penn to J. Logan, about the "Wool Act" in England; Logan to Penn; Improving Prospects of the Colony; William Penn to J. L. About Surrender; Boundery Line and Cost of Colony; J. L. to W. P.; Harmony in the Govt.; W. P. to J. L. About Selling the Government, Answer of J. L.

1705-6.

William Penn's daughter, Letitia, having married William Aubrey, a portion was assigned her, part of which was in Pennsylvania, under the care of James Logan. This match diminished the means without contributing to the satisfaction of the Proprietary.

Aubrey was a merchant, a keen calculating man of business, and seems to have insisted rudely upon the payment of his wife's portion, faster than the means of her father would allow.

This, with the continual demands of his spendthrift son, William, increased the perplexities of the father, already borne down by the debts incurred for his province. In one of his letters to Logan, speaking of his son Aubrey's affairs, he says, "in the meantime both son and daughter clamor, she to quiet him, that is a scraping man and will count interest for a guinea—this only to thyself; so that I would have thee fill his attorney's hands as full as thou canst." The secretary found it difficult to satisfy his pressing demands, and describes him as "one of the keenest men living."

The younger Penn, still continued to recede from the principles in which he had been educated; he had so completely thrown off all regard for his father's profession, that he intended to enter the army or navy, and made an unsuccessful effort to obtain a seat in Parliament. The accumulated trials of the father are touchingly described in his correspondence with his secretary.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"Hyde Park, 30th 2d mo., 1705.

* * * * * * "I can hardly be brought to turn my back entirely upon a place the Lord so specially brought to my hand, and has hitherto preserved against the proud swellings of many waters, both there and here. My surrender is before the lords, a copy of which, and conditions, as also the report of the Attorney General—as to the thirty-seven laws he excepts against, I send now that you may obviate them before refused by the Queen; the rest shall be confirmed—I can do no more; and what with the load of unworthy spirits with you, and some not much better here, with my poor son's going into the army or navy, as well as getting into Parliament, through so many checks and tests upon his morals as well as education; with the load of debt, hardly to be answered, from the difficulty of getting in what I have a right to, of twice their value, which is starving in the midst of bread; my head and heart are filled sufficiently with trouble; yet the Lord holds up my head, and Job's over-righteous and mistaken friends have not sunk my soul from its confidence in God.

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"My son has lost his election, as also the Lord Keeper's son-in-law, but both hope to recover it by proving bribery upon the two that have it, Lord Windsor and Squire Argell. I wish it might turn his face to privacy and good husbandry, if not nearer to us." * *

Notwithstanding all his trials and perplexities, the mind of Penn was still stayed in confidence on the unfailing support of Divine power, which he found to be "an anchor of the soul both sure and steadfast." He visited, this year, the meetings of Friends in the western parts of England, "where he had good service, and his testimony was effectual for the information of many."* He also wrote a small epistle, by way of exhortation, to the members of his own society, viz:

"My Dear Friends—Hold all your meetings in that which set them up, the Heavenly power of God, both ministers and hearers, and live under it and not above it, and the Lord will give you dominion over that which seeks to draw you again into captivity to the spirit of this world, under divers appearances; that the truth may shine through you in righteousness and holiness, in self-denial, long suffering, patience, and brotherly kindness; so shall you approve yourselves the redeemed of the Lord, and his living witnesses in and to an evil generation. So prays your friend and brother through the many tribulations that lead to the kingdom of God."

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* Life prefixed to his works.

In adverting again to the affairs of Pennsylvania, we find the following interesting letter:

WILLIAM PENN TO ROGER MOMPESSON.

"Hyde Park, 17th twelfth month, 1704-5.

"HONORED FRIEND—It is a long time since I have been obliged with any letter from thee, and then, so short, that had not others furnished me with thy American character, I had been at a loss to answer the inquiries of thy friends. But by my son I received one, more copiously informing me of those affairs that so nearly concern both the public, and my personal and family good. And for answer to the greatest part thereof, I desire thee to observe, first: that, with God's help, I am determined to stand firmly to both; and, for that reason, will neither turn an enemy to the public, nor suffer any under the style of the public good, to supplant mine. And as I take thee to be a man of law, and justice, and honor, I do entirely refer my concerns, both as to the legality and prudence thereof, not only in government, but property, to thy judicious and judicial issue, so that it may hold water with the learned and honorable friends here of both parties.

"I went thither to lay the foundation of a free colony, for all mankind that should go thither, more especially those of my own profession. Not that I would lessen the civil liberties of others, because of their persuasion, but screen and defend our own from any infringement on that account. The charter I granted, was intended to shelter them against a violent or arbitrary government, imposed upon us; but that they should turn it against me, that intended their security thereby, has something very unworthy and provoking in it; especially, when I alone have been at all the charge, as well as danger and disappointment, in coming so abruptly back and defending ourselves against our enemies here, and obtaining the Queen's gracious approbation of a Governor of my nominating and commissioning—the thing they seemed so much to desire.

"But as a father does not use to knock his chilldren on the head, when they do amiss, so I had much rather they were corrected and better informed, than treated to the utmost rigor of their deservings. I, therefore, earnestly desire thee to consider of what methods law and reason will justify, by which they may be made sensible of their encroachments and presumption; that they may see themselves in a true light, in their just proportions and dimensions, according to the old saying, Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede, verum est.

"No doubt these follies have been frequent and big enough to vacate their charter, but that should be the last thing, if anything else would do. I would hope—that in the abuse of power—punishing the immoderate offenders, should instruct them to use it well.

* * * "There is an excess of vanity that is apt to creep upon the people in power in America, who having got out of the crowd, in which they were lost here, upon every little eminency there, think nothing taller than themselves but the trees; and as if there was no after superior judgment to which they should be accountable. So that I have sometimes thought, that if there was a law to oblige people in power, in their respective colonies, to take turns in coming over to England, that they might lose themselves again amongst the crowds of so much more considerable people, at the Custom House, Exchange, and Westminster Hall, they would exceedingly amend in their conduct at their return, and be more discreet and tractable, and fit for government.

"In the meantime pray help them not to destroy themselves. Accept of my commission of Chief Justice of Pennsylvania and the territories;—take them all to task for their contempts, presumption, and riots;—let them know and feel the just order and economy of government, and that they are not to command, but to be commanded, according to law and constitution of the English government. And, 'till those unworthy people that hindered an establishment upon thee, as their Chief Justice, are amended, or laid aside, so as that thou art considered by law to thy satisfaction; I freely allow the £20 at each session; which I take to be, at spring and fall; and at any extraordinary session thou mayst be called from New York, upon mine, or weighty causes; having also thy *viaticum* discharged. Let me entreat thee, as an act of friendship, and as a just and honorable man. * * *

"I will write no news; only I find that moderation, on this side of the water, is a very recommendatory qualification; nothing high-church, nor violent whig; neither seeming to be the inclination nor choice of the present ministry. I wish our people on your side had no worse disposition.

"I cannot conclude this letter till I render thee, as I now do, my hearty acknowledgments for all the good advices thou has given for the public, and my private good; especially thy sentiments to the Governor, upon those three preposterous bills, foolishly as well as insolvently presented him by David Lloyd, the last Assembly.

"Let him part with nothing that is mine; for had he passed them, they would never have been confirmed here; but he might have spoiled himself.

"What a bargain should I have made for my government with the crown, after such a bill had taken from me the power I should dispose of?

"I will say no more at this time, but that I am, with just regards,
"Thy very affectionate and faithful friend,
"WILLIAM PENN."

"P. S. The reason why I use another hand is my late indisposition, which has left my hand incapable of allowing me to write myself, but I bless Almighty God, I am something better."

In Logan's correspondence with the Proprietary, he frequently alludes to the last charter or constitution of the province, in terms of regret.

He did not consider it an improvement on the first "frame of government," and, though granted in accordance with the wishes of the people, he thought it was not in reality a boon to be highly prized.

The valuable immunities secured by the first constitution and confirmed by the last, he justly regarded; not as the *gift* of the Proprietary, but as the basis of a compact between him and the first settlers. They were, however, in entire accordance with the judgment and feelings of Penn, who was always disposed to grant every privilege that appeared to be for the public good.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

"5th of 2d mo., 1705.

"In any letter thou write to Friends, pray be pleased not to set such a value as thou dost upon the charter granted, for most are of opinion it is not worth so much, and I must own myself to be of this way of thinking. Thou seems to be in a mistake about the time it was granted, which was either the night or the morning thou left this place, (it was then signed, I mean,) and bears date 28th 8br, 1701. I would beg leave, also, to put thee in mind that one part of the people's inducement to come over, was the privileges thou proposed, as well as to have land at 40 shillings per 100 acres, in which thou wast large in thy declarations and prints, which, by their accepting of thy proposals, altogether becomes a part of the contract, and, therefore, (as all things of the kind should,) ought, as near as possible, to be observed. The baseness and ingratitude of some seems to me to lie in this, that they will not weigh [what] was truly thine; the other, that they cannot be securely happy, whilst thou art otherwise; when, instead of this, they lay hold on thy own grants, and what thou hast furnished them with (though they have no value for the thing contended for itself,) to clog and hinder business, they are [contributing] to thine, and their own destruction, the last especially. * * * * Yet, notwithstanding all this, when they have all the privileges they at first contracted for, or were given to expect, 'tis certain they have no more than their due, and, therefore, these are not so much to be accounted acts of grace as performance of a covenant. I hope this freedom will not offend, nor be judged, according to the maxims of the times, too uncourtly. It arises from the best of principles—true friendship, and is built on the most sacred basis of all things to me—the everlasting and unalterable standard of justice." * * *

On the *first clause* of the foregoing letter, Deborah Logan has made this elegant annotation:

"This sentiment will probably create some surprise, as I own it did to me, until I recollected that the persons dissatisfied were, perhaps, rendered so by a comparison of this charter with one that had been lived under near twenty years, and which, tradition says, had been made to give place to a successor, because some of the more recent inhabitants, and the persons in government of other persuasions, thought it was only fit for a colony of Quakers, for whom it was designed, and of whose principles it was, indeed, an illustrious commentary; and, perhaps, it is not going too far to call the original frame of government, designed by William Penn for his province, and the preliminary discourse affixed to it, the fountains from which have emanated most of the streams of political wisdom which now flow through every part of United America, diffusing civil and religious liberty, and favoring the expansion of happiness and virtue. In order, justly, to estimate the character of our illustrious founder, we must take into consideration the times in which he lived, and the difficulties with which he had to contend, and not judge him altogether as we should do one at the present day, when principles are acted on, and considered as unquestionable, which were then struggling for a reception amongst mankind, and which, when avowed, cost the gallant Sydney his life.

"We should remember that the present times are profiting by the exertions of those generous spirits, 'for in the progress of human affairs mankind build, in every subsequent age, on foundations formerly laid.' What veneration and respect must we acknowledge to be due to the man, who, living at a period when the principles of civil and religious liberty had to contend, for their existence, with a base and sordid despotism, voluntarily stepped forth as their champion, and triumphantly rescued and handed down to us some of the proudest distinctions of his country. 'A man who spent his whole life, and all the means which he possessed, in endeavoring to benefit mankind, and, finally, by exhibiting to the world a scheme of government founded on the benevolent principles of Christianity, and which was administered by himself in the same spirit, has shown, by the unexampled prosperity and success which has attended it, how consonant such principles are with the true interests of society.'

Is not a character that effected such noble purposes, entitled to the gratitude and esteem of the latest posterity?"*

It will be seen by the following letter of Penn, in answer to the allegations of his adversaries, that he thought the new charter, or constitution, had been a disadvantage to the province.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

" 30th of 2d mo., 1705.

* * * * * * * *

"I would only observe that I know of —— and David Lloyd's falsehood, and briefly mention,

"1st. The charter made in England was but *probationary*, as the conclusion shows, and when the real one was executed, it was with all the solemnity of an interior and exterior presence unanimously as any act could be performed. That which was the great objection at first, was that I would not stand, with my grant and estate, a security to the Crown for their use of the negative voice. I, by that in London, having but a treble voice in all cases, unless they and theirs would be a counter security to me and mine, which, after two or three days consideration, agreed to leave that power, and me the use of it, rather than to answer for them and theirs.

"2d. That charter was never altered by me, but by the suggestion of his present confederate, David Loyd, to my regret as my letters before and my conduct after plainly showed, and truly they have not prospered since.

"3d. For the last method, established at my arrival, it was carried by so great a majority that I see no blame, and being nearer to English methods (which they called for so often,) I acquiesced, having first shown my dislike, as at their disliking the model of an elected Council to prepare, an Assembly to resolve, and at throwing away the use of the ballot, which their children, as I told them, will perhaps see cause sufficient to repent of their folly therein.

"4th. I have not in the province so many manors as my tenths come to, viz: for every 100,000 acres, 10,000 acres, and for my children and Sir J. Flaggs, for my wife, they bought dearly what they had, their mother lending her estate in land to the value of at least 3000 or thereabouts, to answer my debts, that was raised by selling her hereditary land, or being mortgaged, which was all one.

"5th. If any are deficient it is their own fault, for they had time enough in two years before my return, and three and a half years since to have taken it up. I have not had my due, I am sure; I was defeated of my land Charles Ascom laid out in the county of Chester, 10,000 acres, great part of the manor of Springetsbury, Gilberts and Highlands taken up by encroachers, as he well knows. And for the lands of my children thou can'st answer upon the spot, how Willie and Tishie's have been encroached upon, tho' all first purchasers, viz: of 100 share men, and pray let the old Surveyor General's books be examined, and there will be warrants for at least 40,000 acres of land never executed.

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* Logan MSS.

"6th. Neither himself or any other person ever once attacked me in the two years I was there, nor accused me, nor applied to me on any of these clamors, which shows what spirit has excited them since those days; having myself lain at stake with purse these three years and a half, without half a crown from them to support me, and gained so many points for them, and held up their credit; for were it not for my exertions, to-morrow we should be sacrificed to the Envoy of New York and to her enrichment, which these misguided people think not of. He appears to be of that spirit Friends always told me he was of, and my kindness has been unable to change him. His character will soon come over by some old acquaintances. * * * * * * * *

"For David Lloyd's letter it speaks for itself, and I desire, nay command, the Governor to call a Select Council and view the enclosed, and see under the greatest secresy, what is practical and fitting to be done to thwart these intrigues, but if not to be done to purpose, then to expose the villainy and its authors. I think if they own their letters you have room enough to deal with them to purpose, of which let me hear per first opportunity. My son says he had but 20*s* your money weekly, and that all he spent over that allowance was his own money, from the sale of his land.

"If thou thinkest confirming the present Governor will be of service, I can get it done, or appoint another fit to settle me and mine in our property, which will do and is preferable to selling all here, considering a peace is likely to take place this winter, and that many upon that will remove to you to settle among you, and the country will thrive beyond expectation or example. Pray let me have thy best digested and closest thoughts, for I cannot tell how to leave America, tho' the scene those ill men have opened to me after my two chargeable voyages and stay among them, and never leaving them by choice, but by compulsion, and being always at stake here for them and the country, without a groat for twenty years or thereabouts, and by it sunk in my estate above £20,000, and might out of £1500 per annum, have 700 a year besides, which is much more: I say, after my hazards, expenses and pains, and absence from my own dwelling to attend that service, to be headed as a 'lurcher of the people, and one that had an interest against them,' as David Lloyd expressed it, is more, one would think, than any poor mortal man could bear."

In the spring of the year 1705, the Assembly met in Philadelphia, when Gov. Evans addressed the House, ably defending the measures and interest of the Proprietary, who, he stated, was much displeased at "the most scandalous treatment he had met with in letters directed to himself and others, in the name of the Assembly."

To the Governor's speech, the House returned an ungracious reply, in which they asserted that the letters complained of not having emanated from that Assembly, it was not concerned in answering the charge.

The Governor, who was an unflinching advocate of the Proprietary, made another effort to awaken their sympathy and gain their support by representing the heavy expenses Penn had incurred in warding off the blow with which they had been threatened, and obtaining the confirmation of their laws, which could not be effected without considerable expense. He reminded them that in the other English colonies, provision was made for the support of government, whereas, in Pennsylvania, "to the scandal of the place, all was done at the Proprietary's charge." They rejoined, that the Proprietary undertook to obtain the royal sanction to their laws, and to prevent the surrender of the government to the crown, and if "he had found the money he had, and was to have, by *the two thousand pounds act*, had not been sufficient," more would be raised on his specifying the particular charges incurred.

They further maintained that the quit-rents had been reserved for the support of government, being the first instance in which this pretence had been advanced. The Governor sharply reproved them for these expressions, asserting that the £2000 had been granted for another purpose—as in *fact it was*—for it was levied before the emergency occurred which called Penn to England; and, moreover, a considerable part of it had never been collected. As to the quit-rents, he assured them their assertion was entirely groundless.

The Governor informed the House that William Biles, one of their members, had used "scandalous and seditious expressions" towards him, and he therefore expected them to expel him. They replied that the words were not alleged to have been spoken in that House; that William Biles had already been prosecuted at the Governor's suit in the County Court, and they declined to expel him, but were willing to intercede for his forgiveness.

The Governor, finding that no business was likely to be done, dismissed the Assembly; and, at the same time, reproached them for having spent two sessions in fruitless debate about their privileges, without a single act being passed, or anything done for the support of government.

There can be no doubt that the Assembly was exceedingly culpable in not providing a revenue for the support of government, and for the reimbursement of the Proprietary's expenditures in the public service. They were probably misled by the artifice and sophistry of David Lloyd, who, as Logan said, "had the faculty of leading them out of their depth," and took advantage of the Governor's inexperience or misconduct to excite a jealousy towards the Proprietary.

The only extenuation that can be offered for their delinquency, is the great scarcity of money at that time, and the depressed condition of the province, brought on by the general war in Europe. The American coasts and the high seas were infested with privateers and pirates; the commerce of the colony had suffered greatly, and its produce could scarcely be sold. In one of Logan's letters, dated in the 1st mo., 1704, he says:

> "I am, every day, worn out by the great discouragement we lie under here. The country has no money. What little there is, the traders in town have it. Wheat—the farmer's dependence—bears no price; and bread and flour is a very drug; notwithstanding so high in demand three years ago.
>
> "Things are at such a stand, that I know not whether to receive thy dues or not, seeing that they can, by no means, be had in money."

Again he wrote, at the close of the same year:

> "Thy unfortunate losses by sea yield so melancholy a prospect, that it quite disheartens me, but it is not thy lot alone. William Trent and J. Norris, the chief traders in the place, have lost, this last year, I fear, one-third of their estates, for scarce anything returns that is sent out."

It appears, by a passage in one of the Proprietary's letters, that the colony was also suffering from the laws of England intended for the protection of her manufactures.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"London, 14th 7th mo., 1705.

* * * "[As] for the *wool act* here, in England, I will lay the mischief of it to America before the Council of Trade, and use my utmost endeavors to have it amended this next Parliament; though they are jealous here of encouraging manufactures there, and therefore demur to the law about tanning of leather."*

It is pleasing to find that the colonists, generally, and the Friends especially, were dissatisfied with the factious proceedings of the last Assembly, and took measures to clear themselves of the odium, by an affectionate address to the Proprietary, and the election of a new Assembly, who chose a different speaker, and pursued a wiser course.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"London, 14th 7th mo., 1705.

"Thy letter of the 11th of 12th mo. contains four points. First, the late quiet state of government amongst you. Could I promise myself the continuance thereof, I should be induced never to part with it. The surrender is not yet effected, nor do I know when it will. * * *

"I am well pleased with the Governor's speech, and as little pleased with the Assembly's answer. I have not yet surrendered, and unless I can do it upon very valuable terms, I will not; and, therefore, expect three things: 1st. The condemnation of David Lloyd's proceedings, as thou speakest of, and that, whether I surrender or not. Since one or t'other shall make no difference as to my coming and inhabiting there, and placing some of my children among them. 2dly. That no law be passed, nor privilege granted, by my Lieutenant-Governor, till they have settled a revenue of £1000 per annum upon the government, at least. I, too, mournfully remember how noble a law I had, of exports and imports, when I was first in America, that had been worth, by this time, some thousands a year; which I suspended receiving for a year or two, and that not without consideration engaged by several merchants. But T. Lloyd, very unhappily for me, my family, and himself, complimented some few selfish spirits with the repeal thereof, without my final consent, which his commission required. And that has been the source of all my loads and inabilities to support myself under the troubles that have occurred to me on account of settling and maintaining that colony. For I spent upon it £10,000 the first two years, as appears by accounts here in England, which, with £3000 I overspent myself in King James's time, and the war in Ireland that followed, has been the true cause of all my straits I have since labored under; and no supply coming from Pennsylvania between my first and second voyage, (being 15 years,) to alleviate my burdens and answer my necessities;—to say nothing of what my Deputy-Governors have lost me, from the beginning, even in Fletcher's time, and the vast sum of money I have melted away here in London, to hinder much mischief against us, if not to do us much good—which I can solemnly say has not been less, *communibus annis*, than £400 a year, which comes to near £10,000. Lord Baltimore's two shillings per hhd., with anchorage, tonnage, and other immunities, is a supply far transcending what I can hope for, though he never took the hundredth part of the concern upon him that I have done: and when they gave it to him, they were in poorer circumstances than Pennsylvania is now, by many degrees. And I am ashamed to tell thee how opprobriously our people's treatment of me has been styled by people of almost all qualities and stations. * * * * * * * *

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* "The Eighth of Elizabeth, Ch. 3, punished with imprisonment and the loss of the left hand, the sending of *live sheep* out of the kingdom, or the embarkation of them on board any ship; and this, too, without any exception of the necessary provisions for the ship's crew."—*Logan MSS.*

"To thy third paragraph, I only say, I wish I could see it, for I am a crucified man, between injustice and ingratitude there, and extortion and oppression here. The Lord support my spirit through it all ! ! ! !

"To thy twelfth paragraph, about the meeting house and school lot, I wish some people had exercised some more tenderness towards my poor suffering and necessitous circumstances. * * * * However, since I will hope it is the better sort of Friends that seek it, I consent, as my gift, both that the meeting house and school house ground be *granted and confirmed* to the meeting, and greatly recommend the caution that sent for my authority. For though my commissioners have power to be just, they have no power to be bountiful."*

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

"24th 8br. 1705.

"Our new Assembly for the province is now sitting, being, I presume, one of the best choices this government ever had, but cost no small pains to make it such. We have in it, Edw. Shippen, S. Carpenter, Caleb Pusey and Richd. Hill, members of Council, besides many more very good heads; as I. Norris, J. Growden, who is now on the right side, and largely proved it last Assembly, and the generality of the rest, as Rowland Ellis, R. Thomas, and Rd. Pyle, and are very honest pickt men. Only the corporation has given us D. Lloyd, after he was rejected by ballot, for the county, and even in the town it was unfair play got him in, our party was so strong. * * * *

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* This is supposed to be the lot at the corner of Market and Second Streets, occupied for a Friends' Meeting House, erected in 1695, rebuilt in 1755, and premises sold in 1808, when the Arch Street house was built.

"In short, we are all exceedingly easy in matters of government, and more happy in all our circumstances (trade and wealth excepted) than I have ever known since I have been here. But our losses are still great and the unhappiness of Maryland, by having their bills protested, deeply affects us, for now, though before they were not worth purchasing, there is not one to be had. J. L."

The members of this Assembly were all Friends, except one; they chose Joseph Growden for their speaker, and although D. Lloyd had been returned by the city of Philadelphia, he had but little influence.

They proceeded to business with an earnest determination to retrieve the credit of the province, which had been impaired by the proceedings of the last Assembly. At this session, which continued nearly three months, fifty bills were passed and received the Governor's assent.

Among them were several laws against crimes and misdemeanors, a law for liberty of conscience, an act to confirm titles for land, an act to *prevent the importation of Indian slaves*, an act for the relief of the poor, an act for raising a revenue, and an act "directing the qualification of magistrates," being for the relief of persons scrupulous of taking an oath. The last of these laws being objected to by the Governor, was not to take effect for some months in order to give time for obtaining the royal sanction.* An act concerning courts of justice, was rejected by the Governor.

At the close of the session, a dutiful and affectionate address to the Proprietary was drawn up and adopted by the House.

This was the most harmonious and effective session of the Legislature that had been held for many years, and when its proceedings were reported to Penn, he was induced to hesitate in his purpose of selling his government.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"I do again a little complain of thee, to thee: for thou hast shifted thy judgment about selling the government. One time sell it with all speed, and another time keep it. One time sell all; perplexities in property staring us in the face, as well as those in government; another time, government only, and go thither and enjoy myself quietly, in the evening of my time, with my family and friends, and it would much advance my property. And thou advisest me to sell government, and the millions of rough lands remaining—being about thirty millions of acres, unless the lakes divide me. Now the opinion I have of thy abilities, (as is well known to our secretaries and great men here,) makes me stagger under diversity of directions. I know also thou hast two or three good heads in thy intimacy, and, that I make myself believe, love me and wish me well, that are good assistants to thee; and I wish I had your solemn final resolve what I shall do."

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* Colonial Records, ii. 239.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Misconduct of Gov. Evans; False alarm caused by him; Letter of Logan; Governor Evans loses public confidence; Conduct of Friends during the false alarm; The Governor calls the Assembly; Proposes military defences; Their answer; The Governor levies a tax called "Powder Money;" Richd. Hill and others pass his fort at New Castle; The Governor foiled in his exactions; Reaction in the public mind; D. Lloyd again Speaker of the Assembly; Altercation between the Assembly and Governor about judiciary bill: Assembly impeach Logan; Characters of Logan and Lloyd; Charges against Logan, and his answer; Assembly's remonstrance to William Penn, about Evans and Logan; William Penn censures Evans; Determines to remove him; Letter to Logan, announcing the appointment of another Deputy-Governor.

1706–7.

The administration of Gov. Evans was disturbed, throughout nearly its whole course, by the conflict of opposing interests and passions. At first, the Assembly, by its extravagant pretensions, had arrested the progress of legislation; and when the people, dissatisfied with their representatives, elected others qualified, and disposed to promote the public good, the harmonious action that ensued, was of short duration, for the Lieutenant-Governor, elated with the triumph of his party, proceeded to acts of dissimulation and oppression, that resulted in his own disgrace. He had a strong inclination for military display, and the depredations of privateers and pirates on the commerce of the province, together with the incursions of the Indians in some of the neighboring colonies, furnished him with cogent arguments for enforcing the directions of the British government to put the colony in a posture of defence.

In the lower counties, called the territories, his views met with the concurrence of the people, few of whom were Friends, but in the province, where that peace-loving people were numerous, he found all his efforts to sustain a militia were ineffectual, and only rendered him the more unpopular.

Not being able to appreciate the motives of the Friends, and perhaps doubtful of their sincerity, he determined to put their principles to a severe test, and for that purpose devised a scheme as puerile as it was mischievous.

In a letter of Logan dated 4th month, 1706, he gives a particular account of the alarm produced by the Governor's stratagem.

"To bring it about, he first procured a letter as from Col. Seymour, (Governor of Maryland,) *counterfeiting* his hand to it, and sent it to the sheriff of New Castle, with orders to send it hither in great haste by an express, informing of a French fleet upon the coast: and the next day, seconded this, with another report from Burlington, said to come from East Jersey, to the same purpose. But before this, I should have informed thee, that being that day to dine two miles out of town, at Captain Roche's, on Schuylkill, he left word with Thomas Guy, that if any letter was brought to town, directed to him from New Castle, it should be despatched to him immediately; which gave me, when it appeared, the first suspicion that it was a sham, and so I suspiciously told him, but he denied it positively. This order was obeyed, and hurrying to town with the members who were there, he caused a Council immediately to be called, and with all due formality caused the letter to be read, and the matter considered. The result of all this was that a proclamation should be forthwith issued, requiring all persons to furnish themselves with arms and ammunition; and for two nights the militia kept regular guard of about forty men each night.

"The sheriff of New Castle had orders, the night before the alarm here, to raise theirs through the whole country: which the unhappy man, being a diligent and obedient officer, was obliged with reluctancy to do.

"Another letter was also framed, as sent from the sheriff of Sussex to New Castle, informing that Lewis was burnt. All which, being in pursuance of what was first concocted here, shews the thought long,—but not deep; unless purposely designed for the mischievous effects it is likely to have. He himself, in the time of the alarm, rode about the town with his sword drawn, forcing, all that could be induced to arms, to Society Hill. Powder was dealt out among the people, to the loss of several apprentices, now so many scores of pounds in value. The people threw their goods into wells and all manner of holes, greatly to their damage; women were taken ill, and the distress was very great. Friends were generally the quietest, yet many of them fled, but were miserably insulted and menaced by those who bore arms.' After other particulars, he adds: 'It is believed 'twill now be utterly in vain to call the militia out, they are so disgusted with being so miserably imposed upon.'

"In short, the whole is looked upon to be a most mischievous, boyish trick, and has given many hearty well-wishers to the government occasion to remember Wm. Biles's words with much more charity."

The words of William Biles here alluded to, were, "he is but a boy, 'he is not fit to govern us,' we will kick him out;" "which the Governor, construing to be seditious expressions, caused him to be prosecuted and imprisoned. The imprisonment of Biles, the attempt to raise a militia; the affair with the watch, and the loose morals of Evans, had brought his reputation to a low ebb in the colony; but this preconcerted attempt to drive them from their principles by a false alarm, subjected him, and all others concerned in it, to public indignation.

Logan, living at the time in the same house with the Governor, and being considered his general adviser, was charged with being an accomplice in this disgraceful transaction; but we have in his letters to Penn, an explicit denial; and independently of his high moral character, which ought to exculpate him, we may conclude that he had too much sagacity to advise so shallow an artifice, which could not fail to be discovered.*

The Friends, instead of being driven to arms in this supposed emergency, evinced, by their calmness and self-possession, the firmness of their principles. "It being our meeting day," observes Logan, "and although the time and tide that was to bring them up, it did not prevent the meeting, nor did the surprise put many of our Friends into those military companies;" and Isaac Norris avers that "not a Friend of any note but behaved as becomes our profession."

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* I am surprised that Gordon should give countenance to this charge. See his Hist. of Pa. p. 139.

Soon after "the alarm," the Governor and those members of the Council who were not Friends, affected to consider the consternation it had produced, a sufficient evidence of the necessity for military defences, and they even proceeded to convene the Assembly for that purpose. When they were met, the Governor stated to them his views on the propriety of establishing a militia and erecting fortifications; but they replied that they had levied a considerable tax last year for the support of government; that their crops having failed, and their trade decayed, they were unable to do more; and they earnestly desired of the Governor, that those who brought up the false reports by which the alarm was caused, might be "brought to condign punishment."

This address was just such as might have been expected, and the Governor, finding the Assembly impracticable, dismissed it.

The indignation of the inhabitants at the Governor's conduct was greatly increased by an unwarrantable attempt he made to levy an impost on their commerce. Having induced the Assembly of the territories to pass a law for the erection of a fort at New Castle, all vessels navigating the Delaware were required to report themselves, under a penalty of five pounds, and an additional charge for every gun fired to bring them to. Inward-bound vessels were subjected to a duty of half a pound of powder for every ton of their capacity. This illegal exaction was highly resented by the merchants, being in direct contravention of the Royal Charter, which secured to them the free navigation of the river. Richard Hill, Samuel Preston, and William Fishborn, owners of a new sloop called the Philadelphia, then leaving, on her first voyage to Barbadoes, determined to withstand the exaction; and, acquainting the Governor with their purpose, went on board.

The Governor hastened to New Castle and ordered watch to be kept for the vessel.

As she approached, she anchored above the fort, when Preston and Fishborn went ashore and informed John French, the commandant of the Fort, that she was regularly cleared, and they demanded their right to pass without interruption. This being refused, Richard Hill, who had been bred to the sea, took the helm and steered past the Fort, with no other injury than a shot through the mainsail. French pursued in an armed boat, and coming alongside, they cast him a rope, by means of which he boarded the vessel, when those on board cut the rope, which caused the boat to fall astern, and making him a prisoner without a blow, they proceeded on their way. The Governor, greatly exasperated, pursued them in another boat to Salem, where Richard Hill went ashore with his prisoner; and Lord Cornbury being there, who claimed to be Vice-Admiral of the River Delaware, they brought the matter before him. He sharply reproved French for his conduct, and to Governor Evans he plainly expressed his disapprobation.* Logan, in writing to Penn, says,

> "On the 3d Lord Cornbury came to town; I waited upon him and had a conference with him for about an hour. I entered fully into the matter, and protested, in thy name and behalf, against these proceedings, as being not only against thy inclinations, but evasive of thy rights. I found he had resented the matter to our Governor, and will resent it home to the Lords of Trade. * * * These are very cloudy times indeed, and to us a day of severe trial; there is a mighty hand in it that lays the design out of reach of prevention. For my own part, I have reasoned and thought as coolly, and I think as regularly on these matters, as ever I did in my life, and have used my best endeavors; but things conspire so together, out of any particular reach, that to me the hand is very visible, and Pennsylvania, thy former darling, has now become thy heavy affliction; and I cannot but lament my own fortune, that should be concerned in it, at such a time when it is made so. But I have the comfort to think that designedly, or accidently, I *have contributed to no part of it.* * * *
>
> "May that Divine goodness that has hitherto so manifestly protected thee through so many floods, continue the same remarkable goodness, and deliver thee from the same pressing straits, which I believe will at length bring a real advantage. * * *
>
> "Friends are preparing their letter to thy assistance, but it goes on too slowly. They have missed the opportunity of the vessel from York to Bristol, and intend to take the next."

The bold and successful passage of the sloop Philadelphia before the Fort at New Castle, showed its inefficiency as a means of defence, and put an end to the exaction of powder money. Hill and his associates were members of the Society of Friends, they stood high in the community, and their conduct was generally approved.

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* Proud's Hist. i. 472, and Logan MSS.

At the next meeting of the Legislature, they, with many others, presented a petition on the subject, which occasioned a remonstrance from that body to the Governor, on his illegal proceedings.

The conduct of Governor Evans produced a reaction in the public mind, and at the ensuing election, the popular party, as it was called, was again triumphant.

David Lloyd was elected speaker, and they forthwith began to inquire into abuses, and complain of grievances with their wonted vehemence.

The main points of difference between the Assembly and the Gov. and Council, related to courts of justice, and the tenure of office by the judges. Great pertinacity was manifested on both sides, and many conferences were held; in one of which, David Lloyd, the speaker, neglecting to rise when he spoke, the Governor commanded him to stand up, but he, not being disposed to conciliate, kept his seat, and affecting to represent the *majesty of the people*, claimed "to be exempted from this tribute of respect in a conference where equality was indispensable and was sanctioned by precedent."

The testy Governor, who professed to represent the *majesty of the Queen*, insisted upon the punctilio, and the members of the House retired from the conference, fearing, as they said, that "the difference might terminate in unseemly language."*

More than a week was employed in debates and messages about this ridiculous affair; when they again proceeded with the judiciary bill, but the Governor, not agreeing to its provisions, established a judicature by proclamation.

David Lloyd and his party, being highly exasperated, and thinking the Governor was, by his commission, placed beyond their reach, drew up articles of impeachment against James

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* Colonial Records, ii. Gordon's Hist. Pa.

Logan, whom they considered obnoxious to censure as the Secretary and leading member of the Executive party.

Logan had for some years been the most powerful antagonist of Lloyd, and in the heat of party spirit which arose, they each attributed to the other faults of the gravest character.

The Secretary was a man of sterling integrity, great learning, and consummate ability; but his manners towards persons of inferior acquirements, were not always courteous. He was accused of being aristocratic in his feelings, and his exactness in collecting quit-rents and other proprietary dues, had rendered him unpopular. In defence of proprietary interests, he stood like a rock, and proudly defied the waves of popular clamor.

Lloyd, although he could not pretend to the learning of Logan, was possessed of sufficient legal attainments to give him great influence in an assembly composed chiefly of farmers; he was versed in parliamentary tactics, skilful in debate, pleasing in his manners, and affecting to be the champion of popular rights, he obtained an ascendency which all his prevarications failed to destroy.

The articles of impeachment against Logan accused him of endeavoring to deprive the people of their political rights, delaying to furnish patents to the purchasers of land, charging quit-rents before the lands were located, and keeping the office of Surveyor General in his own hands.

Logan, by permission of the Council, made a speech in his own defence, and soon after laid before the Board a full and circumstantial answer, being a copy of one he had sent to the Proprietary.

The Governor informed the Assembly that he doubted his power to try impeachments, as there was no express grant in the charter for that purpose; but, it being his duty to hear and redress complaints against all officers under him, he invited them to appear before him, and exhibit their charges. A day being appointed, and a large concourse of citizens in attendance, the Assembly presented their articles of impeachment, and required Logan to answer them separately, *in writing*. He demurred to this demand, until they should adduce evidence to sustain their charges. They insisted upon his answers being first given. He rejoined by a general denial of all the charges, and more especially the first, which, he said, it was impossible for him to be concerned in, as the transaction took place in England. The Assembly still declined to exhibit their proofs, and some days were spent in angry altercations, during which, it must be admitted, that Logan did not treat the Assembly with the respect due to them as the representatives of the people.

The Assembly being foiled in their attack upon the Secretary, now turned upon the Governor, with whose conduct they, and the whole country, had good reason to be dissatisfied.

They drew up, in the summer of 1707, a remonstrance, addressed to the Proprietary, in which they recited many instances of Governor Evans's misconduct:—as his immoral conduct on a visit to the Indians at Conestoga—his refusal to pass the Judiciary Bill—his impositions upon trade, by the duty at New Castle—his proceedings in relation to the militia and tavern licenses—his propagation of "the false alarm"—his granting a commission for privateering—his beating a constable in one of his midnight revels—and, finally, his great excesses and debaucheries, whereby wickedness was encouraged, and the hands of the magistrates weakened. Against the Secretary, James Logan, it was alleged, that "he knew of the false alarm, but instead of using such means as were in his power to prevent it, he, by his conduct, under pretence of coming at the truth of the affair, made it worse;" and that, as a commissioner of property, he had unjustly detained certain deeds for lands from the owners, &c. It is remarkable that most of the charges against Logan, contained in their articles of impeachment, were omitted in the remonstrance, and others substituted that were probably equally groundless.

The remonstrance of the Assembly was transmitted to George Whitehead, William Mead, and Thomas Lower, in London, with instructions to present it to the Proprietary, and to the Board of Trade and Plantations. William Penn had already been advised, by Logan, of the Governor's misconduct, concerning whom the Secretary had, during the past year, entirely changed his opinion.

Before the date of the Assembly's remonstrance, Penn, in consequence of information received from Logan and others, concerning the Governor, wrote him a severe admonition, viz:*

WILLIAM PENN TO J. EVANS.

"Eatuy, 15th 3d mo., 1707.

"ESTEEMED FRIEND—As my dependence was entirely upon thy honor, so I never thought myself unsafe with it; but three reports, strenuously improved to my disgrace in these parts, (for so I account every thing that affects thee and thy conduct, in which I am so much concerned,) makes me very uneasy. The first is, the 'alarm' given the people, by thy knowledge, if not contrivance, when, at the same time, thou knewest there was no validity in the pretended reason of it, and thou gavest those persons the private hint of the fallacy, that perhaps could not more deserve that whisper than others that were left to be frightened, as the very best and most obliging of our Friends in town and country were; and this just after they had shown their distinguished regards to thee and me, by the provision they had zealously made for Governor and government, and for which singular token of wisdom and kindness they have been neglected in the last election, that being improved by mine and our friend's implacable enemies to misguide and blow up the present Assembly to fall upon things either impracticable or inconvenient, as well as inflaming against us. I am truly sorry for these things.

"The second report is the sufferings Friends lie under, as well as are exposed to, on account of not bearing arms. A thing which touches my conscience as well as honor. 'He must be a silly shoemaker who has not a last for his own foot.' That my Friends should not be secure and easy under me, in those points that regard our very characteristic, but that fines, or a forced disowning of their own principles, they must stoop to!* *

"The third complaint is, the encouragement and growth of vice, for want of power and countenance to suppress it. Now this touches my reputation, that so fairly began, in both good laws, and good examples too. * * * In all which, I desire thy answer and utmost caution, on one hand, and care on the other to suppress vice, as by proclamation now sent; and taking advice of the most eminent Friends and safe people of that city, of who are most deserving of encouragement, or best qualified to keep public-houses there. As I desire that vice may be suppressed, (one great end of government,) so I desire that care may be taken that no just offence may be given the crown officers there, in reference to the revenue thereof: and hope Col. Quarry came to you last with a disposition of living easily and fairly among you. And pray let no occasion be given him to change his resolutions; for that has hitherto been the pretence to fall upon Proprietary governments, though none so deserving of the [protection of the] crown; being made and governed at their own charge.

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* Penn's MSS. Letters, Am. Phila. Soc, Phila.

"Give no occasion to the inhabitants, nor yet court any selfish spirits, at my cost and my suffering family's. Distinguish temper and places; and let realities, and not mere pretences, engage thee. Redress real grievances, suppress vice and faction, encourage the industrious and sober, and be an example, as well as a commander, and thy authority will have the greater weight and acceptance with the people.

"I am far from lending my ears against my own officers—'tis neither wise nor just—nor yet is it so to refuse to hear what is said by way of complaint, when the nature of the thing calls for it, and the exigency of affairs requires it. But there is, I know, a just caution to be observed in the use to be made thereof on all hands.

"Thy friends, of which mine are not the least, (my relations, I mean) inquire of thy welfare; and those, and other stories, coming to their ears, have troubled them, as not savoring of the character they had before apprehended to have been thine, and suitable to one employed by me. I, therefore, earnestly desire thy utmost honor, prudence, justice, and courage, in my affairs; and do not despond of a happy providence and success in them at last; which hitherto has not failed to attend me in the close of various and hazardous adventures in the world. And for a conclusive paragraph upon these things, what thy honest and friendly father and mother would advise thee, if living, to do for my service, and honest, though abused, interest, that do with all thy might, I desire thee.

* * * * * * * *

"Be wise and firm to the last, for I hope a reasonable issue. * * *

"Thy friend, &c.,

"WILLIAM PENN."

This letter had a salutary effect; Governor Evans endeavored to amend his conduct, and according to Logan's account, seemed to be really an altered man, but it was too late; he had lost the confidence of the public, and nothing short of his recall could restore harmony to the distracted councils of the province.

Penn was remarkably steadfast in his friendships, and having been well satisfied with the early part of Governor Evans's administration, he was slow in giving credence to the heavy charges brought against him, especially as they had been coupled, in the spurious remonstrance of 1704, with accusations against himself, which he knew were unfounded.

After he became assured that his Lieutenant was altogether unworthy of the station, he determined to remove him; but his purpose was delayed, for some months, by the difficulty of finding a suitable successor. The following letter to his secretary, announces his intention to appoint another Governor, and discloses the kindness he still felt towards Evans:

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"London, 3d of 3d month 1708. L'd Treas'rs.

* * * "I have had none from thee since last 6th month, which gives me great uneasiness; since the virulent treatment of D. Lloyd, &c., can much sooner find its way to Philip Ford, and by him to G. W., W. M. and T. L., who have been with me at my lodgings, in Old Baily, to represent the state of the province, and render it very lamentable, under the present Lieutenant-Governor; and unless I will discharge him, and put in a man of virtue, years, and known experience, and of a moderate spirit, they cannot avoid laying the Assembly's complaint before the Queen and Council; in which they have enumerated all the faults, if not imprudences, they can lay to his conduct. The alarm, the refusal of the law for courts, the New Castle law, to pay toll coming from, and going to, Philadelphia, and the violent struggle upon it; the affair of young Susan Harwood, and conniving at the escape of the old one made from justice, and accompanying them to another province, for avoiding shame and punishment. To which they add a voyage to Susquehannah, with the vilest character of his, and his retinue's practices, in the families of the people at Conestoga. My soul mourns under these things, for the very fame of them, but much more if true.

"I doubt not his regards for my interest, in the main, but this disjoints all, and cuts me down at once; so that I have been forced to think, much against my desire, of looking out another to put in his place; and, *at last*, I have found one,* of whose morals, experience and fidelity, I have some knowledge, and of his family, forty years, also a recommending character from persons of great rank. And, he assures me, he intends to centre with us, and end his days in that country, being forty-six years of age, and has sold his estate in Europe, to lay out his money there, and be a good freeholder among you.

"Highly commended by Lieutenant-General Earle and Major-General Cadogan, and the Ingoldsby family, as well as Major Morris, my Steward, and some friends in Ireland: and if he goes, it will be as one resolved to retire, and absolutely disposed to recommend himself to you by sobriety and thriftiness, rather than luxury or rapaciousness. Which I thought fit to communicate. And pray break it to him, [Governor Evans] and that the reason why I chose to change, rather than contest with the complaints before the Queen in Council, is, that he may stand the fairer for any employment elsewhere; which would be very doubtful if those blemishes were aggravated in such a presence. * * *

"WILLIAM PENN."

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* Colonel Charles Goodin.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Penn's pecuniary embarrassments; Treachery of his Steward; The Fords claim Pennsylvania; Letters of Penn and Logan about Ford's Accounts; Suit in Chancery; Penn's friends offer a composition of the claim; Difficulty interposed by D. Lloyd's accusation; I. Norris's certificate about the Spurious Remonstrance of 1704; Letter of Penn; Letter of I. Norris about Penn's Arrest and Imprisonment for Debt; Ford's Claim Settled; Penn released from the Fleet Prison.

1706–8.

While William Penn was struggling with the difficulties attendant on his station as Proprietary, and burdened with sorrow for the dereliction of his son, he was subjected to the most galling pecuniary embarrassments by the treachery of his steward.

Philip Ford was a man of respectable standing; a member of the Society of Friends, and much esteemed by Penn, who employed him in the management of his estates, placing implicit confidence in his integrity, and accepting his accounts without scrutiny. It was this easy, confiding temper, so amiable in itself, that led the Proprietary into many of the difficulties he encountered. In a letter to Thomas Lloyd and others, dated in 1685, he thus speaks of Ford, who was one of the first purchasers of land in Pennsylvania, but resided in England; "I would have you forthwith take care and order Philip Ford's city lot, for his ten thousand acres, * * and his hundred and fifty acres in the suburbs, to be laid out the very next of all that is not taken up, for he deserves of the whole country to be preferred, that for the good of it, has neglected the advancement of his own."* Yet at that very time, or soon after, this unfaithful steward was weaving the toils that were to bind his unsuspecting friend and employer, and, when he had him completely in his power, he exacted without mercy his exorbitant demands.

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* Pemberton MSS.

On the large sums of money that passed through his hands, for many years, he charged unreasonable commissions, and on his advances, he calculated compound interest, every six months, at eight per cent, which was one-third more than the law allowed, by which means, although he had received seventeen thousand pounds and expended £16,000 only, he brought the Proprietary in his debt to the amount of ten thousand five hundred pounds. Penn, from time to time, accepted his accounts, without sufficient examination, and finally to secure the debt gave him a lien upon his province, in the form of a deed of conveyance. After the death of Philip Ford, his widow and son Philip endeavored to obtain possession, which gave rise to the following correspondence.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

(ABOUT FORD'S CLAIM.)

"28th 10th month, 1705.

"I offered upon the adjusting the accounts, (against which I have great and equitable exceptions,) that the half should be then presently paid, and the other reasonably secured; and that, as I desired not to be a judge in my own case, I did propose to refer it to Friends of their and my own choosing. Both which, (after three years agitation,) they refused. On which, I complained to the meeting they belonged unto; and had it not been for the young man's late illness, which hindered their attendance on the meeting, that adjourned from week to week, mostly on that account, they had been disowned by the meeting, or had stopped their proceedings in chancery. Those people have been very dilatory, false, and changeable, as well as insolent and unmannerly; and their strength is not their cause, but their abettors—some of the worst among you, and of such here as have long laid a design to supplant both me and mine. I hope the Lord will disappoint them, to their shame. The reason why they will not refer their case, is supposed to be the blackness and injustice of the account, which by chancery they hope to stifle, and have the oppressive sum allowed, being upon security. But my counsel, (esteemed the top of that court,) assures me otherwise; and then, their £12,000 pretence must bear a considerable abatement; whose accounts, though so voluminous, have been, though Providence, rather than by my carefulness, preserved entire; having never opened them, since the family delivered them sealed to me, 'till on this occasion. Some of the exceptions thereunto are these: First, He received more moneys of mine than ever he paid for me, as appears from the account enclosed. Second, That the pretended sum amounts to that height by an unreasonable and voracious computation of compound interest every six months (sometimes sooner,) at six, but oftener at eight per cent. Third, The unusual and extravagant sum he sets down as salary money, for paying himself out of my money—and 2½ per cent. for money advanced, when the custom here is but ½ per cent. Fourth, That he did not set down any of the times on which he received £8000 of my money, whereby one might bring the account to a balance—but continued the first sum advanced, which was £2800, and the compound interest thereof, reckoned every six months; with other demands, as aforesaid. There are many things more which I cannot insert, by reason of the shortness of time.

"Friends' letter, with the many subscriptions [signatures] is come to hand. My dear love to them all, and let none be concerned about the lands they purchased, either before or since my last being among you, for care was taken therein: and let them know, that I neither have, nor willingly shall surrender, since they desire I should not."

"London, 9th Twelfth month, 1705.

"Clear off the Fords and I fly to you; and, I believe, some here will advance half—at least one-third, did Friends there do the like; and thou, out of mine own in thy hands, or due to me, help to crown all,—be the same six or twelve thousand pounds to be paid."

Thomas Callowhill, Penn's father-in-law, wrote at this period to James Logan, from Bristol, under date of 23d of First month, 1706:

"I have seen their accounts, stated under both their hands, (W. P. and P. F.,) in which by his easiness and want of caution, (as thou observes it,) he gave the wretch opportunities of his base, barbarous, and wicked extortions, that ariseth to so great a bulk; which, had they been corrected in time, would not have amounted to the tenth part of what they now are. That little knowledge I have of it troubles me; yet I have comfort in this, that though their concern seems great and exercising, neither him nor my daughter sinks under it, but from the Divine power have supports to their spirits; and I pray God it may turn to their good, and be instruction to their posterity."

And Isaac Norris, then in London, wrote about the same date to the Secretary: "After all, I think the fable of the palm good in him—'the more he is pressed, the more he rises.' He seems of a spirit fit to bear, and rub through difficulties; and as thou observes, his foundation remains. I have been at some meetings with him, and have been much comforted in them, and particularly last First-day."*

* "The Friend."

JAMES LOGAN TO THOMAS CALLOWHILL.

"13th of 6th mo., 1706.

"I fear we shall be engaged in great perplexities, by reason of that most unfortunate business of Philip Ford. Never was any person more barbarously treated, or baited with undeserved enemies. He [William Penn] has been able to foil all attacks from public adversaries; but, 'tis his fortune to meet with greatest severities from those that owe most to him. One would think there was almost a commission granted, as against Job, for his trial; for such an accumulation of adversaries has seldom been known to attack a person that so little deserved them. It must be confessed that something of it all is owing to his easiness and want of caution.

"I wish some of those that are acquainted with the more effectual way of transacting such concerns would search into the bottom of it; consider, by the most unbiassed advice, the strength of his antagonists, and endeavor to fix on the most effectual means for his security; for, as far as I can gather from the accounts which I have at such a distance, Philip Ford's designs were base and barbarous from the beginning.

"And what an old, cunning, self-interested man, with such intentions, might be capable of doing, when he had so much goodness, open-heartedness, and confidence in his honesty to deal with, is not difficult to imagine."

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"London, 10th 4th mo., 1707.

"Our chancery suit is like to go to the House of Lords, not because the Lord Chancellor does not repute it a mortgage, and not a fee, (for that he has already done,) but because I have great hopes to have the accounts reduced to at least a moiety. * * Many great men interfere for the ending it by reference, or lumping it, to prevent scanning those enormous accounts; and certainly that must be a base and wretched account, that cannot stand the inquiry of an honest and able accountant.

"But my son-in-law, Aubrey, grows very troublesome, because he gets nothing thence,—almost an open break, did I not bear with him extremely: all his last bills are protested; at which he has no patience, and truly it is provoking. * * But I bless the Lord I am yet upon my rock—a lasting foundation! and had [I] but supplies from thence, I could yet bear up my head till matters issue with the Fords, and should hope for a comfortable and easy conclusion of my present troubles, and days, too, in God's time.

"I desire thee to hasten all the relief thou canst, both to me and my son Aubrey, of whom I would be clear, of all men; he has a bitter tongue, and I wish I had nothing to do with him in money matters."

"8th 5th month.

"Prospects dark for the public, yet a good peace hoped for. Give honest and wise Samuel Carpenter, Caleb Pusey, T. Masters, Griffith Owen, and Thomas Story, too, my dear love, not forgetting Captain Hill, and his sweet wife; indeed, all that love the truth in its simplicity, my love is for, and forgiveness for the rest. My God has not forsaken, nor yet forgotten me in all respects. Blessed be his name!"

IS. NORRIS TO JAMES LOGAN.

"London, 14th of 5th mo., 1707.

"DEAR FRIEND, JAMES LOGAN—I am indebted for thine of 10th and 20th, which is still the latest date I have from Pennsylvania. * * * *

"In the 3d month, came on a hearing before the Lord Chancellor, who declared, that let the accounts be ever so unreasonable, that considering the repeated closures, deeds and confirmations thereupon, he would not set such a precedent as unravelling the accounts would be, though he were to pay the money himself; yet dropped several expressions, that we think it is his opinion that it would not exceed a mortgage. Since then, has been a trial at common law, they having arrested him, as their tenant, for above £2,000, for rent due since the deed of sale and lease; and upon some mislaying there, it came to a special verdict, and *that* put off till their Michaelmas Term; and thus the matter lies. They have spread reports about the country, that he is a prisoner in the Fleet, and are very bold with his reputation in all their discourses of him. There has been some expectation of lumping it, from some former conversation of Philip's, but he now appears adverse. * * To oblige George Whitehead and some [others,] E. Hartwell, Jos. Wright, Jno. Frome, Jos. and Silvanus Grove, &c., have perused the whole accounts from the beginning, and, as one man, declare they never saw nor heard of the like extortion. They have, I think, given in their report to G. W., to show the widow, and to try what he can do to bring them to reason." * * *

The friends of Penn, both in England and Pennsylvania, had begun to move in earnest to raise funds for his assistance.

Logan, ever faithful to the interest of his patron, was using his utmost endeavors to procure subscriptions for a loan, and, at the same time, wrote to the Proprietary advising him to sell his government to the Crown, in order to obtain the desired relief.

While these arrangements were proceeding, Penn wrote to the Secretary under date 16th of 8th month, 1707.

"Now know, that divers of my friends, to whom I am indebted, as well per bonds, as notes and book-debts, clear me here for bills at six months sight upon what is owing me there, and that is in thy hands. A great relief to me from clamor and charge here, and the greatest benefit that place (i. e. Pennsylvania) has yet yielded me. Pray, comply therewith, and that in a respectful manner; and what thou canst not do in time, having so copious a fund sure, my friends there will assist thee, upon credit thereof, to comply handsomely with the said bills. I have drawn them at sixty per cent. (Bills drawn, thirteen names=£1139 5*s*, 0*d*.")

But the progress of these measures was unexpectedly interrupted. The exaggerated reports and artful misrepresentations sent over to England by David Lloyd and his associates in Pennsylvania, had poisoned the minds of some Friends in London; it was manifest that Governor Evans had been guilty of many abuses in his administration, and they began to fear that Penn, who was slow in giving credence to the reports sent over, was not entirely clear of blame. This was one of the severest of all his trials, that those who stood high in society—who had been his companions in suffering—who had mingled with him in the sweet fellowship of religious communion, should now, in this season of adversity, doubt his rectitude, was like adding the wormwood and the gall to the cup of his afflictions.

This circumstance is alluded to in the following letter from Isaac Norris to Samuel Carpenter:

"Perhaps David Lloyd may be uneasy or displeased at the certificate I have given under my hand, at the request of G. W., &c., concerning the printed remonstrance of 1704. I was with several friends at the chamber, and when I saw the great stress laid upon it, as from an Assembly, by William Meade especially, and that in the remonstrance of 1706 a reference was insinuated to former complaints, and in the margin, I could not forbear telling them that remonstrance was not fair, nor gained aboveboard. The copy of my certificate runs thus: 'Having been a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania in the year 1704, I do certify and declare that this foregoing paper called, A Representation of the Freemen of Pennsylvania, dated the 25th day of 6th mo., 1704, signed as above by David Lloyd, Speaker, did never duly pass the said Assembly, nor was it once read therein, as witness my hand, &c.'

"Perhaps David Lloyd may pretend, because I have so worded the certificate, it is evasion and not a full declaration of the matter. But I do assure thee, I acquainted Friends with a full and true state of the matter, viz. that they read heads in the Assembly, had a minute for drawing it up, and who were appointed to do it, and how many of those concerned acted in it, likewise the concern of some Friends about it, and they being all along refused a copy Upon which G. W. declared it wrong, and that it was his opinion nothing ought to pass under the authority of the Assembly without being first read and perfected therein, and thereupon pressed me to give it him, under my hand, that it was never read in the Assembly, from whence it was dated. I have got a copy of the remonstrance, and 'tis pretty enough to see Griffith Jones's and David Lloyd's memorandum, upon their second reading it, after the first was lost.

"I am thy cordial friend, ISAAC NORRIS."

In a postscript to the foregoing letter, I. Norris states, that Penn had signed a paper directed to S. Carpenter, G. Owen, and T. Story, and observes that, "what is done serves the purpose."

The following is doubtless the paper alluded to:

TO SAMUEL CARPENTER, GRIFFITH OWEN, THOMAS STORY, CALEB PUSEY, ROWLAND ELLIS, AND RICHARD HILL.

"London, 7th 8th mo., 1708.

"DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN—In the ancient tender love that long since hath engaged our hearts to the Lord, and in Him, to one another, I salute you.

"And whereas there hath been communicated to me by George Whitehead, William Meade and Thomas Lower, the copy of an address made to me, from the late Assembly of Pennsylvania, held 1706,* containing complaints of divers unfair and injurious things in the administration of the government, I have, at their request, and out of a desire to satisfy the inhabitants in their just and reasonable expectations, writ to my Deputy-Governor, to exert the utmost of his authority to punish vice: and, in order to do it effectually, to reduce the number of public houses; and that such as are allowed within the city, be recommended to him by the magistrates of the city, and for the county, by the justices thereof, in open sessions. I have also severely checked his treatment of the constables of Philadelphia, and, likewise, the countenance he seemed to give to that false and reprovable alarm, that so much disturbed the people.

"I have also shown my great dissatisfaction, indeed abhorrence, of the late treatment of my friends in the lower counties, by the militia law, (and far beyond it,) which I shall take all possible care here, to prevent being confirmed. In the meantime, I have ordered him to stop all such rash proceedings, and prevent them for the future. And in other matters, wherein the inhabitants are really aggrieved, and which is in my power to redress, I shall not be wanting therein.

"Of all which, I refer you to my Deputy-Governor, Council and Assembly, as you shall find occasion to make your address and application unto them. I shall add do more, but my best wishes for your's and the whole people's prosperity, being their and your loving friend,

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* This does not refer to the spurious remonstrance, which was written in 1704.

"WILLIAN PENN."

FROM ISAAC NORRIS TO ———

"29th 9br., 1707.

"Last fifth day, the special verdict at common law, for the rent (as they call it) on the lease, went against William Penn. 'Tis no more than was to be expected, yet I perceive it goes near him to think of a prison, now it comes to; though it has been his own, as well as his friends' opinion that he ought to do it rather than pay the money, (which, with costs, is near £3000,) and thereby bear his testimony as honorably against the extortion and fraud of that account, as against other evils, and bear it as a persecution. How it will be, I cannot yet say, but believe in a few days he must yield up or abscond, till the next term, when the principle will be determined in Chancery, and he must appeal to the House of Lords."

The 10th of Eleventh month, Is. Norris wrote again:—"Governor Penn was, last fourth day, arrested at Grace Church street meeting, by order of Philip Ford, on an execution on the special verdict for about £3000 rent. He has, by the advice of all his best friends, turned himself over to the Fleet. I was to see him last night, at his new lodgings in the Old Bailey. He is cheery, and will bear it well; and, 'tis thought, no better way to bring them to terms. At some, there are hopes of a composition; at other times, they appear cold and hardened: so that there is no judgment beforehand how it will terminate. I have taken some pains, and sometimes seem to have an interest with them; but when they get with their lawyers all is blown. * * *

"This act of theirs, with the aggravation of dogging to a meeting, makes a great noise everywhere, but especially among Friends; and people, who had not troubled themselves before, now appear warm, and I hope still a good issue."

Another letter, near same date.

"Henry Goldney and Herbert Springett prevented their taking him out of the gallery, by their promise he should come to them, in a few hours, which he accordingly did, and then by a habeas corpus threw himself over to the Fleet, where he has commodious lodgings, and we hope is pretty easy." * * *

ISAAC NORRIS TO JAMES LOGAN.

"London, 6th 1st month, 1708.

"Our Proprietor and Governor is still in the Fleet—good lodgings—and has meetings there, is often visited, and lives comfortably enough for the circumstances. * * *

"Last sixth day, I mean yesterday-week, I was at a hearing before the Lord Chancellor. It is like you know how the Fords have petitioned the Queen to be put in possession of the country, and that the Proprietor might be divested of the government, for that they could not expect impartiality from his officers; and produced the proclamation made by King Charles II., (at the time of the grant, that the people should yield obedience to William Penn,) as an example; that the like might be to *Governor Philip* or to *Governess Bridget*, now!

"Sir Simon Harcourt and Sir Edward Northey pleaded: the first said all the case would bear, but the last overthrew the whole project, and observed, first, the Fords had no words assigning the government, and if they had, its possibility was still questionable: 2ndly, that the property was not alienated, for the matter in debate was not yet ended in that court; therefore they had abused her majesty, to tell her they had recovered their right in her courts; and if it were so, yet equity of redemption remained; and [he] positively, (with all deference,) declared, the Queen could not grant possession; for the law must determine property between subject and subject; that they must begin in the courts of Pennsylvania;—with much more.

"The Chancellor agreed to what he said, allowing it to be reasonable; declared positively, that the equity of redemption still remained in William Penn and his heirs, though *they* should at last recover; told the Fords they were too early to ask such a thing of the Queen, if it were ever so proper; and as to taking the government, that could not be, for it would not be decent (to use his own words) to make government ambulatory.

"Stated:—'Suppose the Queen should, as they desired, proclaim the government, then, perhaps a year, or a year and a half or two years hence, Mr. Penn might, by himself or friends, pay the whole money demanded, if recovered; or might in the meantime, have his plea of abatement to the accounts granted, (which he would not say was impossible, though there was probability against it,) or might otherwise compound it, and then the Queen must be petitioned to proclaim back again.' He spoke more fully and handsomely than I can repeat, and, in a word, their petition was laid aside, and the Queen will be advised not to answer it."

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"London, 3d of 3d month, 1708.

"The Fords seem to embrace an accommodation, and several Friends and others not of our profession, interpose to mediate it. Seven thousand pounds looks to be the sum; to be sure that, or eight will do it effectually: (and though I don't like my friends' method, yet it will do, I hope, at last,) in which my poor recovering father, Callowhill, comes in for £1000, for his share. So that I hope to regain my property, and pay them by way of the government, or what arises there. The Lord Treasurer* I hope, will lend me seven thousand, and receive it in New York, for the service of the government, or for us, and give me nine years to pay it in; and I find Secretary Lownds inclinable to encourage it as a practicable thing; and then I may still keep the government, or at least for a time."

Notwitstanding Penn had offered for "*peace sake*" to pay such a sum as disinterested men might award; and "*even more*" than "men of honor, conscience and judgment, should think just and reasonable," yet the Fords still remained inexorable, and he continued about nine months within the prison bounds.

The following letter from Penn to Friends in Pennsylvania, was written a short time previous to his release from prison and sent by Governor Gookin.

It shows that he still looked towards Pennsylvania as the home of his old age, and he was cheered in his adversity by the consolations of religion.

"London, 28th 7th month, 1708.

"DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN:—My ancient love, if you can believe it, reaches to you as in times past, and years that are gone; even in the Divine root and principle of love and life, that made us near to one another; above all worldly considerations; where our life, I hope, is hid with Christ in God, our Father; so that when he appears, we shall also appear with him in glory; and in the meantime through us, to those that love and wait for his appearance, as the desire of nations, that we may glorify God, his, and our everlasting Father, in our bodies, souls, and spirits, in temporal and eternal affairs. * * *

"Oh, my dear friends, let all below this, keep on the left hand; and wait to feel those blessed things, to inherit the right hand; and in faith and courage cry aloud to the Lord, for his renewing and refreshing power, that may revive and reform his work upon your hearts and minds; and our humility, meekness, patience, self-denial and charity, with a blameless walking, may appear and manifest the work of God upon our hearts, to those that are without; which is not only the way to bring up the loiterers, and gather in the careless ones to their duty; but fetch home and bring in, the strangers and the very enemies of the blessed truth, to confess and acknowledge that God is in you and for you of a truth. * * *

"I earnestly beseech you to assist James Logan, and who else the trustees for the payment of the money here advanced shall nominate, not only to get in, but turn into money, the best you are able, *that I may come*

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* Lord Sidney Godolphin.

honorably to you and speedily, which I hope to do, as soon as you and these friends here think fit Let me have this pledge of your love, and it shall be a lasting one, to advise and assist you for the expediting of the matter; for be assured I long to be with you; and if the Lord bring me and mine there, I hope not to return on almost any terms, at least not without your advice and satisfaction; for care of you, and settling plantations for my poor minors; *for planters*, God willing, they *shall be in their father's country*, rather than great merchants in their native land; and to visit friends throughout the continent: at least, their chiefest business.

"In the first love I leave you and yours, and all the Lord's people amongst you; my family and affairs, to the merciful providence and orderings of our great and gracious God, that welcomed us in poor America, with his excellent love and presence, and will, I hope, once more; and remain your loving friend, WILLIAM PENN."

During Penn's imprisonment his friends continued to exert themselves in his behalf; the Fords at last consented to give him a full acquittance on the payment of seven thousand six hundred pounds, and the amount being raised, as stated in his last letter to Logan, he was again set at liberty; which he announced to his faithful Secretary in the following terms:

"Kensington, 29th, xbr, 1708.

"The ships being still at Spithead, I send this to let thee know that a day or two after Col. Gookin left me, the Fords were paid, and the country redeemed, to and by me; and I granted my assistants a fresh mortgage, without naming that base family therein.

"Secondly, I have sent you a new Lieutenant-Governor, and also a charter for a free school for Friends, which, with orders to Col. Quarry to accept of customs of tobacco in kind, will I hope, strike all, even the worst of my enemies, with fear, respect and confusion."

Throughout the whole of this vexatious and humiliating business, he evinced the patience and fortitude of the true Christian, whose affections are fixed not on earthly, but on heavenly things; and the beautiful remark of Isaac Norris, seemed applicable to him, that "God darkens this world to us, that our eyes may behold the greater brightness of his kingdom."

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Letter of William Penn recommending Governor Gookin: Rumor about a Silver Mine; Address of Assembly to Governor Gookin; His Answer; Logan Censured by Assembly; He Demands a Trial, which they Evade; Requisition of the Queen for Men and Money; Assembly's Answer; Another Remonstrance against Logan; He Prefers Charges against D. Lloyd; The Assembly Pass an Order to Imprison Logan; The Governor Protects Him; He Embarks for England; Logan's Acquittal in England; An Entirely New Assembly Elected; Harmony Restored; J. Norris's Letters; William Penn's Expostulatory Letter to People of Pennsylvania; The Assembly Grant £2000 for the Queen's Use; Act to Prevent the Importation of Negroes; Annulled by the Crown.

1709-12.

Governor Gookin arrived in Pennsylvania in March, (*then* the 1st month,) 1709. He was the bearer of a letter from William Penn to his friends in the province, in which he says:

"Now, my dear friends, * * * I have sent a new Governor of years and experience, of a quiet, easy temper, that I hope will give offence to none; nor too easily put up with any, if offered him, without hope of amendment.

"The Queen very graciously approved him at first offer, and gave him her hand to kiss; and, at last, being introduced by the Earl of Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, at Windsor, she added, 'Sir, I wish you a good journey, and shall be ready to serve you.' He is sober, understands to command and obey; moderate in his temper, and of what they call a good family; his grandfather, Sir Vincent Gookin, having been an early planter in Ireland, in King James the First and King Charles's days; and he intends, if not ill treated, to lay his bones, as well as substance, among you, having taken leave of the war, and of both England and Ireland, to live amongst you; and as he is not voluptuous, so I hope he will be an example of thriftiness. In short, he has instructions as much to the virtue, justice, and peace of the country, as I can express myself, or you desire, for your comfortable living. Pray, therefore, receive him kindly, and express it by a modest subsistence, or rather give it me to give him, or how you please."*

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* Proud's History of Pennsylvania, ii., 4.

In another letter near the same date, addressed to the Secretary, Penn alludes to a rumor that had reached him, of a rich silver mine having been discovered in the province. The report of such a discovery appears to have originated in the mysterious movements of a Swiss named Michel, in the vicinity of Conestoga, which excited the suspicions of the Indians, one of whom conveyed the intelligence to the Council in Philadelphia. It seems that Penn had received information which induced him to suspect that the mine was secretly worked, and that Evans, his deputy, shared the profits.

In one of his letters to the Secretary, he says:

> "Pray, scrutinize this matter well, and let me hear from thee with all the speed thou canst; for the assurance Michel gives me, makes me solicitous to pry into this affair, *whence help may arrive to deliver me.*"

It is not surprising that, in his embarrassed circumstances, he should indulge the hope of being relieved from his pecuniary troubles, by this supposed discovery; but the cheering prospect ended in disappointment, for no such mine could be found.

When Governor Gookin arrived in Philadelphia the Assembly, then in session, presented him an address, signed by David Lloyd, their Speaker, in which, unhappily, they not only alluded to the conduct of his immediate predecessor, but requested that he might be prosecuted and punished for malversation in office, and they intimated that he had been influenced by "*evil counsel*," to which they attributed his obnoxious measures.

The Governor, in his answer, expressed his regret that on his first appearance among them, subjects should be brought before him not within his cognizance; for, although the measures complained of, were well known in England, he had no instructions concerning them. He was desirous to redress all grievances within his power; but he thought the "most effectual method to free the people from the apprehensions of grievances would be to lay aside all former animosities and jealousies, and apply themselves to such business as they were concerned in for the public."

The Council, or those members of it who had been in office during the administration of Evans, considered the Assembly's allusion to "evil counsel" as a censure upon them; whereupon they presented an address to the Governor, denying that they had advised the measures complained of, asserting that they derived no emolument from the office, and that they could have no other object in view than the public good.

The Assembly, in another address, replied that they designed the charge against *the Secretary*, and some others not of the Council. Logan immediately applied for a trial upon the charges formerly preferred against him, but the Assembly took no action upon it till near the close of the session.

In the meantime the Governor, in obedience to an order from the Queen, made a requisition upon the Assembly for assistance towards a military expedition against Canada. The quota required from Pennsylvania was 150 men, and a contribution in money. The Governor stated to the House, that being aware of the scruples of many of the inhabitants against bearing arms, he would excuse them from furnishing troops if they would raise a subsidy of four thousand pounds.

After much debate the Assembly replied that they could not, for conscience sake, comply with the requisition, but in gratitude to the Queen, for her many favors, they had resolved to raise and present her with five hundred pounds, as a testimony of their loyalty. This was, by no means, satisfactory to the Governor, who insisted upon a larger sum, and the Assembly subsequently offered to add three hundred pounds for a present to the Indians and other public charges, and two hundred pounds for the Governor's salary, expecting, in return, his concurrence in redressing their grievances.* The Governor resented this condition as a want of confidence and courtesy, and the remainder of the session was spent in fruitless debates and messages.

On the last day of the session the Assembly adopted another remonstrance, containing heavy charges against Logan, intended, as he believed, for political effect, as he was not then allowed to answer it, and they had it publicly read in the several counties on the day of election.

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* Colonial Records, ii. 495.

In the next Assembly, which met in October, (then 8th mo.,) 1709, the same party was predominant, and David Lloyd was again chosen Speaker.

Logan, who had hitherto stood on the defensive, now became the assailant, and preferred, through the Governor, charges against Lloyd, for high misdemeanor, probably founded on the spurious remonstrance of 1704, and the correspondence connected therewith. He, at the same time, demanded a trial on the accusations made against himself, and stated that he was about to embark for England.

The Assembly, instead of attempting to prove their charges against the Secretary, passed a resolution for his arrest and imprisonment, "for reflecting on sundry members of the House, and charging their proceedings with unfairness and injustice."

The Governor interposed for his protection, by a *supersedeas*, to prevent the execution of the Speaker's writ, and Logan embarked for England.

A letter of Isaac Norris written soon after, exonerates the Society of Friends from much of the blame attached to these factious proceedings:

ISAAC NORRIS TO JOSEPH PIKE.

"18th Twelfth month, 1709-10.

"Most of these sticklers in Assembly are either Keitheans, or such as stand loose from Friends, who have other ends than what is penetrated into by some pretty honest, but not knowing men." * *

About the time of Logan's embarkation, the Assembly, "entered upon their minutes, an assurance which the Speaker had received by letter from George Whitehead and Thomas Lower, that he should in England be brought to his trial upon the articles charged against him." It appears that, after a full hearing there, he was triumphantly acquitted, "both by Friends and the civil authorities."* The confidence of William Penn in his Secretary never wavered; and even in the province, a reaction took place soon after his departure. The friends of the Proprietary rallied;

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* Friend, xix. 210.

the eyes of the people were opened to the deceptions that had been practised upon them, and Lloyd's party was completely prostrated.

In the election of 1710 not a single member of the last Assembly was returned; all were the friends of the Proprietary; they chose Richard Hill for their Speaker, and their proceedings were characterised by order, decorum and despatch.

ISAAC NORRIS TÓ JAMES LOGAN.

"Philadelphia, 29th 8br., 1710.

"Our Assembly met at the time, and adjourned to the 4th xbr, with consent of the governor, and all, so far, in good humor and well. We met with difficulty in getting papers;—they cull and keep back what they please;—there is not a word to be seen of the foul minutes of 1704, but a fair, large, lying full one, stiched up in the book. Brother Hill, Speaker; —David Lloyd moved to Chester;—the country pretty quiet and easy. Thou used to talk of Astral influences; I am not very superstitious, though I cannot but take notice how universally and resolutely Friends were spirited about this election; nay, some, from whose cautious or careful temper, so much could hardly be expected."

The remark about astral influences was only a piece of pleasantry; his sentiments are more seriously expressed below.

ISAAC NORRIS TO WILLIAM PENN.

"Philadelphia, 23d 9br., 1710.

"Thine, directed to Edward Shippen, with the enclosed copy of thy welcome expostulatory letter to thy Friends, and the people here, of 29th Fourth month, came to hand by the packet boat, three days since. Several of thy good friends have already seen it, and are extremely pleased therewith. It is so consolatory to thy friends, so tender and soft where it touches the others, and suitable to the present posture of affairs here, that we think it cannot be made too public. Notwithstanding, the contenders may perhaps cavil; and to-morrow, being our Monthly Meeting, [we] shall consider the most proper method to make it so. Had it happily arrived before the election, it might have facilitated the work, and been some support to Friends, under the exercise which seemed to fall on several, with more than usual weight; who, contrary to their inclinations against mobbish contests, resolutely stemmed the insolent assurances that some seemed to have, that they could not be laid aside. Sure an over-ruling hand directed that our thoughts and steps here, should be so answerable to thine there; and I heartily pray, the providential hand which governs all, may particularly influence here, and direct us to peace, duty, moderation, and right things." * * *

The expostulatory letter of Penn referred to above, is given in full, by Proud and Clarkson, who attributed to its influence the remarkable change in the Assembly; and Gordon, in his History of Pennsylvania, expresses the same sentiment; adding that "Lloyd thus beheld the fragile staff on which he leaned break under him, and his violence against the Secretary recoil upon himself." Norris was a prominent member of the new Assembly, and it appears from his statement that Penn's letter did not arrive till after the election. Its effect, however, was most salutary; being a beautiful exposition of his affectionate regard and parental care for the people of his province.

"London, 29th 4th month, 1710.

"My Old Friends—It is a mournful consideration, and the cause of deep affliction to me that I am forced, by the oppressions and disappointments which have fallen to my share in this life, to speak to the people of that province in a language I once hoped I should never have had occasion to use. But the many troubles and oppositions that I have met with from thence oblige me, in plainness and freedom, to expostulate with you concerning the causes of them.

"When it pleased God to open a way for me to settle that colony, I had reason to expect a solid comfort from the services done to many hundreds of people; and it was no small satisfaction to me that I have not been disappointed in seeing them prosper, and growing up to a flourishing country, blessed with liberty, ease, and plenty, beyond what many of themselves could expect, and wanting nothing to make themselves happy but what, with a right temper of mind and prudent conduct, they might give themselves. But, alas! as to my part, instead of reaping the like advantages, some of the greatest of my troubles have arisen from thence. The many combats I have engaged in, the great pains and incredible expense to your welfare and ease, to the decay of my former estate, of which (however some there would represent it) I too sensibly feel the effects, with the undeserved opposition I have met with from thence, sink me into sorrow, that, if not supported by a superior hand, might have overwhelmed me long ago. And I cannot but think it hard measure, that, while that has proved a land of freedom and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means it was principally made a country, the cause of grief, trouble and poverty.

"For this reason I must desire you all, even of all professions and degrees (for, although all have not been engaged in the measures that have been taken, yet every man who has interest there is, or must be, concerned in them by their effects), I must therefore, I say, desire you all, in a serious and true weightiness of mind, to consider what you are, or have been doing; why matters must be carried on with these divisions and contentions; and what real causes have been given, on my side, for that opposition to me and my interest, which I have met with, as if I were an enemy, and not a friend, after all I have done and spent both here and there: I am sure I know not of any cause whatsoever. Were I sensible you really wanted any thing of me, in the relation between us, that would make you happier, I should readily grant it, if any reasonable man would say it were fit for you to demand, provided you would also take such measures as were fit for me to join with.

"Before any one family had transported themselves thither, I earnestly endeavored to form such a model of government as might make all concerned in it easy; which, nevertheless, was subject to be altered as there should be occasion. Soon after we got over, that model appeared, in some parts of it, to be very inconvenient, if not impracticable. The numbers of members, both in the Council and Assembly, were much too large. Some other matters also proved inconsistent with the King's charter to me; so that, according to the power reserved for an alteration, there was a necessity to make one, in which, if the lower counties (the Territories) were brought in, it was well known at that time, to be on a view of advantage to the province itself, as well as to the people of those counties, and to the general satisfaction of those concerned, without the least apprehension of any irregularity in the method.

"Upon this they had another charter passed, *nemine contradicente*, which I always desired might be continued while you yourselves would keep up to it and put it in practice; and many there know how much it was against my will, that, upon my last going over, it was vacated. But, after this was laid aside (which, indeed, was begun by yourselves in Colonel Fletcher's time), I, according to my engagement, left another, with all the privileges that were found convenient for your good government; and, if any part of it has been, in any case, infringed, it was never by my approbation. I desired it might be enjoyed fully. But, though privileges ought to be tenderly preserved, they should not, on the other hand, be asserted under that name, to a licentiousness: the design of government is to preserve good order, which may be equally broke in upon by the turbulent endeavors of the people, as well as the overstraining of power in a Governor. I designed the people should be secured of an annual fixed election and Assembly; and that they should have the same privileges in it that any other Assembly has in the Queen's dominions; among all which this is one constant rule, as in the Parliament here, that they should sit on their own adjournments; but to strain this expression to a power to meet at all times during the year, without the Governor's concurrence, would be to distort government, to break the due proportion of the parts of it, to establish confusion in the place of necessary order, and make the legislative the executive part of government. Yet, for obtaining this power, I perceive, much time and money has been spent, and great struggles have been made, not only for this, but some other things that cannot at all be for the advantage of the people to be possessed of; particularly the appointing of judges; because the administration might, by such means, be so clogged, that it would be difficult, if possible, under our circumstances, at some times to support it. As for my own part, as I desire nothing more than the tranquillity and prosperity of the province and government in all its branches, could I see that any of these things that have been contended for would certainly promote these ends, it would be a matter of indifference to me how they were settled. But, seeing the frame of every government ought to be regular in itself, well proportioned and subordinate in its parts, and every branch of it invested with sufficient power to discharge its respective duty for the support of the whole, I have cause to believe that nothing could be more destructive to it than to take so much of the provision and executive part of the government out of the Governor's hands and lodge it in an uncertain collective body; and more especially since our government is dependent, and I am answerable to the Crown, if the administration should fail, and a stop be put to the course of justice. On these considerations, I cannot think it prudent in the people to crave these powers; because, not only I, but they themselves, would be in danger of suffering by it. Could I believe otherwise, I should not be against granting any thing of this kind, that were asked of me, with any degree of common prudence and civility. But, instead of finding cause to believe the contentions that have been raised about these matters have proceeded only from mistakes of judgment, with an earnest desire notwithstanding, at the bottom, to serve the public (which. I hope, has still been the inducement of several concerned in them), I have had but too sorrowful a view and sight to complain of the manner in which I have been treated. The attacks on my reputation; the many indignities put upon me in papers sent over hither into the hands of those who could not be expected to make the most discreet and charitable use of them; the secret insinuations against my justice, besides the attempt made upon my estate; resolves past in the Assemblies for turning my quit-rents, never sold by me, to the support of government; my lands entered upon without any regular method; my manors invaded (under pretence I had not duly surveyed them), and both these by persons principally concerned in these attempts against me here; a right to my overplus land unjustly claimed by the possessors of the tracts in which they are found; my private estate continually exhausting for the support of that government, both here and there, and no provision made for it by that country; to all which I cannot but add the violence that has been particularly shown to my Secretary; of which (though I shall by no means protect him in any thing he can be justly charged with, but suffer him to stand or fall by his own actions) I cannot but thus far take notice, that, from all the charges I have seen or heard of against him, I have cause to believe, that had he been as much in opposition to me as he has been understood to stand for me, he might have met with a milder treatment from his prosecutors; and to think that any man should be the more exposed there on my account, and, instead of finding favor, meet with enmity, for his being engaged in my service, is a melancholy consideration. In short, when I reflect on all these heads, of which I have so much cause to complain, and, at the same time, think of the hardships I and my suffering family have been reduced to, in no small measure, owing to my endeavors for, and disappointments from that province; I cannot but mourn the unhappiness of my portion, dealt to me from those, of whom I had reason to expect much better and different things; nor can I but lament the unhappiness that too many of them are bringing upon themselves, who, instead of pursuing the amicable ways of peace, love, and unity, which I at first hoped to find in that retirement, are cherishing a spirit of contention and opposition, and, blind to their own interest, are oversetting that foundation on which your happiness might be built.

"Friends! the eyes of many are upon you; the people of many nations of Europe look on that country as a land of ease and quiet, wishing to themselves in vain the same blessings they conceive you may enjoy; but, to see the use you make of them, is no less the cause of surprise to others, while such bitter complaints and reflections are seen to come from you, of which it is difficult to conceive either the sense or meaning. What are the distresses, grievances and oppressions, that the papers, sent from thence, so often say you languish under, while others have cause to believe you have hitherto lived, or might live, the happiest of any in the Queen's dominions?

"Is it such a grievous oppression, that the courts are established by my power, founded on the King's charter, without a law of your making, when upon the same plan you propose? If this disturb any, take the advice of other able lawyers on the main, without tying me up to the opinion of principally one man, whom I cannot think so very proper to direct in my affairs (for I believe the late Assembly have had but that one lawyer amongst them), and I am freely content you should have any law that, by proper judges, should be found suitable. Is it your oppression that the officers' fees are not settled by an act of Assembly? No man can be a greater enemy to extortion than myself. Do, therefore, allow such fees as may reasonably encourage fit persons to undertake these offices, and you shall soon have (and should have always cheerfully had) mine, and, I hope, my Lieutenant's concurrence and approbation. Is it such an oppression that licenses for public-houses have not been settled, as has been proposed? It is a certain sign you are strangers to oppression, and know nothing but the name, when you so highly bestow it on matters so inconsiderable; but that business I find is adjusted. Could I know any real oppression you lie under, that it is in my power to remedy (and what I wish you would take proper measures to remedy, if you truly feel any such), I would be as ready, on my part, to remove them, as you to desire it; but according to the best judgment I can make of the complaints I have seen, (and you once thought I had a pretty good one,) I must, in a deep sense of sorrow, say, that I fear the kind hand of Providence that has so long favored and protected you, will, by the ingratitude of many there, to the great mercies of God hitherto shown them, be at length provoked to convince them of their unworthiness; and, by changing the blessings, that so little care has been taken by the public to deserve, into calamities, reduce those that have been so clamorous and causelessly discontented to a true but smarting sense of their duty. I write not this with a design to include all; I doubt not, many of you have been burdened at, and can by no means join in, the measures that have been taken; but, while such things appear under the name of an Assembly, that ought to represent the whole, I cannot but speak more generally than I would desire, though I am not insensible what methods may be used to obtain the weight of such a name.

"I have already been tedious, and shall now, therefore, briefly say, that the opposition I have met with from thence must at length force me to consider more closely of my own private and sinking circumstances in relation to that province. In the meantime, I desire you all seriously to weigh what I have wrote, together with your duty to yourselves, to me, and to the world, who have their eyes upon you, and are witnesses of my early and earnest care for you. I must think there is a regard due to me that has not of late been paid; pray consider of it fully, and think soberly what you have to desire of me, on the one hand, and ought to perform to me on the other; for from the next Assembly I shall expect to know what you resolve, and what I may depend on. If I must continue my regards to you, let me be engaged to it by a like disposition in you towards me. But if a plurality, after this, shall think they owe me none, or no more than for some years I have met with, let it, on a fair election, be so declared; and I shall then, without further suspense, know what I have to rely upon. God give you his wisdom and fear to direct you, that yet our poor country may be blessed with peace, love, and industry, and we may once more meet good friends, and live so to the end, our relation in the Truth having but the same true interest.

"I am, with great truth and most sincere regard, your real friend, as well as just Proprietor and Governor,

"WILLIAM PENN."

"By the election of the new Assembly, harmony was restored to the government, and all its branches were distinguished by sedulous and successful application to business. The right to adjourn at pleasure was yielded: the expenses of the state were cheerfully supplied, and the judiciary was established by law.

The voice of complaint was hushed, whilst the manifold blessings enjoyed by the inhabitants were frankly acknowledged."*

In 1711, another requisition was made by the British government, for aid in prosecuting the war against Canada, which being communicated, by the Governor, to the Assembly, they, after some delay, passed a law for "raising £2000 to the Queen's use." There is extant a letter of Isaac Norris in reference to this law, in which he says, "we did not see it inconsistent with our principles to give the Queen money, notwithstanding any use she might put it to, *that* not being our part but hers."

In the year 1712, the ascendency of the Friends in the Assembly, is indicated by the passage of "an act to prevent the Importation of Negroes and Indians into the province."†

But this wise and humane law was annulled by the crown, in pursuance of that nefarious policy of the British government, which sought to enrich her merchants by keeping open, in her colonies, a market for men.‡

It is pleasing to reflect that during the last three years of William Penn's participation in colonial affairs, harmony prevailed in the government of his province, and that an act so consonant with his feelings and principles was then passed; for, though at that time unsuccessful, it entitles Pennsylvania to the honorable distinction of having led the way to a more humane system of legislation on the subject of slavery.

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* Gordon's Hist. Pa. 163.

† Colonial Records, ii. 578.

‡ Gordon.

CHAPTER XL.

Penn Travels as a Minister; His Health Declines; Composes a Preface to J. Banks's Journal; Contracts for the Sale of his Government; His Letter to the Council; Letter to Logan; Severe Illness; Last Letter to Logan; Second Attack of his Disease: Letters from Hannah Penn; William Penn's Intellect Impaired by Disease; His Health Gradually Declines; Hannah Penn's Management of Colonial Affairs; Her Correspondence with Logan; Death of William Penn; Address and Present of the Indians to Hannah Penn; William Penn's Will; Death of William Penn, Jr., of Hannah Penn, of James Logan.

1709-18.

Although the infirmities of age began to require some respite from physical exertion, the mind of William Penn still continued vigorous, and in 1709 he was engaged in travelling as a minister of the Gospel, being then sixty-five years of age.

In this service he visited the "western part of England, as well as the counties of Berks, Buckingham, Surry, and other places."

For some years past he had resided about eight miles from London, and within a mile of Brentford, where a meeting was established by the Friends, to be held once a month, as well for the accommodation of his family, as for the general service of their profession.

In the year 1710 the air near London not suiting his declining constitution, he took a handsome seat at Ruscombe, near Twyford, where he resided the remainder of his life.*

In 1711 he composed a Preface to the Journal of his ancient friend, John Banks, which he dictated to an amanuensis.

While composing it "he walked the floor to and fro, with a cane in his hand, and gave occasional answers to other matters intervening." This being the last piece he published, an extract is here inserted to show the brightness of his intellect, and the freshness of his religious feelings in the evening of his day.

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* Life prefixed to his works.

"Friendly Reader—The labors of the servants of God ought always to be precious in the eyes of his people, and for that reason the very fragments of their services are not to be lost, but to be gathered up for edification, and that is the cause why we expose the following discourses to public view; and I hope it will please God to make them effectual to such as seriously peruse them, since we have always found the Lord ready to second the services of his worthies upon the spirits of the readers, not suffering that which is his own to go without a voucher in every conscience—I mean those Divine truths it hath pleased him to reveal among his children by his own blessed Spirit, without which no man can rightly perceive the things of God, or be truly spiritually minded, which is life and peace. And this, indeed, is the only beneficial evidence of heavenly truths, which made that excellent Apostle say in his day, '*We know that we are of God, and that the whole world lieth in wickedness*:' for, in that day, true religion, and undefiled before God and the Father, consisted in visiting the fatherless and widows in their afflictions, and keeping unspotted from the world, not only a godly tradition of what others have enjoyed, but the experimental enjoyment and knowledge thereof, by the operation of the Divine power in their own hearts, which makes up the inward Jew and accomplished Christian, whose praise is not of men, but of God; such are Christians of Christ's making, that can say with the Apostle, 'It is not we that live, but Christ that liveth in us, dying daily to self, and rising up, through faith in the Son of God, to newness of life.' Here formality bows to reality, memory to feeling, letter to spirit, and form to power; which brings to the regeneration, without which no man can inherit the kingdom of God; and by which he is enabled, in every estate to cry Abba Father! * * * *

"Now, reader, before I take my leave of thee, let me advise thee to hold thy religion in the Spirit, whether thou prayest, praisest, or ministerest to others; go forth in the ability God giveth thee; presume not to awaken thy beloved before his time; be not thy own in thy performances, but the Lord's; and thou shalt not hold the truth in unrighteousness, as too many do, but according to the oracle of God, that will never leave nor forsake them who will take council at it; which that all God's people may do, is, and hath long been, the earnest desire and fervent supplication of theirs and thy faithful friend, in the Lord Jesus Christ.

"WILLIAM PENN.*

"London, 23d of 12th mo., 1711."

For some years past he had been negotiating with the British Cabinet for the sale of his government. He was impelled to this step by two principal motives: the first arose from pecuniary embarrassments—the province being still under a mortgage to those friends who released him from his debt to the Fords; the second was the difficulty he found in his administration, being, on the one hand, often thwarted by a faction in the colony; and, on the other, restrained, by his allegiance to the Crown, from the full development of his peaceable policy. Perhaps a third motive may have been the unfitness of his eldest son to succeed him as Proprietary and Governor.

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* Clarkson.

There were, however, other considerations which inclined him to keep his government: the original purpose of the enterprise was, to found a "free colony for all mankind," and to administer its government on Christian principles. This favorite idea had been more nearly realized than in any other instance on record; and he still indulged the hope that, if a peace were concluded in Europe, and he settled with his family at Pennsbury, he might yet see all his plans accomplished, and spend the evening of his days in serene tranquillity.

Another strong motive for retaining the government, was to secure for the Friends in Pennsylvania that religious liberty which had been one of their main inducements to emigrate. This object, together with *political privileges for the people*, he kept constantly in view during his negotiations with the Cabinet, by which means the completion of the contract was delayed for some years.

His letters to Logan, already quoted, show how sedulous was his care, and how firm his determination on this head.

The advice of his Secretary, and some of his best friends in the province, was in favor of the sale, though they regretted the necessity that seemed to require it. In the summer of 1712 the terms of the surrender were agreed upon, as appears by the following letters, viz:

"For my dear Friends, S. CARPENTER, ED. SHIPPEN, RICH. HILL, I. NORRIS, C. PUSEY, S. PRESTON, T. STORY, GR. OWEN, &c., at Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania.

"Ruscombe, Berks, 24th 5th mo. 1712.

"DEAR AND WORTHY FRIENDS—Having so fair an opportunity, and having heard from you by the bearer, John French, I choose by him to salute you and yours; and all unnamed friends that you think worthy, for my heart loves such and heartily salutes them and theirs, and prays for your preservation in the Lord's everlasting truth, to the end of time; and the way of it is, to take the Lord along with you in all your enterprises, to give you right sight, true counsel, and a just temper or moderation in all things; you knowing right well the Lord our God is near at hand. Now know, that though I have not actually sold my government to our truly good Queen, yet her able Lord Treasurer and I have agreed it, and that affair of the prizes, the bearer came hither about, is part of the Queen's payment, viz., her one-third; and the other comes very opportunely, that belongs to me, which I hope J. Logan will take care of, in the utmost farthing, and remit it to me first, to whom I suppose orders will go by this opportunity from the treasury, to that effect.

"But I have taken effectual care that all the laws and privileges I have granted to you, shall be observed by the Queen's Governors, &c.; and that we who are Friends shall be in a more particular manner regarded and treated by the Queen. So that you will not, I hope and believe, have a less interest in the government, being humble and discreet in our conduct.

"And you will find all the charters and proprietary governments annexed to the Crown, by an act of Parliament, next winter; and perhaps Col. Quarry, if not J. Moore, may happen to be otherwise employed, notwithstanding the politic opinion of one of my officers in that government, that is still for gaining them, which I almost think impossible. But be that as it will, I purpose to see you, if God give me life, this fall, but I grow old and infirm, yet would gladly see you once more before I die, and my young sons and daughter also, settled upon good tracts of land, for them and theirs after them, to clear and settle upon, as Jacob's sons did, I close when I tell you that I desire fervent prayers to the Lord for continuing my life, that I may see Pennsylvania once more before I die, and that I am your faithful, loving friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"24th of 5th mo. 1712.

* * * * "I rejoice that I am yet alive to write to thee, and if ever thou lovest me, or desirest my welfare, show it now, I pray thee, in my poor concerns, though I hope I have made an end with the Lord Treasurer about my business (twelve thousand pounds, payable in four years, the price; with *certain stipulations*,) which I recommend to thy great care and diligence; for since the Lord has continued my life, I hope by the same token, to see an end of my incumbrances."

These expressions seem to refer to a recent attack of illness; probably the same alluded to in the codicil to his will, dated 27th of the 3d month, in which he says he had been ill of a fever at London, but was then recovered.

It was not long, however, before he had a second attack of what his wife called a "lethargic illness." It came upon him suddenly, while he was writing to Logan, so suddenly, that his hand was arrested by paralysis in the beginning of a sentence, which he never completed.

This letter possesses peculiar interest, being the last he wrote to his faithful friend and secretary.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"Bristol, 4th 8th month, 1712.

"I desire thee to move all springs that may deliver me from my present thraldom, as thou wilt answer it to the great all-seeing God, and all just and good men; for it's my excessive expenses upon Pennsylvania that has sunk me so low, and nothing else; my expenses yearly in England, ever exceeding my yearly income.

"And that which urges me more, is thy deep silence to my earnest expectation, upon my pressing order to thee to dispose Friends there, to come in with Friends here, to sink the present incumbrance on the country. It would have been a kindness I should not have forgotten; but I see such a holdfast disposition in the most of men, that I almost despond. Yet the Attorney General assures me, I might have made over my patent to any number of my friends, or a less number, as 48, 24, or 12, for the whole, as an incorporated body, to have ruled in my stead [including myself or family (with) a double vote] and so Friends would have had a country; which Friends there and here may have time hereafter to consider of. And truly so great is the number and interest of Friends here, that they would always have had it in their power to have preserved their interest in the province to the end, in all revolutions in government here. But I am not to be heard either in civils or spirituals till I am dead.

"I am now to tell thee that both my daughter and son, Aubrey, are under the greatest uneasiness about their money, which I desire, as well as allow thee, to return per first. 'Tis an epidemic disease on your side the sea, and the worst of all the seasoning, to be too oblivious of returns; which I beseech thee to contradict by the most speedy methods possible. But as thou sayest the money intended [for] me was placed to account of my mortgages, but still kept there, and so from me—so I have paid William Aubrey, (with a mad bullying treatment from him into the bargain,) but £500, which, with several hundreds paid at several times to him here, makes near £1100, besides what thou hast sold, and put out to interest there;—which is so deep a cut to me here;—and nothing but my son's tempestuous and most rude treatment of my wife and self too, should have forced it from me. Therefore do not lessen thy care to pay me, or at least to secure the money on her manor of Mount Joy, for a plantation for me, or one of my children.

"I writ to thee of our great and unhappy loss and revolution at Bristol, by the death of our near and dear friends, father and mother Callowhill; so shall only say that he has left all his concerns in America, to poor John, who had almost followed his grandfather, and who, by his sorrow at his death and burial, and also by his behavior since, has justified my special regards to him, as of an uncommon character and capacity. Now, through the Lord's mercy, he is on the recovery, as I now likewise am, by the same Divine goodness; for I have been most dangerously ill at London.

"A peace certainly—and that whether the Dutch will or not; and whom our folks threaten shall pay for the recovering of it too; which will not be less than a million of money; and I advise you to be discreet in those parts of the world, and may the simplicity, humility, and serious sincerity of the Christian life and doctrine, be your aim and attainment in the peace and plenty you are blest withal.

"I am glad to see Sybilla Masters, who has come down to the city, and is with us, but sorry at M. Phillips's coming, without a just hint of it. She ——"

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"Bristol, 13th 8br, 1712.

"Esteemed Friend—The enclosed my poor husband wrote, but had not time to finish, before he was taken with a second fit of his lethargic illness, like as about six months ago, at London; which has been no small addition to my late most severe exercises. But it has pleased the Lord, in the midst of judgment to show us mercy, in the comfortable prospect of his recovery; though as yet but weak. And I am ordered by the doctors to keep all business from him till he is stronger; and yet, loth to let what he has wrote be left behind, I, therefore, thought best to send it, though unfinished, for thee to make the best use of, there being several things of moment.

"I pray thee use thy utmost diligence to settle things and returns for our comfort.

"I ought to say more in answer to thine, intended for my dear deceased father; only pray show the regard thou hadst for him, in assisting his poor helpless descendants; time and trouble forbid my enlarging. I am called on in haste, the wind coming fair; so conclude with my well wishes to thee, and love to my good and kind inquiring friends.

"From thy real friend,

"HANNAH PENN."

There are a few words added by William Penn, of which only the following were legible: "Farewell, and pursue former exact orders, and thou wilt oblige thy real friend, W. PENN."

"My dear love to all my dear friends."

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"Ruscombe, 5th 12th month, 1712.

"Esteemed Friend—I wrote to thee about three months since, in a P.S., or rather a conclusion, of a letter from my husband, who was then very ill there, [at Bristol,] but recovered so as by easy journeys to reach London, and endeavored to settle some affairs, and get some laws passed for that country's ease, and his own and family's comfort; but finding himself unable to bear the fatigues of the town, he just reached Ruscombe, when he was seized with the same severe illness that he has twice before labored under. And though, through the Lord's mercy, he is much better than he was, and in a pretty hopeful way of recovery, yet I am forbid, by his doctors, to trouble him with any business till better." * * *

The third paroxysm of his disease left his constitution in a shattered condition, from which he never recovered.

During six years he lingered an invalid, gradually sinking to the grave.

His memory was impaired—his noble intellect was clouded, but the sweetness of his temper remained, and he was favored to retain the highest and best of his endowments—a sense of spiritual enjoyment, and a heart overflowing with love to God and man.

His wife, in one of her letters, speaking of his serene state of mind, and lively sense of the Divine presence, very happily terms it "his translation."

Previous to his second or third paroxysm, he had proceeded so far in negotiating for the sale of his government, that he had received, in advance, a payment of a thousand pounds from the Treasury; but, the deed not being executed, the Crown lawyers gave it as their opinion that he was not capable of completing the surrender. In this emergency the whole burden of his public and private affairs devolved on his wife; for his son William, who ought to have been the stay of his father's declining years, was, by his intemperate habits, rendered unworthy of trust, if not incapable of business. Two years after the commencement of his father's malady, Hannah Penn wrote:

"I have not seen him this half year, nor has he seen his father these eighteen months."

And more than a year afterwards, notwithstanding a report of his reformation had reached America, she said:

> "He is exactly *ditto*. I wish I could say otherwise. I might then have, in many respects, help and ease from some of the burthens which I now labor under. But he has now put himself out of the way of every thing, except the enjoyment of that which has brought him to where he is."

And again, after the interval of another year:

> "I left both my daughters, Aubrey and Penn, to take care of their father and the family until my return, the [latter] to be *pitied*, for, poor woman, her husband continues the same."*

Hannah Penn was a woman of extraordinary energy, talent, and fortitude; but the accumulation of business requiring her attention, was truly appalling. The heavy incumbrances on her husband's estate were to be liquidated, an expensive family to be provided for, and the Proprietary affairs required a frequent correspondence with the Secretary, as well as many conferences with men in authority.

In addition to all these cares, she had a young family to educate, and her husband required a large share of her attention; for her presence had become indispensable to his comfort. Her arduous duties were faithfully and successfully performed; the return of peace in 1713 brought prosperity to the colony; the increasing value of property there enabled her, after some years, to discharge the mortgage; and during her husband's declining health, the voice of complaint was seldom heard from the Assembly, or people of Pennsylvania.

Logan continued in her service as Secretary, and one of the Commissioners of Property. Having served William Penn faithfully for ten years without any definite agreement as to salary, the Proprietary asked him to name a suitable compensation. Logan has left the following memorandum concerning it:

> "Considering his melancholy circumstances in 1711, I set it at only £100 a year currency for all manner of services whatever, but told him I could stay in his service no more than two years; but he was seized with an apoplectic fit in less than one year, which tied me down to his business, and vastly, as it proved, to my loss."

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* "Friend," xviii., 369.

JAMES LOGAN TO HANNAH PENN.

"23d of 12th mo., 1712-3.

"MY HONORED MISTRESS—Last week, by New York post, to our very great joy, I was favored with thy most welcome lines of the 13th 8br; welcome on their own account, as coming from such a hand, yet abundantly more so, as they dissipated those clouds of sorrow that had universally, for some weeks before, been cast over us, by the reported accounts of our Proprietor—my master's—death. The story first rose from a foolish fellow, * * who said he saw his funeral, being imposed on, (as we now judge,) by that of Col. Quarry. I was heartily affected at the loss of thy worthy father, for whose clearness of judgment and great solidity, both in thinking and acting, none, that truly knew him, could forbear entertaining a very great value. I should gladly have served him in his life-time, and now, since his departure, shall be ready to do the same to those that succeed him in his interest in this province." * * * *

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"16th 12th mo., 1713.

"My husband's and my dear love to our friends, Thomas Wilson and James Dickenson, if with you. Let Thomas know that my husband is better than when he was here. He was at Reading meeting last First-day, as also two or three times before, and bore it very comfortably, and expressed his refreshment and satisfaction in being there, as he frequently does in the enjoyment of the Lord's goodness to him in his private retirements. He frequently expresses his loving concerns for that country's good, and sends his love in a general manner to all its well-wishers."

An intimate friend of William Penn, who went to see him in the spring of 1713,

"Found him to appearance, pretty well in health, and cheerful of disposition, but defective in memory: so that, though he could relate many past transactions, yet he could not readily recollect the names of absent persons, nor could he deliver his words so readily as heretofore: yet many savory and sensible expressions came from him, rendering his company even yet acceptable, and manifesting the religious stability of his mind.

"The same friend, in his second visit, which he made to him in the spring of 1714, found him very little altered from what he had been last year. He accompanied him in his carriage to Reading meeting. He describes him as rising up there to exhort those present; as speaking several sensible sentences, though not able to say much; and, on leaving the meeting to return home, as taking leave of his friends with much tenderness."*

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* Life prefixed to his works, and Clarkson.

In the autumn of the same year, his old friend Thomas Story, being in England on a religious visit, went to Ruscombe to see him, and thus describes his condition.

"He was then under the lamentable effects of an apopletic fit, which he had had some time before; for his memory was almost quite lost, and the use of his understanding suspended, so that he was not so conversable as formerly, and yet as near the Truth, in the love of it, as before, wherein appeared the great mercy and favor of God, who looks not as man looks; for, though to some this accident might look like judgment, and, no doubt, his enemies so accounted it, yet it will bear quite another interpretation, if it be considered how little time of rest he ever had from the importunities of the affairs of others, to the great hurt of his own and suspension of all his enjoyments, till this happened to him, by which he was rendered incapable of all business, and yet sensible of the enjoyment of Truth as at any time in all his life. When I went to the house I thought myself strong enough to see him in that condition; but when I entered the room, and perceived the great defect of his expressions for want of memory, it greatly bowed my spirit under a consideration of the uncertainty of all human qualifications, and what the finest of men are soon reduced to by a disorder of the organs of that body, with which the soul is connected and acts during this present mode of being. When these are but a little obstructed in their various functions, a man of the clearest parts and finest expression becomes scarcely intelligible. Nevertheless, no insanity, or lunacy,* at all appeared in his actions; and his mind was in an innocent state, as appeared by his very loving deportment to all that came near him; and that he had still a good sense of Truth is plain by some very clear sentences he spoke in the life and power of Truth in an evening meeting we had together there, wherein we were greatly comforted; so that I was ready to think this was a sort of sequestration of him from all the concerns of this life, which so much oppressed him, not in judgment, but in mercy, that he might have rest, and not be oppressed thereby to the end."†

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"Rusc'be, 22d Eleventh month, 1714.

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"The Surrender remains as yet unfinished, and when it will be otherwise I cannot tell; but I am persuaded, that had my husband minded his own and his family's interest, but as much as he did the country's, it had been finished years ago: for the answer I receive from all the great men is, that my husband might have long since finished it, had he not insisted so much on gaining privileges for the people.

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* It was reported by his enemies that William Penn had gone mad.

† T. Story's Journal, 463.

"My poor husband has had two or three little returns of his paralytic disorder; but, I thank the Lord, it went off, and he is now in pretty good health—not worse in his speech than for some months past, nor can I say he is better; but when I keep the thoughts of business from him, he is very sweet, comfortable, and easy, and is cheerfully resigned to the Lord's will, and yet takes delight in his children, his friends, and domestic comforts, as formerly. It is the public, and his family, who feel the loss, and myself the trouble of his (I may say) translation. However, I bless the Lord, who has hitherto upheld me.

"Our daughter Penn* and Guly are now here, and salute thee—the two boys at G. Thompson's; all under my care.

"My children, I thank the Lord, are all in health, and as yet at home with us, under the care of a tutor. John inclines to be put apprentice at Bristol, to some merchant or linen draper; which I am pleased with, if a suitable place would present. Thomas's inclination, at present, looks towards physic; but how or where that will centre, I cannot yet tell."

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"2d Second month, 1715.

"I have lately been at London, and by advice of friends concerned, I have got a sight of the deed of Surrender. Thomas Story has looked into it, and, with others, thinks there is as much care taken for keeping the lower counties, and confirming the people's privileges, as can be at all expected; and therefore all wish it could but be accomplished on so good a footing, as it was then like to be done, and to which I am advised to try. 'Tis now under consideration of Counsellor West and the trustees, who are desirous to forward it."

The harmony prevailing in the province for some years past, was now disturbed by the perverseness of Gov. Gookin.

An Act, passed in 1710, allowing affirmations to be administered to persons scrupulous of taking an oath, had been repealed by the Queen, but was supplied by another in 1715, to which the Governor gave his sanction; but afterwards he undertook to nullify it, under the plea that it was contrary to the laws of England. Many of the judges and magistrates, as well as jurymen, being Friends, were excluded from serving, and the whole judicial system was deranged or suspended. The Assembly and Council remonstrated, but the Governor was obstinate in his purpose. He also assailed, unjustly, the political character of Isaac Norris and James Logan, and proceeded in such a course of rashness and folly that he was thought to be partially deranged.

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* Wife of William Penn, jr., and their children—Springett, Gulielma, and William.

The Assembly and Council unanimously requested his recall, which was readily granted, and Sir William Keith appointed as his successor.

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

"Ruscombe, 2d 1st mo., 1717.

"Dear Friend—I have already wrote to thee by the new Governor, who, from the character given of him, we have accepted, and hope the country and our family will, in the end, reap the advantages, which I, at present, refused in another, who offered not less than £200 down, with thanks and good promise; and which would have been a useful recruit to me in my toiling circumstances. But I let it slip, to oblige those that recommended the present Governor for the country's good, and in whose power I hope it will be, (by attending to the country's prosperity,) to more than make up that loss to me and mine. * * * *

"My poor dearest life is yet continued to us, but I know not how long that may be, for he is very weakly.

"I have, for these last three or four years, continued on in this large house and expense, only to keep him as comfortable as I can; for he has all along delighted in walking and taking the air here, and does still, when the weather allows; and, at other times, diverts himself from room to room; and the satisfaction he takes therein, is the greatest pleasure I have in enjoying so large a house, which I have (with the necessary expenses and loads I bear) long found too much for me and our shrunk income." * * * *

The time of William Penn's release from the body now drew near. In the summer of 1717 his strength was so much decayed, that he could scarcely walk without leading.

"After a continual and gradual declension for about six years, his body drew near to its dissolution; and on the 30th day of the 5th month, (July,) 1718, in the 74th year of his age, his soul, prepared for a more glorious habitation, forsook the decayed tabernacle, which was committed to the earth on the 5th of the 6th month [August] following, at Jordon's, in Buckinghamshire, where his former wife and several of his family had been before interred."*

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* Life by Besse, prefixed to his works.

His funeral was attended by a large concourse of Friends, and persons of other denominations.

Thomas Story speaks of it, in his Journal, as a season of great solemnity.

> "We arrived," he says, "at Ruscombe late in the evening, where we found the widow and most of the family together. Our coming occasioned a fresh remembrance of the deceased, and also a renewed flood of many tears from all eyes. A solid time (of worship) we had together, but few words among us for some time; for it was a deep baptizing season, and the Lord was near at that time. On the fifth I accompanied the corpse to the grave, where we had a large meeting; and as the Lord had made choice of him in the days of his youth for great and good services—had been with him in many dangers and difficulties of various sorts, and did not leave him in his last moments—so he was pleased to honor this occasion with his blessed presence, and gave us a happy season of his goodness to the general satisfaction of all."

In a letter of Hannah Penn to James Logan, written the year after her husband's death, she thus acknowledges the receipt of a letter of condolence from Friends in America:

> "Pray, let the Friends of the Women's General Meeting know I received their affectionate and serious letter, on occasion of the death of my dear husband, (as I did likewise the testimony from the men's meeting,) and that I take most kindly the tender expression of their love and respect to me, and heartily return mine to them."

The Indians in Pennsylvania, hearing of the death of their great and good friend Onas, in order to testify their regard for his memory, and their sympathy with his widow, sent her an address of condolence, accompanied by a present. In the following letter to James Logan, she alludes to their gift, which, it seems, consisted of "materials to form a garment of skins, suitable for travelling through a *thorny wilderness;*" intending to express, by this symbol, the difficulties that lay in her path, and their desire that she might pass through them in safety.

> "Ruscombe, 12th of 1st mo., 1719.
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> "DEAR FRIEND—Thine of the 7th 9br I had, and take very kindly thy regards, and the sympathy of all those that truly lament mine and that country's loss, as deservedly due; the consideration of which loss has brought with it a vast load of care, toil of mind, and sorrow upon me. * * * *

"For my own part, I expect a wilderness of care—of briars and thorns here, as transplanted from thence; which, whether I shall be able to explore my way through, even with the help of my friends, I have great reason to question, notwithstanding the Indians' present—which I now want to put on—having the woods and wildernesses to travel through, indeed! However, I hitherto go on with comfort, and hoping that all will end at last to our joint satisfaction."

The estates in England and Ireland, inherited by William Penn from his father, together with those brought by his first wife, produced an income of about £1500 per annum. These were settled upon his eldest son, William, and were then considered more valuable than his American possessions. By his will the *government* of his province, and the territories annexed, was devised, in trust, to the Earl of Oxford, Earl Mortimer, and Earl Poulet, to dispose thereof to the Queen, or any other person. This was written while he was negotiating for a surrender to the Crown. To his wife, Hannah, her father, Thomas Callowhill, and others, he devised, *in trust*, all his lands, rents, &c., in Pennsylvania and the territories; first, to pay his debts; secondly, to convey to the three children of his son William—Gulielma Maria, Springett and William—each ten thousand acres of land, and a like quantity to his daughter, Letitia Aubrey; thirdly, all the residue to be conveyed to the children of his present wife, in such proportions as she should think fit. All his personal estate, in Pennsylvania or elsewhere, he gave to his wife, whom he named his sole executrix. His children by her were John, Thomas, Margaret, Richard and Dennis, all minors.

William Penn, Jr. had been residing on the Continent, leaving his wife and children dependent on his father; after whose death he returned to England, and claimed the *government* of the province as the heir at law. The Earls to whom it was devised, in trust, being doubtful of their power to act under the will, a suit in chancery was instituted, which kept the case, for some years, in suspense. In the meantime the claim set up by the eldest son, was resisted, and the government retained by Hannah Penn as executrix.

About two years after his father's decease, William Penn, Jr., died, in France, of a consumption, and, it is said, expressed on his death-bed his regret for "the wrongs he had done."

His son Springett, and the other heirs, entered into a compromise, by which the will was established.

Hannah Penn continued during the minority of her children, to direct the proprietary affairs; as appears by her correspondence with James Logan. In 1722, she had an attack of paralysis, from which she partially recovered, and lived till about the year 1727.

James Logan was employed in proprietary affairs during many years after the death of the Founder; he filled the highest judicial and executive stations in the province, and was frequently engaged in negotiating with the Indians, who had a great regard for him.

In his old age he lived in dignified retirement at his seat, called Stenton, near Germantown, where he employed much of his time in literary and scientific pursuits. He died in 1751, aged seventy-seven years.

By the establishment of William Penn's will, his sons by his second marriage, John, Thomas and Richard, became Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, where their estates proved to be of immense value.*

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* In the year 1779, the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed an act, vesting in the Commonwealth the estate of the Penn family in the soil of the State. This act, however, secures to the descendants of William Penn, all their private estates in Pennsylvania, including the manors and the "quit-rents and arrearages of rents reserved out of the proprietary tenths or manors which had been sold." It also appropriates 130,000 pounds sterling, to be paid out of the treasury of the State, to the representatives of Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, late Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, as compensation for their rights. Smith's Laws of Pennsylvania, vol. i.

The amount of money received by the State of Pennsylvania from the estate of the heirs of William Penn, from escheated lands, appears by the Comptroller General's account, from 1781 to 1789, was £824,094, 0*s* 7*d*. The amount of the claim made by the heirs on the British government, for losses sustained by them, was £944,817, 8*s* 6*d*. The Committee on Claims, allowed £500,000, and left for the consideration of Parliament the remainder. Penn Papers in the possession of Geo. M Justice.

CHAPTER XLI.

The Holy Experiment; Its Objects and Results; State of Society in Pennsylvania during the Life of the Founder.

No other founder of a colony in ancient or modern times, has attempted so sublime an enterprise as that which William Penn has justly termed "the holy experiment." In order to estimate the importance of his labors, and the degree of success that attended them, we must take into view the objects he contemplated, and the difficulties he had to encounter.

It was his purpose to found and govern a colony without arms or military defences: "to reduce the savage nations, by gentle and just measures, to the love of civil society and the Christian religion," and to lay the foundations of a "free colony for all mankind." Pennsylvania affords the only example of a state, where the executive power was upheld without military force, justice administered without the use of oaths, and religion sustained without a priesthood or salaried ministry.

We can readily conceive that such an experiment, if attempted on an island, previously uninhabited, not subject to foreign control, and colonized exclusively by men imbued with the principles of peace, would probably succeed in securing a degree of harmony and happiness not elsewhere to be found on earth.

But in Pennsylvania the case was widely different. Owing allegiance to the British government, whose policy was warlike, and even aggressive, vehemently urged by the officers of the Crown to join the other colonies in their hostilities against the French and Indians, having a British Court of Admiralty established in her midst, endeavoring to exact the use of oaths, and worst of all, having in her metropolis a band of adventurers, attracted thither by her prosperity, abusing the liberty they enjoyed and fomenting discord, in order to weaken the proprietary government; that with all these impediments, William Penn should have succeeded in maintaining his authority, without a compromise of his principles, may be accounted truly wonderful.

A government can be conducted on the principles of peace, by those only who are fully imbued with the lamb-like spirit of Christ, and who, having an abiding faith in Divine protection, forbear to provide themselves with military defences. This position is sustained by reference to the history of the other American colonies.

> "In Maryland, as well as in New England," says Graham, in his Colonial History, " doubtless the pacific endeavors of the colonists were counteracted, not only by the natural ferocity of the Indians, but by the hostilities of other Europeans, by which that ferocity was, from time to time, enkindled and developed. Yet the Quakers of Pennsylvania, who were exposed to the same disadvantage, escaped its evil consequences, and were never attacked by the Indians. Relying implicitly and exclusively on the protection of Heaven, they renounced every act or indication of self-defence, that could awaken the contentiousness of human nature, or excite apprehensive jealousy, by ostentation of the power to injure. But the Puritan and Catholic colonists of New England and Maryland, while they professed and exercised good-will to the Indians, adopted the hostile precaution of demonstrating their readiness and ability to repel violence. They displayed arms and erected forts, and thus provoked the suspicion they expressed, and invited the injury they anticipated."

It would not be difficult to point out a dangerous fallacy in the maxim so generally believed,—that in time of peace nations should prepare for war. For as in the intercourse of individuals with each other, it is found that those who habitually carry arms, are more liable than others to be involved in deadly affrays,—so in the intercourse of nations, the hostile attitude assumed by their vast armaments, and the numerous officers employed, who are dependent for promotion and renown on actual hostilities, are rather incentives to war, than sureties for peace.

But although it may be demonstrated to the understanding, that war is not only criminal in itself, but the most expensive and ruinous of all human follies ; yet the practice will not cease until the vital principles of Christianity shall more generally prevail in the hearts of mankind. Nothing can overcome the natural spirit that leads to hostility and revenge, but the heavenly spirit that breathes peace on earth and good will to men.

The enterprise of Penn and his associates in the colony of Pennsylvania, by demonstrating the feasibility of peaceable principles, has served to confirm the faith of the wavering, and to encourage the true-hearted disciples of Christ. As an example of Christian principles, applied to the government of a state, it stands without a parallel in the history of the world; and will, doubtless, continue to be more admired and imitated as time advances, until that happy period shall arrive when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

The constitution and laws of Pennsylvania, for which she is greatly indebted to the wisdom and liberality of her Founder, will form a lasting monument to his praise. We who live in an age when the principles of free government and religious liberty are widely diffused and firmly established, can scarcely appreciate the debt of gratitude we owe to him, who, under Divine Providence, was made the instrument to plead for these principles in England with remarkable success; and to plant them securely in the institutions of his province.

In order to obtain a correct view of the state of society, and public morals in Pennsylvania during the life of its Founder, it is requisite that we first take a glance at the disturbing influences which impeded the measures of his administration.

It has been seen, in the course of this narrative,—that Penn, during his absence from the province, frequently received accounts of great disorders prevailing there, and of dissensions among those concerned in the government. Similar representations were made to the Board of Trade, and to prominent Friends in London; the Proprietary himself being charged with remissness in his duty, if not connivance at the abuses of his deputies.

It has been shown that some of these reports were unfounded; others greatly exaggerated, and that Penn was entirely clear of blame in relation to them all. But the inquiry naturally arises; how can we exculpate the Proprietary from the censure implied in the complaints of the Assembly, without throwing equal, or greater censure upon the colonists, and especially upon the Society of Friends, whose influence was then predominant? It is not pretended that those worthy pioneers in the cause of religious liberty, were exempt from the frailties incident to humanity, but by attending to the facts and circumstances already related, the objection may, in a great measure, be removed.

The dissensions and abuses complained of, may be considered under four heads.

First. Those connected with the impeachment of Judge Moore in the year 1685.

We have seen by the letters of Penn, that he was exceedingly grieved at the dissensions and animosities said to prevail among the colonists; but in the following year he wrote to his Steward, James Harrison, "[as] for the government; when I received thy letter, thy honest son's, A. Cook's, and especially T. Lloyd's, I see all is well, truth in authority in the government, and better than when I left the government, which makes me glad at heart."*

From this we may conclude, that the reports which had reached him were exaggerated if not unfounded.

They probably originated in party zeal among the colonists, and were magnified by the enemies of Penn in England.

Secondly. The dissensions between the representatives of the province, and those of the territories in 1691, which led to a separation of the three lower counties, now the State of Delaware.

This discord originated in the territories, and arose in a great measure from jealousy towards the province, which was rapidly increasing in power. Although the separation was a source of grief to the Proprietary, it exceeded his expectations in restoring harmony. The province and territories still remained under his government, with two Legislatures instead of one.

Thirdly. The machinations of Colonel Quarry and his party, and the slanderous reports he sent to the Board of Trade in England.

This officer, holding his commission as judge of the Admiralty immediately from the crown, was placed beyond the control of the Proprietary and people, which exculpates them from all blame in relation to his conduct. He was a prominent member of the "church party," in the province, who were allowed entire liberty of conscience, but were not satisfied because they did not enjoy exclusive privileges as in England.*

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* Pemberton MSS.

Quarry succeeded in obtaining from the Queen or her ministers, an order in relation to oaths, that disabled Friends from serving as magistrates or jurors.

This occasioned great perplexity, and the church party took advantage of the confusion to represent the Proprietary government as inefficient, in order to effect its overthrow. At length Penn succeeded in convincing the Board of Trade that Quarry's opposition proceeded from turbulence, whereupon they sent him a reprimand which silenced him.

He afterwards proposed to be friendly to the Proprietary, and in 1706 became the tenant of Pennsbury, which he took for seven years, at a rent of £40 per annum, with a proviso, that on six months' notice he was to resign it to the Proprietor, who always intended to return and make it his home.

Fourthly. The factious opposition of David Lloyd and his adherents in the Assembly, which commenced in 1704, and continued with some intermissions until 1710.

It has been seen that they impeached Logan, but failed to prove their charges; and that they calumniated Penn to whom Lloyd was under personal obligations for past favors.

The misconduct of Governor Evans afforded grounds for just complaint; but the course of the Assembly towards him was not free from blame. It has been shown that the spurious remonstrance of 1704, which has furnished Doctor Franklin and others, with materials for accusation against Penn, *was not the act of the Assembly*, but a tissue of misrepresentations concocted by Lloyd and his party in the name of that body, and signed by him as Speaker, after it adjourned.

The question arises, how could the people, and especially the Friends, re-elect Lloyd, and make him the Speaker of the House, when he was the avowed adversary of Penn?

It must be borne in mind that, at the period when these proceedings took place, there was in the province a large body of inhabitants who were not Friends: some of them were churchmen, others were adherents of George Keith, who, for many years, retained the rancor which arose from religious dissension, and with these was probably united a considerable number who, from motives of interest, were opposed to the collection of taxes and quit-rents. These malcontents, when united, generally carried the elections; they were called the "Popular Party;" David Lloyd was their leader; and by his insinuating manners and specious pretences, he succeeded in drawing into their ranks many well-meaning persons, who really believed that their liberties were in danger.*

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* See Chap. xxxiii. of this work.

In a letter of Logan to Penn, dated "December 20th, 1706," he speaks of the effort then being made by the disaffected party in the Assembly to throw censure upon the Proprietary, and says:

> "It is the very leaven of George Keith left among the people at his separation. and now fermenting up again; and these proceedings are contrary to the mind of honest Friends, as appears by their letter of 1705."

The same sentiment is expressed by Isaac Norris, in a letter to Joseph Pike, dated 18th 12th month, 1709. He says:

> "Most of these sticklers in Assembly, are either Keithians, or such as stand loose from Friends, who have other ends than what is penetrated into by some pretty honest, but not knowing men."

It must be considered, moreover, that many of the Friends, having no relish for political affairs, probably kept aloof from them, and did not attend the elections unless some important question was to be decided. When these were aroused, they united with the friends of the Proprietary, and turned the scale in his favor.

This result took place in two memorable instances: the first was in 1705, being the next year after the spurious remonstrance was issued; the other in 1710, soon after the attempt to imprison Logan and to throw censure upon Penn. At this election not a single member of the last Assembly was returned; the friends of the Proprietary were triumphant, and David

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* Logan MSS.

Lloyd's party was, for a time, prostrated. In these instances the Assembly was composed, almost entirely, of Friends, and their labors were harmonious and efficient. This result was a noble vindication of Penn, and proves that the people of Pennsylvania, when disabused of false impressions and aroused to action, were true to their principles.

Before leaving this subject, it seems proper to remark that, although Lloyd pursued towards Penn and Logan an unjustifiable course, which appears to have been prompted by party zeal and personal ill-will, yet he sustained a fair character in all the relations of private life.

After the death of Penn he probably regretted the course into which his passions had led him, for he was one of the signers to a memorial from the Friends of Pennsylvania, which contains an affectionate tribute to the merits and services of the great Founder. He also co-operated with Logan in ascertaining the Proprietary title to the lower counties.

> "It is soothing," says the elegant annotator to the Logan correspondence, "to observe in the characters of men who, like these, hitherto have been swayed by prejudice or passions, that when the evening of life advances, the storms which have agitated them subside, and the soul, like the sun of the natural world, emerging from the clouds which have obscured it, illuminates the horizon with its parting beam, and the day closes with serenity and peace."

The political dissensions in the province which, at times, disturbed the harmony of its councils, and disquieted the mind of the Proprietary, did not seriously affect the welfare of the people.

Like the political contests which have since often been waged in our favored republic, they were magnified by the excitement of passion, and regarded by some as portentous evils; but they ruffled the surface only of society—they did not reach the depths below, where, secure from the billows of party rage, there existed a state of serene tranquillity.

Among all the North American provinces, there was no people more thoroughly democratic, or more jealous of their political rights, than the colonists of Pennsylvania.

It was remarked by William Penn that "colonies are the seeds of nations;" they have within them the germs of those qualities and principles which expand with their growth, and determine their future characters. When the Anglo-Saxons landed in Britain, they brought with them the indomitable spirit and love of freedom which still live in their descendants, and have thence been transplanted into many a distant land. But the population of Great Britain, after the Saxon invasion, received various accessions from other sources, which modified its character, and, together with a diversity of religious views, enabled her to send forth colonies to her American possessions widely different in their opinions and habits, yet each possessed of peculiar excellencies.

In Virginia and the Carolinas the leading men inherited the high, bold spirit of the cavaliers, and were distinguished by their loyalty, their love of ease, and cultivated tastes; but they cherished in the wilds of America the aristocratic spirit of their ancestors, and left to men of low degree the labors of the plow, the anvil, and the loom.

In New England the spirit of Puritanism was fully developed. The Pilgrims were bold in enterprise, persevering in labor, ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, austere in their lives, zealous in their religion, but deficient in that divine charity which is the crowning grace of the Christian character.

Among the colonists of Pennsylvania there existed a type of character totally different from either the Cavalier or the Puritan, and not less strongly marked. The first settlers, under Penn, were nearly all members of the Society of Friends, and mostly natives of England and Wales, with a few from Scotland, Ireland and Germany. Among them were some who had sprung from the stock of the English Cavaliers; many were of Puritan descent, and a very large proportion were from that middle rank in life which constitutes the bone and sinew of English society. The elder class had imbibed, from education, a diversity of religious opinions; but, under the ministry of George Fox, their views had become assimilated, and the severe sufferings they endured in England for their religion, had bound them together in unity of feeling.

The younger class had been educated in these habits of industry, economy, and strict morality, so conspicuous among the primitive Friends.

They held that all occupations which contribute to the welfare of society are alike honorable, and that the privileges of social equality should be accorded to all, in proportion to their virtue and intelligence. Husbandmen, mechanics, merchants and physicians, stood upon their individual merits, without regard to their callings, and some of each class were found in the legislative and judicial departments of the government. William Penn expressed a wish that his own children should be husbandmen and housewives, and one of his sons was placed to learn the business of a linen-draper in Bristol. Among the colonists generally the same views prevailed, and the most respectable citizens thought it no derogation from their standing, to bring up their children to husbandry or mechanical employments.

This feature in society sprung out of their religious principles; and if not peculiar to Pennsylvania, was more fully developed there, than in any other colony. It had a most happy influence in elevating the laboring classes, who were not considered, as in Europe, the drudges in society, but as members of the body, entitled to the respect, as well as the sympathies of all.

There was probably no other community on the continent where the rudiments of an English education were more generally diffused, and there were among the inhabitants a number of highly improved minds who exercised an important influence on the colony. Thomas and David Lloyd, Daniel Pastorious, Thomas Makin, George Keith, Isaac Norris, James Logan and others, that might be named, were men of considerable classical attainments, and some of them were mathematicians.

The next year after the landing of Penn, the Governor and Council engaged the services of Enoch Flower, to open a school in Philadelphia,* and a few years afterwards "Friends' Public School" was established there. In this institution the ancient languages were taught, as well as mathematics, and the more useful branches of an English education. The poor were taught gratuitously, and its doors were open to all. By an Act of Assembly it was required that the laws should be read in the schools.

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* Colonial Records, i. 36.—"He embraced it on the following terms: to learne to read English, 4*s*., by the quarter; to learne to read and write, 6*s*, by ye quarter; to learne to read, write, and cast accounts, 8*s*., by ye quarter; for boarding a scholar, that is to say, dyet, washing and schooling, ten pounds, for one whole year."

It is no small indication of a literary taste, that a printing press was in operation in Philadelphia within three years from the first landing of Penn, and while the primeval forests still covered the greater part of its area. One of its earliest publications was an Almanac, in the year 1685, edited by Samuel Atkins of Philadelphia, and printed by William Bradford. It appears by a minute of the Provincial Council that "in ye Chronologie of ye Almanack there was these words, (the beginning of government here of *ye Lord Penn*); the Council sent for William Bradford, ye printer, and gave him charge not to print any thing, but what shall have lycence from ye councill." This affords evidence, that there was in the minds of the colonists a strong feeling against aristocracy, and that the views we now entertain concerning the freedom of the press had not then been developed.

The first newspaper published in Philadelphia, was in 1719, at which time there was no other in the North American colonies, except in Boston.

As early as 1683, being the next year after his landing, Penn issued an order for the establishment of a Post Office, "and granted to Henry Waldy authority to hold one, and to supply passengers with horses from Philadelphia to New Castle, or to the Falls."* In 1717 Jonathan Dickinson writes to his correspondent, "we have a settled post from Virginia and Maryland unto us, and goes through all our northern colonies, whereby advices from Boston unto Williamsburg, in Virginia, is completed *in four weeks*, from March to December, and in *double that time* in the other months of the year."†

The roads in those days were scarcely passable for carriages, and most of the travelling was on horseback. It is mentioned in Watson's Annals, that "Mrs. Shippen, in 1702, came from Boston to Philadelphia on horseback, with a baby in her lap." The hardships and privations incident to a new settlement developed in the colonists a capacity for enduring fatigue and exposure, a dauntless courage and boldness of enterprise, rarely to be found in older communities.

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* Watson's Annals, ii. 391. "The rates of postage were, for letters from the Falls to Philadelphia, 3*d*; to Chester, 5*d*; to New Castle, 7*d*; to Maryland, 9*d*. This post went once a week and was to be carefully published on the meeting house door and other public places."

† Ibid, 392.

They were unceremonious and hearty in their manners; kind to their neighbors; hospitable to strangers; watchful in maintaining their civil rights, and zealous in adhering to their religious principles.*

There were many settlements of Indians in Bucks and Chester counties, which remained long after the foundation of the colony. "Tradition relates that they were kind neighbors, supplying the white people with meat, and sometimes with beans and other vegetables, which they did in perfect charity, bringing presents to their houses and refusing pay. "Their children were sociable and fond of play: a harmony arose out of their mutual intercourse and dependence, and native simplicity reigned to its greatest extent."†

The course pursued by Penn and the colonists of Pennsylvania towards the Indian tribes, has already been related,—it forms the fairest page in the history of the American continent. Nor were their efforts confined, as some have supposed, to endeavors to conciliate the Indians and promote their civilization; but extended to their instruction in spiritual knowledge and the practice of a Christian life.

Even before the foundation of the colony, George Fox and other ministers had preached to them, and soon after the first settlement, the subject was taken up by the society, when religious meetings were directed to be held for their improvement, and measures were adopted to prevent the sale of spirituous liquors among them. Penn himself, while in his province, labored earnestly, both as a legislator and minister of the Gospel, to improve their condition and promote their spiritual advancement.

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* MS. account of Buckingham and Solebury, by Doctor Jno. Watson, in the archives of Hist. So. Pa.

† Ibid.

These efforts were not without success, for although few of the natives embraced the Christian profession, there is abundant evidence that many among them evinced, by their deportment, some of the noblest traits of the Christian character.

There is an account of "a portion of them, in the western part of Pennsylvania, who from a self-conviction of the injustice and irreligion of war, united themselves into a community, with a resolution to war no more; and asserting as their reason that, 'when God made men he did not intend they should hurt or kill one another.'" This account is given by Anthony Benezet, and he attributes the wonderful change in their deportment, to the immediate operation of the "Light of Christ in the soul."*

The natives, on their part, did not fail to reciprocate the benevolence of the colonists. Though prompt to avenge an injury, they never forgot a kindness, and were not surpassed by any other people in the virtues of gratitude, honesty, and veracity. During the whole time the influence of the Friends prevailed in the province, being a period of more than seventy years, the Indians of Pennsylvania seldom committed an injury, and never took the life of a white man.

The motives which prompted the first settlers of Pennsylvania, to seek an asylum in the new world, are set forth in a cotemporary publication, called "The Planter's Speech."

Among the inducements were, a desire to lead a peaceable life, and to worship God according to their own convictions of duty; "that as trees are transplanted from one soil to another to render them more thriving and better bearers, so, under the bountiful protection of God, and in the lap of the least adulterated nature, every one might improve his talent and bring forth more plenteous fruits, to the glory of God and the public welfare of the whole creation." And lastly, that by "their holy doctrines and the practical teachings of their example, they might gain upon the thousands of poor dark souls scattered around them;" and bring them "not only to a state of civility, but real piety."

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* Watson's Annals, ii. 209.

"Our business, therefore," he says, "is not so much to build houses, and establish factories, and promote trade, to enrich ourselves, as to erect temples of holiness and righteousness, which God may delight in; to lay such lasting foundations of temperance and virtue, as may support the structures of our future happiness both in this and the other world."*

These intentions of the first settlers of Pennsylvania, alike honorable to their character and conducive to their happiness, were carried into practice with eminent success. "Of all the colonies that ever existed," says Ebeling, "none was ever founded on so philanthropic a plan, none was so deeply impressed with the character of its founder, none practised in a greater degree the principles of toleration, liberty and peace, and none rose and flourished more rapidly than Pennsylvania. She was the youngest of the British colonies established before the eighteenth century, but it was not long before she surpassed most of her elder sisters in population, agriculture, and general prosperity.† This sentiment is corroborated by the eloquent language of Duponceau: "Let it not be imagined," he says, "that the annals of Pennsylvania are not sufficiently interesting to call forth the talents of an eloquent històrian. It is true, that they exhibit none of those striking events, which the vulgar mass of mankind consider as alone worthy of being transmitted to posterity. No ambitious rival warriors occupy the stage, nor are strong emotions excited by the frequent description of scenes of blood, murder, and devastations. But what country on earth ever presented such a spectacle as this fortunate commonwealth held out to view, for the space of near one hundred years, realizing all that fable ever invented or poetry ever sang, of an imaginary golden age. Happy country! whose unparalleled innocence, already communicates to thy history, the interest of romance! Should Pennsylvanians hereafter degenerate, they will not need, like the Greeks, a fabulous Arcadia to relieve the mind from the prospect of their crimes and follies, and to redeem their own vices by the fancied virtues of their forefathers. Pennsylvania once realized what never existed before, except in fabled story. Not that her citizens were entirely free from the passions of human nature, for they were men and not angels; but it is certain, that no country on earth ever exhibited such a scene of happiness, innocence and peace, as was witnessed here during the first century of our social existence."*

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* Planter's Speech, Proud's Hist. Pa. i.

† Hist. of Pa. by Professor Ebeling of Hamburg. Hazard's Reg, i 340.

CHAPTER XLII.

Personal Appearance and Character.

Although the moral and intellectual part of our nature is that alone which can, properly, be designated as *the man*, yet, from its connexion with the body, it imparts to this perishable tenement an interest that survives the stroke of death, and induces us to treasure in our memories every lineament of those departed friends who have shared our affections.

This feeling, so natural, and so soothing to the heart, is not confined to those whom we have personally known: it extends to all the wise, the good, and the great, whose pure sentiments, noble deeds, or patient sufferings have enlisted our sympathies. We love to picture to ourselves their features and manners, and when, by means of portraits or descriptions, we can form a clear idea of their persons, we seem to contract a nearer acquaintance, and to enter more fully into their views and feelings.

William Penn was "tall in stature, and of an athletic make." When a young man he was handsome in his person, and graceful in his manners: later in life he was inclined to corpulency, but using much exercise, retained his activity. "His appearance, at this time, was that of a fine, portly man."†

The only portrait of him, taken from the life, was drawn when he was twenty-two years of age, and has been described in the first chapter of this work.

After his death, Sylvanus Bevan, a chemist of eminence in London, who had a talent for sculpture, took much pains to form a bust of him, which was considered by his acquaintance a good likeness.* A copy of this bust was sent to James Logan, and is now in the Loganian Library, Philadelphia.

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* Duponceau's Discourse before Am. Philo. So., 1821.

† Clarkson.

There is a statue of Penn at the Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia, said to have been sent to this country by one of his descendants.

The *second* portrait in this work was copied from the full length portrait by Inman, executed for the Penn Society of Philadelphia. It is a beautiful painting, and may now be seen in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

> "William Penn was very neat, though plain, in his dress. He walked generally with a cane. This cane he was accustomed to take with him, in the latter part of his life, into his study, where, when he dictated to an amanuensis, as was frequently his practice, he would take it in his hand, and, walking up and down the room, would mark, by striking it against the floor, the emphasis on points which he wished particularly to be noticed.
>
> "He was very neat also as to his person, and had a great aversion to the use of tobacco. However, when he was in America, he was often annoyed by it, but he bore it with good humor."†

Although he adhered to the plainness and simplicity of address peculiar to Friends, his manners were polished and courteous; for, as he said in one of his letters:

> "I know no religion which destroys courtesy, civility and kindness, which, rightly understood, are great indications of true men, if not of good Christians."‡

It was this remarkable urbanity, joined with sweetness of temper, ready wit, profound knowledge, and great conversational powers, that made him a welcome visitor in the saloons of the great and the palaces of kings; yet such was the humility of his character, that he was no less agreeable among the yeomanry of Great Britain and the farmers of Pennsylvania. As an evidence of his agreeable qualities, we may remember that Dr. Tillotson, in one of his letters, says:

> "I will seek the first opportunity to visit you at Charing Cross, and renew our acquaintance, in which I took great pleasure."

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* Clarkson.

† Ibid.

‡ Letter to Justice Fleming.

And Dean Swift asserted that "Penn talked very agreeably."* He was on terms of friendship with scientific and literary men, and doubtless enjoyed their society. It is related, that on one occasion, being in company with Newton, Locke, and some others, the conversation turned upon the comparative excellence of the new American governments, but particularly those of Carolina and Pennsylvania.

> "The matter was at length argued in the presence of the two legislators, when Locke ingenuously yielded the palm to Penn."†

One of the most remarkable traits in the character of Penn was his magnanimity. With a singular disregard for selfish or personal considerations, he devoted his life to the good of mankind. To plead the cause of suffering humanity—to advocate the doctrines of civil and religious liberty—to found a free colony for all mankind—to establish there the most liberal constitution and laws—to obtain, by justice and kindness, an unexampled influence over the Indian tribes—to recommend measures for improving the moral and social condition of the African race—to point out the means of avoiding the calamities of war, and to exemplify the benign principles of peace—these, and similar objects, engaged all the powers of his active and vigorous mind. To have aimed at such noble objects, entitles his character to our esteem—to have succeeded so remarkably, demands our gratitude. In confirmation of these views, the language of two eloquent and philosophical writers may be quoted. Edmund Burke, in his account of the European settlements in America, after speaking of William Penn's large expenditures for his colony, and his liberal policy, adds:

> "But what crowned all, was that noble charter of privileges, by which he made them as free as any people in the world, and which has since drawn such vast numbers of so many different persuasions and such various countries to put themselves under the protection of his laws. He made the most perfect freedom, both religious and civil, the basis of his establishment; and this has done more towards the settling of the province, and towards the settling of it in a strong and permanent manner, than the wisest regulations could have done on any other plan."

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* Noble's continuation of Granger, quoted by Clarkson.

† Clarkson, 338—note.

"This," says Bancroft, "is the praise of William Penn, that, in an age which had seen a popular revolution shipwreck popular liberty among selfish factions; which had seen Hugh Peters and Henry Vane perish by the hangman's cord and the axe; in an age when Sidney nourished the pride of patriotism rather than the sentiment of philanthropy, when Russel stood for the liberties of his order, and not for new enfranchisements, and Shaftsbury and Locke thought government should rest on property—Penn did not despair of humanity, and though all history and experience denied the sovereignty of the people, dared to cherish the noble idea of man's capacity for self-government."

* * * "There is nothing in the history of the human race like the confidence which the simple virtues and institutions of William Penn inspired." * * *

"Penn never gave counsel at variance with popular rights." * * * "England to-day confesses his sagacity, and is doing honor to his genius. He came too soon for success, and he was aware of it.

"After more than a century, the laws which he reproved, began gradually to be repealed; and the principle which he developed, sure of immortality, is slowly, but firmly, asserting its power over the legislation of Great Britain." * * * "Every charge of hypocrisy, of selfishness, of vanity, of dissimulation, of credulous confidence; every form of reproach, from virulent abuse to cold apology;* every ill name, from Tory and Jesuit, to blasphemer and infidel, has been used against Penn; but the candor of his character always triumphed over calumny.

"His name was safely cherished as a household word in the cottages of Wales and Ireland, and among the peasantry of Germany; and not a tenant of a wigwam from the sea to the Susquehannah, doubted his integrity.

"His fame is now wide as the world; he is one of the few who have gained abiding glory."†

When we consider the sacrifices he made for the good of others, we cannot but lament that the evening of his days should have been clouded by pecuniary embarrassments. Had he been careful to husband the revenues from his Irish estates, had he not generously declined the imposts offered to him by the first colonial Assembly, had he been less liberal in donations of land, less charitable to the poor, and less bountiful to the Indians, he might have lived in affluence, escaped the extortions of his steward, and been saved the humiliation of imprisonment for debt. But would his character have been more dear to our hearts? Should we not have lost some of the most instructive portions of his history? As in prosperity he had not been vainly elated, so, in adversity, he was not unduly depressed, but evinced in all his vicissitudes a happy equanimity. In the councils of Infinite Wisdom, his afflictions were, doubtless, made instrumental to some high purpose: perhaps to purify the immortal spirit for its blest abode, or to manifest to the world the power of religion to sustain the soul under all the trials of life.

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* Mackintosh, Hist. of Rev.

† Hist. U. S., ii., 381—400.

As a minister of the Gospel, he was highly esteemed, and indefatigable in his religious duties:

> "Though a learned man, he used, while preaching, language the most simple and easy to be understood, and he had a happy way of explaining himself by images the most familar. He was of such humility, that he used generally to sit at the lowest end of the space allotted to ministers, always taking care to place above himself poor ministers and those who appeared to him to be peculiarly gifted. He was also, no less remarkable for encouraging those who were young in the ministry." Thomas Story, among many others, witnessed this. "I had no courage," says he, "of my own to appear in public among them (the ministers). I thought, however, (on seeing Aaron Atkinson's ministry acceptable,) that I might also probably go through the meetings without offence, which was the full amount of my expectation or desire there; and that which added much to my encouragement, was the fatherly care and behavior of the ministers in general, but especially of that great minister of the Gospel, and faithful servant of Christ, William Penn, who abounded in wisdom, discretion, prudence, love, and tenderness of affection, with all sincerity, above most in this generation; and, indeed, I never knew his equal."*

As an author of religious works, he holds a high rank among the members of his own society, and some of his writings have been well received by the public at large. His style is vigorous, his illustrations apt, and often elegant, but like most writers of that age, his sentences are sometimes too cumbrous to suit the taste of modern readers. As a specimen of pure old English, without the affectation of foreign words or idioms, his diction deserves to be studied by the young.

He was methodical in the division and use of his time, which enabled him to accomplish a great amount of business without neglecting his religious duties. He wrote a paper called "Christian Discipline," or good and wholesome orders for the well-governing of his family, which is supposed to have been posted in some conspicuous place in his house. From this it appears, that during that quarter of the year when the days are shortest, they were to rise at seven in the morning, in the next quarter at six, in the next at five, and in the last at six again. Nine o'clock was the hour for breakfast, twelve for dinner, seven for supper and ten to retire to bed.

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* T. Story's Journal, and Clarkson.

> "The whole family were to assemble every morning for worship. They were to be called together at eleven again, that each might read in turn some portion of the Holy Scripture, or of Martyrology, or of Friends' books: and, finally, they were to meet again for worship at six in the evening. On the days of public meeting, no one was to be absent except on the plea of ill health or of unavoidable engagement. The servants were to be called up after supper, to render to their master and mistress an account of what they had done in the day, and to receive instructions for the next."
>
> "The same paper laid down rules for their guidance. They were to avoid loud discourse and troublesome noises; they were not to absent themselves without leave; they were not to go to any public-house but upon business; and they were not to loiter, or enter into unprofitable talk, while on an errand. It contained, also, exhortations to them, to be upright and faithful to their employers, and, though each had a particular service, to be willing, all of them, to assist each other as it became brethren and fellow-servants. And lastly, it contained one general exhortation to all; every member of the family was instructed to keep a watch over his mind, to beware of lying, defrauding, tale-bearing, and other vicious practices there specified; to abstain from words which would provoke lightness, and from giving each other bad names; and, in cases of difference, not to let the sun go down upon their wrath."*

In attention to the poor he was equalled by few, and no man was more beloved in his own neighborhood, where his name was long held in grateful remembrance.† It appears by his letters, that many poor but respectable persons were enabled, through his aid, to emigrate to the province, where they were further assisted by his bounty until they could earn a livelihood.‡

A few months after his decease, the General Meeting of

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* Clarkson. † Ibid. ‡ J. F. Fisher, M. H. S. Pa. iii. part ii.

Friends in Pennsylvania, issued a testimony or memorial concerning him; in which, after gratefully acknowledging his eminent services as the Founder of the colony, and "the blessings and ease they had enjoyed under his government," they speak of him as a worthy elder and able minister of the Gospel. "His behavior was sweet and engaging, and his condescension great, even to the weakest and meanest; affable and of easy access; tender of every person and thing that had simplicity of truth or honesty for a foundation."*

The most affecting and beautiful tribute to his memory, is found in the obituary memorial issued by his friends and neighbors of his own Monthly Meeting. It is entitled, "A Testimony concerning William Penn, from the Monthly Meeting for Berkshire, England, held at Reading, 31st of the 1st month, 1719."

After speaking of his death and burial, the memorial continues:

> "Being a member of our Monthly Meeting at the time of his decease, and for some years before, we can do no less, in giving the foregoing account, than say something of the character of so worthy a man; and not only refer to other meetings, where his residence was in former times, who are witnesses of the great self-denial he underwent in the prime of his youth, and the patience with which he bore many a heavy cross; but think it our duty to cast in our mite, to set forth in part his deserved commendation.
>
> "He was a man of great abilities, of an excellent sweetness of disposition; quick of thought and of ready utterance; full of the qualifications of true discipleship, even love without dissimulation; as extensive in charity as comprehensive in knowledge, and to whom malice and ingratitude were utter strangers—ready to forgive enemies, and the ungrateful were not excepted.
>
> "Had not the management of his temporal affairs been attended with some deficiencies, envy itself would be to seek for matter of accusation, and judging in charity, even that part of his conduct may be attributed to a peculiar sublimity of mind.
>
> "Notwithstanding which, he may without straining his character, be ranked among the learned—good—and great; whose abilities are sufficiently manifested throughout his elaborate writings, which are so many lasting monuments of his admired qualifications, and are the esteem of learned and judicious men among all persuasions.

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* Friends' Library, v. 318.

"And although in old age, by reason of some shocks of a violent disease, his intellect was much impaired, yet his sweetness and loving disposition surmounted its utmost efforts, and remained when reason almost failed.

"In fine, he was learned without vanity; apt without forwardness; facetious in conversation, yet weighty and serious—of an extraordinary greatness of mind, yet void of the stain of ambition; as free from rigid gravity as he was clear of unseemly levity; a man—a scholar—a friend; a minister surpassing in speculative endowments, whose memorial will be valued by the wise, and blessed with the just."

APPENDIX.

Since Chapter XXVIII. of this work went to press, the author has been favored, by the courtesy of Alfred Cope, of Philadelphia, with the use of documents relating to Pennsylvania, copied from the State Paper Office in London.

The following extracts relating to the restoration of Penn to his government, in 1694, will be found to justify the conclusion, stated on page 384.

"At the Committee of Trade and Plantations, at the Council Chamber at Whitehall, the 1st and 3d of August, 1694. * * * *

"The Committee being attended by Mr. Penn, who having declared to their Lordships, that if her Majesty shall be graciously pleased to restore him to the Proprietary according to the said grants, he intends with all convenient speed to repair thither, and take care of the government, and provide for the safety and security thereof, all that in him lyes. And to that end *he will carefully transmit to the Council and Assembly there*, all such orders as shall be given by her Majesty in that behalf, and he doubts not but they will at all times dutifully comply with, and yield obedience thereunto, and to all such orders and directions as their Majesties' shall from time to time think fit to send, for the supplying such quota of men, or the defraying their part of such charges as their Majesties shall think necessary for the safety and preservation of their Majesties' dominions in that part of America. That he will *appoint the same person* to be his Deputy Governor, that is now commissionated by Col. Fletcher to that trust, and if the government there shall not take due care that such orders as their Majesties shall think fit to give as aforesaid be duly complied with, he will then submit the direction of military affairs to their Majesties' pleasure."* * * * *

LETTER FROM WILLIAM FORD TO SECRETARY BLATHWAYTE.

"London, 14th December, 1694.

"Friend:—Yesterday I received a letter from William Penn, wherein he desires me to give thee his respects, and to pray thee in his name as a mark of thy friendship, to get the Lords to understand and allow that his cousin William Markham, who is Col. Fletcher's Deputy Governor, having the military power, *answers their intention and the substance of his engagement:* that the civil affairs may be in the hands of those more suitable to the mind and improvement of the colony."*

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* State Paper Office, B. T., Pennsylvania, Vol. ii. p. 51.

These extracts show that Col. Markham, who was already Deputy Governor, was to be continued in the office, to exercise the military power under authority from the crown; but Penn wished to place the civil power in hands "more suitable to the mind and improvement of the colony." He, therefore, appointed two Friends, John Goodson and Samuel Carpenter, assistants of Markham in the administration.†

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* State Paper Office, B. T., Pennsylvania, vol. i. B. A., p. 19.

† See Penn's commission to Markham, S. P. O. B. T. Pennsylvania, vol. i., p. 35. Also his commission to John Goodson and Samuel Carpenter, S. P. O. B. T. Pennsylvania, vol. i., p. 39.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

CONSULTED IN THE COMPOSITION OF THIS WORK.

1. Penn's MSS. Letters in the archives of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia.
2. Penn and Logan, MSS. Correspondence, in do. do.
3. Original MSS. and Letters in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
4. Penn's papers in the hands of Geo. M. Justice, Philadelphia.
5. Pemberton MSS., being letters of Penn to Harrison.
6. MSS. copies in the hands of Alfred Cope, Philadelphia, from twenty documents relating to Pennsylvania, in the State Paper Office, London.
7. Records of Certificates, &c., Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 1684 to 1758.
8. Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in 8 half vols.
9. Memorials of Sir William Penn, by Granville Penn.
10. Works of William Penn, with his life prefixed.
11. Clarkson's Memoir of William Penn, with Forster's vindication prefixed.
12. Life of William Penn, by Enoch Lewis, in Friends' Library.
13. Life of William Penn, by George E. Ellis, in Sparks' American Biography.
14. Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, 3 vols.
15. Smith's Laws of Pennsylvania.
16. Proud's History of Pennsylvania.
17. Gordon's History of Pennsylvania.
18. Ebeling's History of Pennsylvania.
19. Smith's History of Pennsylvania, in Hazard's Register.
20. Hazard's Register.
21. Hazard's Annals of Pennsylvania.
22. Watsons, do. do.
23. Pennsylvania Historical Collections, by Sherman Day.
24. Account of Pennsylvania and West New Jersey, by Gabriel Thomas, 1698.
25. Thomas Story's Journal.
26. John Richardson's Journal.

27. Thomas Ellwood's Journal.
28. George Fox's Journal.
29. Pepy's Diary.
30. Burnet's History of his own times.
31. Historical Review, (Franklin).
32. Original Settlements on the Delaware, by B. Ferris.
33. Life of Algernon Sidney.
34. Friends' Book of Memorials.
35. Sewell's History of Quakers.
36. Gough's do, do.
37. Smith's History of New Jersey.
38. New Jersey Historical Collections.
39. Bancroft's History of the United States.
40. Life of William Kiffin, by Joseph Ivenney.
41. "The Friend," Philadelphia, 24 vols.
42. Friends' Weekly Intelligencer.
43. Dixon's Life of Penn.*

* Dixon's work was not published until this volume was nearly ready for the press. I have therefore introduced in the form of notes all that I deemed of importance to be extracted from it.

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